













# THE Modern Review

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Nashon near Chinnin Bar on the way to Aungmye



The Shah-nai Gardens. Emperor Jehangir called it Shah-nai--the Abode of the



# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *The South Calcutta Bye Election*

Pandit Nehru has said that the defeat of the Congress in the South Calcutta election cannot be dismissed as a mere untoward event. He said that it has given us cause for the searching of our hearts. Truly there is cause for a deep searching of hearts and if Panditji sincerely means it—and we have no reason to believe the contrary—then he should proceed to lead the search in person. By itself the defeat merely means that one small boat has gone adrift from the Congress harbour. That loss, in itself, is perhaps not so calamitous as the loud-speakers of the reactionary forces, that cut the anchor-rope and hauled down the Congress colours, would have us believe. But the drift of the boat indicates dangerous currents and the way it was set adrift reveals the trend and nature of the disruptive forces in play.

The mere fact of Mr. Sarat Bose's election will mean very little either way—if anything at all—for the people of West Bengal, unless Mr. Bose has adopted a new outlook, in matters politic, with the formation of a new party. The formation of a healthy opposition in the West Bengal Legislature, with its motley assemblage of the rag-tag and bobtail of party-politics, is a figment of imagination, and it must not be forgotten that Mr. Bose was primarily responsible for the nomination of the majority of them. The significance of the Congress defeat lies in the circumstances that led to Mr. Bose's victory. And they have to be carefully analysed, if the "searching of hearts" is anything beyond an empty phrase.

We have seen many reports, in many papers and from many mouths, in and out of Bengal. But most of them are only partially correct and some of them hopelessly wrong. The Socialist Party's organ *Janata* in its editorials in the issue of 26th June, has come nearer to a correct analysis than most. It says:—

"For the past few weeks it has been clear that Calcutta has passed under the shadow of an incoherent restlessness which still lacks a clear direction. The civic life of that great city has in past years often provided scope for the short-lived frenzy of street demonstrations. Up to a point it reflects the impulsive exuberance characteristic of the Bengali mind. Yet a combination of instability and disenchantment can become woefully explosive when set in the activist insurrectionary tradition of Bengal.

Bengal has had to shoulder more than a fair share of her misfortunes, during recent years. The Bengal famine of 1942-43, the wrath of cyclone and floods and then the ghastly chapter of communal strife have each in its turn shaken the fabric of established social relationships to its roots. Millions of men and women uprooted by the Partition have still not found even a psychological anchorage let alone material security or rehabilitation.

While these tragic reverses have affected every class of the people they have specially hit the lower middle class sections who were more proud of their cultural heritage than of material possessions. Previous Muslim League administrations had undermined the morale of the services and the stench of corruption rose from the highest quarters of Writers Buildings and reached down to the petty bureaucracy of permanently settled zamindars. The monopoly of industrial enterprise passed from the British to Marwari hands and these sections have shown a marked lack of any sense of social obligation. The common people and particularly the distressed middle class have moved sharply to the left under the stress of the anti-social and predatory outlook of the business community. The Partition has further emphasised the split-personality which oscillates between self-pity and cynicism. It is desirable to keep these profoundly significant features of the



Bengal situation in view when we analyse the growing intensity of class-struggles and the increasing temper of bitterness in party-political feuds in Calcutta.

What is wrong is far more deep-rooted; the errors and lapses of leaders and political cliques merely throw the problem into a sharper relief. With his unique understanding of voiceless misery Mahatma Gandhi had taken Bengal to his bosom and if his life had been spared to us, he might have been able to provide that anchorage of faith for which the people are hungering. Yet it is a pity that none among the Congress leaders have had patience to commune with the restless spirit of this distressed city nor to probe below the muddled currents of political controversy.

The Congress, smug in its undisputed monopoly of political power, spurned all independent political and trade-union workers who refuse to bend their knee before its temporal pedestal. It reads into every popular protest as though it were a challenge to the very existence of the State. It seeks to usurp the rights of various sections of citizens to organise themselves and the sovereignty of the people is replaced by the untenable pretensions of the sovereignty of the majority party.

Is it any wonder that such a soil gives rise to a mood of negative opposition?"

There is no use shutting one's eyes to the dangerous fact that the Congress is alienating itself from the masses. It is tending to become an adjunct of the "Big Business" concerns, confining its activities to the distribution of permits and licenses. Panditji has said that people should not look upon the Government merely for solving their difficulties. He has asked for the co-operation of the people with Government. India is no longer a foreign-owned police state, it is a social service state. The Government have taken upon themselves the task of finding food and cloth for the people and in their attempt to fulfil that task they have been spending people's money lavishly. People who have given the Government Rs. 130 crores without a question for bridging the 4 per cent gap in food supplies and some 70 crores more for the maintenance of the costly systems of rationing, procurement, control, grow-more-food campaign, etc., certainly have the moral and legal right to demand at least a tangible scheme for the solution of their food and cloth difficulties. In a democratic country, the moral right to withhold their co-operation from a government which fails to fulfil even a fraction of their promises is inherent in the people.

We fully agree with Pandit Nehru's desire to hold the elections by the winter of 1950. There have been disquieting utterances of personages high up in the Government and the Congress which have created an impression that elections would be deferred to at least 1952. That apprehension ought to be liquidated.

Most people would concur with Pandit Nehru in a large measure when he says that he himself agreed with many principles of Communism but the policy which

the Indian Communist Party was following was not in accord with all those principles. We wrote some time back that the Communist Party of India should alter its initials to P.C.I., the "Pseudo-Communists of India." It is now well understood that its policy was to create chaos and disorder and to paralyse the Government and so to create a new field for the expansion of Russian imperialism. The Communists have been thriving upon popular discontent against the Government and the Congress Organisation both of which have failed to bring any relief to the masses after the terrible sufferings of the war and riot years. Instead, through short-sighted policies and orders, they have increased their difficulties and have laid open many of their foolish acts for a malicious and subversive interpretation. The harassment of peasants in the enforcement of the cordons, the resultant and rampant corruption, the low procurement prices in comparison to open market prices and the widespread connivance and participation by a large section of Congress workers in blackmarket operations and corrupt practices have all contributed to the creation of a situation which has proved to be an ideal breeding ground for Communism. In West Bengal, which is the main strong-hold of the Communists, we have frequent reports of violent lawlessness among the otherwise peace and ease loving peasant masses.

The Congress has failed to maintain confidence of the people, the police has failed to keep on the track of the Communists and to gain previous knowledge of their activities through detectives; even our leaders are afraid to face the masses in open meetings. In a democratic country, it should be the bounden duty of the leaders to face the masses in open meetings and to control them even at the risk of their lives if they want to remain leaders. When Congress administrators recoil from the masses, lock themselves up in heavily guarded quarters and send lorry-loads of armed police to deal with the aggrieved people, Communist workers find it easy to seize the chance for turning the aggrieved people into a riotous mob. Of all Indian leaders, within and outside the Government, Pandit Nehru is the solitary exception who still maintains the courage to face and challenge even an angry mob. In the Delhi meeting which Panditji was addressing, there was a stampede and interruptions, Pandit Nehru personally intervened and quietened the crowd. In the South Calcutta election, none of the Congress leaders including Sri Kala Venkata Rao, General Secretary of the Congress; Dr. P. C. Ghosh, member of the Working Committee; the President or the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee, dared address a single public meeting. In the only public meeting convened during the election campaign, none of the front rank Congress leaders appeared, and when there was a stampede in the meeting the President, a University Professor, according to his own statement, found the dias empty and had to dissolve the meeting.

We are glad that the Prime Minister has dis-

approved of the practice of closing the Congress Assembly Party meetings to the Press and have advocated throwing them open to the representatives of the Press. This is just as it should be. The public has a right to know the character of discussions and the stand their representatives take, in a meeting where vital state policies are decided.

### *Communist Menace in West Bengal*

For the past few months, West Bengal, specially Calcutta, has been the scene of subversive activities mainly directed by the Communists. Since the Communist Party was declared illegal in this province, it has "officially" gone underground but its activities are being conducted in broad daylight in defiance of law and order. Anybody casting a glance on the pillars of the city streets and walls of houses will find any number of Communist posters inciting the public to utmost lawlessness. The "Wanted" Communist leaders were supposedly underground but a few weeks back they were going about openly in the streets of Calcutta. For example, one of them was seen in a wedding party, a few months back, where the highest police officers were present.

The incidents of the past few months are of sufficient importance to cause anxiety for an administration which wants to run a peaceful and ordered government. Unfortunately, they have been neglected both by the Provincial and the Central Governments in spite of the fact that the capture of Calcutta by Communists will open the floodgates of Communism and anarchy from the East. Attempted sabotage of the Water Works and drainage system of Calcutta, the ghastly attack in Jessop Works, the raid on Dum Dum Aerodrome and Basirhat Police Station which was described by the Premier of West Bengal to have been in the nature of a *coup-de-etat*, attacks by women in Kakdwip, Dubergheri and Calcutta, raids by Communist-led peasants in the districts of 24 Parganas, Midnapore and Birbhum. "skirmishes" in Presidency and Dum Dum Jails and Bengal Pottery Works, and the latest raids on the residences of Congress leaders are of sufficient importance to cause the greatest amount of headache for people who desire a stable government.

Lack of space limits detailed descriptions of the incidents. When we go deep into the *modus operandi* of the Communists we find the same plans revealing the existence of the same directing brains and organisation of the incidents on a definite sequence with the ultimate object of disruption of the State. Three things have contributed to their increase in strength:—(1) The insufficient and frequent bad quality of rations in the city which forces people to fall upon the black-market for their food. This raises the monstrous food prices, the hinterland being within easy communication with Calcutta. The peasants are naturally unwilling to sell their produce to the official procuring agents when market prices rule high. This is a realistic problem, which has brought the Government down in the public

eye as inefficient. The recent spectacular acquittals by the Calcutta High Court of persons accused in black-market and bribery cases together with the publicly ventilated reports of corruption against high personages in the Government or connected with the Government has created a very bad psychological atmosphere which has made people believe that the Government is not only inefficient but also dishonest. The Ministers have failed to remove this dangerous conception from public mind. The Congress workers who foresee the coming danger and want to face the public cannot do so because they have no answer to offer for the misdeeds and wrong short-sighted actions of the Government. Cloth-bungling is a scandal. A few months of working of the Premises Act has revealed that it is a landlord's Act and not a relief for the tenant. The disastrous policy of neglecting mofussil hospitals and concentrating on Calcutta alone has resulted in a practical denial of medical aid to a greater number of people. Agricultural expenditure to the tune of several crores of rupees continues to remain a big hoax and a huge drain. So, with food, cloth, shelter and medical aid problems unsolved, with growing unemployment and a floating refugee population, with a psychological condition in favour of corruption, an ideal breeding ground for Communist Party activity has been created which they have not been slow to take advantage of.

*It is to be noted here that there has not been a single Communist "incident" directed against the black-marketeer, nor has there been a strike engineered by the Communists against British controlled jute industry. In short Communism is working for disruption only and not to rectify grievances of the people. Rather they want malpractices and foreign control to remain. They demonstrated it fully when they opposed the entry of Chandernagore into the Indian Union recently.*

(2) The administrative machinery has been divided into two broad divisions—the inefficient favourites and the efficient down-trodden. The rampant nepotism and favouritism and posting of men with an unknown past or with black records in some important departments as heads or special officers have sapped efficiency and initiative from vital departments like agriculture, industry, sales tax, education and the police. If provision of high level extra posts in dozens and budget grants for lakhs and lakhs were effective substitutes for good efficient men, West Bengal would have been heaven by this time.

(3) The police has proved an utter and miserable failure. Espionage, detection, prevention and prosecution—all these vital branches of the police in Calcutta as well as West Bengal have completely broken down. With their huge organisation of special branch and intelligence branch they get no previous information of conspiracies of the nature of *coups-de-etat*, they have no timely information even when the "action" begins. They do not grow wiser after each successive incident. The incident of April 27, when four women were killed

and which has done irreparable damage to Congress prestige, had been very badly handled. The meeting had been convened by a women's organisation affiliated to the Communist Party and as such the congregation could, and should, have been prevented. Appearance of bombs and acid bulbs is no new thing, and the police has the legal right to search for them even without warrant. In this case, any officer worth his salt, could and should have searched men clustering round the meeting place. Utilisation of women as gun-lodder for damaging Congress prestige has begun long before the Bakdrip and Dooberhen incidents had already occurred and there was every reason to suspect that something similar might happen in Calcutta. Shooting down women on the streets of Calcutta would provide the Communist Party with the longest stick to beat the Congress. The police espionage organisations failed to get previous information about what was coming, failed to utilise the huge armed force concentrated round the spot for prevention, and instead of forestalling the Communist conspiracy walked straight into the Communist trap. Killing of women and killing of prisoners are shocking and abhorrent actions in human judgment. The Communists had made the police do the former on two occasions but the incidents happening in villages did not attract much attention. The Calcutta incident had the desired effect, it was a serious set-back for the Government. Any good government would have ordered an inquiry into this incident, punished officials responsible for acts of omission, tactlessness and negligence of duty and tried to remedy the defects. But nothing was done. With the first round won, the Communists turned to their second objective—make the police kill prisoners. This was done in the Presidency Jail. The Premier says that the jail revolt was organised under orders of the Polit Bureau. We believe it. But the question is, when did the police come to know of the existence of such a communication between the Communist Polit Bureau and prisoners locked up in jail? Had the "order" been known a day earlier, could not have the incident been prevented by searching the jail wards and, if necessary keeping the prisoners locked up for that day? Here as well no previous information was secured, and the authorities were forced into the use of fire-arms which produced the result for which the Communist Party was asking. The police did not grow wiser even after this incident and did not take precautions in other jails. The incident was repeated in Dum Dum Jail the next day. The Communists succeeded in making the Congress Government and Congress police fire repeatedly upon women and repeatedly upon prisoners.

With these three events on their side, the Communists have now changed their tactics. Up to these, the incidents were more or less sporadic. With Government prestige lowest after the women firing and jail firing against the general background of discontent among the public described in paragraph (1) and discontent within the administrative machinery described

in paragraph (2), the Communists have come practically in the open. For instance, let us take the Calcutta incident of June 15. Leaflets were distributed and posters were stuck up in the name of and by the Communist Party convening a meeting at Hazra Park. No steps were taken to stop the meeting convened by the banned organisation. In the meeting, most inflammatory speeches were delivered calling upon men to break open the Alipore Jail and to raid the houses of Congressmen. The police were conspicuous by their inactivity. A procession was then formed which actually proceeded towards the Alipore Jail. A small contingent of police followed in its rear. The procession turned and took the route leading to the residences of the two South Calcutta Congress leaders. When men at the head end of the procession were doing acts of violence, the police were smoking merrily at the tail end. This raid was carried out by giving twelve hours' previous public notice to the police. The same thing happened at Serampore where a police outpost and the Congress office were attacked. In the "pitched battles" at the Presidency Jail, Dum Dum Jail and the Bengal Pottery Works, regular street fight and guerilla tactics were adopted, we are inclined to believe that these are rehearsals of what is soon coming if our administrative heads remain as serenely complacent as hitherto. The Communists have accelerated their tempo; we have incidents everyday now without fail.

Now, what is the remedy? The remedy is no doubt difficult but not impossible. We think the following measures would change the situation in favour of the Congress—(1) The quantity and quality of rationed food must improve at any cost with the assistance of the Centre, (2) blackmarketing and smuggling by Congressmen and their financiers must stop, (3) discrimination between Congressmen and ordinary people in the grant of trade licenses and contracts must end, (4) a psychological atmosphere against corruption should be created by denying the blackmarketeers the advantage of escaping punishment through legal loop-holes where the substance of the case has been proved and, (5) restoring administrative morale by a thorough overhaul of the administrative machinery and removal of corrupt and inefficient high officials from State Trading, Provincial Taxation and Police Departments. A careful enquiry into the past records of the present top officers in the administration will reveal how, through jobbery, nepotism and corruption, the present disaster has been invited. And finally (6), warning Party-bosses of drastic punishment, if they persist in their nefarious actions.

Frankly speaking the Congress is in danger of losing its sense of moral values altogether. The Party-system has sounded the death-knell to all the old traditions, and its current practice is to convert all tenets and principles to a cash basis, ignoring all questions regarding morality. In most provinces this foul disease is eating into the vitals of the State. The remedy lies in the hands of our leaders.

### *Pandit Nehru on Mass Contact*

Addressing the Delhi Political Conference Pandit Nehru referred to the South Calcutta Election and said that it was wrong to belittle the result. It showed that the people of the constituency were angry either against the provincial Congress or the provincial Government. Congressmen should find out what this was due to and whether people felt similarly in other parts of West Bengal.

Pandit Nehru said that the time had come to take a stock of things and make a concerted effort to revitalize the Congress organization. He deplored the slackening of enthusiasm among Congressmen who in some provinces were indulging in petty squabbles. The tendency which had been growing of expelling Congressmen for misconduct or dereliction of duty, instead of winning them over, as was done by Mahatma Gandhi, was regrettable.

If they could not strengthen the Congress, it would be better to wind up the organization instead of allowing it to disrupt by stages. There was no other party or power which could take the place of the Congress and if the Congress weakened there would be chaos and disorder.

Referring to the criticism levelled against the Congress, Pandit Nehru said that he welcomed it, but he thought it should be balanced. They were in the Government as representatives of the people and would resign when they would feel that they had lost that representative character. He asked for the co-operation of the people with the Government. They should not look upon it merely for solving their difficulties.

Pandit Nehru said that it had been tentatively decided to declare India a republic on Jan. 25, 1950, after the new Constitution had been adopted in October this year. The preparation for elections, which was going on, might take some time and it might not be possible to hold them before the winter of 1950, about 15 months hence. However, he was eager to find out in the interim period, if this could be done, what the people felt towards the Congress and the Government and its policies.

He referred to the activities of the Communists in India and said that he himself agreed with many principles of Communism, but the policy which the Indian Communist Party was following was not in accord with all these principles. Its policy was to create chaos and disorder and paralyse the Government. The Communists were the enemies of the State and wanted to uproot the sapling of political freedom planted only a short while ago.

Agreeing with the suggestion that it was necessary to have economic freedom with political freedom he said that without protecting the political freedom from any attack they could not go forward in the direction of economic freedom.

Reviewing the work of the Government, he said that the face of India had changed and was continuing to change. The States were disappearing and the old

map had gone out of date. In economic matters the Government had adopted a halting policy and did not undertake radical changes. This was done deliberately as they did not want to disrupt the present system. The capitalists who were deliberately trying to hoard wealth and were not investing it to increase production were following a short-sighted policy. This policy was against national interests. The future of the capitalists depended on the future of India. If India progressed they would also prosper. Otherwise there was danger of other forces coming on top.

Talking about the demand for a separate autonomous province for Delhi, he said that Delhi being the capital of India, its creation into an autonomous province involved certain difficulties. There was the question of the embassies of 30 nations and the areas where they were housed were foreign territories under international law. There were other responsibilities which did not concern the people of Delhi and its municipalities, but had to be dealt with by the Central Government. In other countries, too, the capital was not autonomous.

The refugee problem could not be solved by Government loans or free rations. Lakhs of refugees had to be habilitated permanently and made to contribute their mite to the national wealth. It was wrong to expect the Government to compensate the refugee fully. It was an impossible task. The Government would, of course, do its best to aid the refugees, but it was for the people of India as a whole to help them. Their problem could be further eased if the forthcoming inter-Dominion conference on evacuee property came to a satisfactory conclusion.

The Prime Minister made a reference to the meetings of the Congress Assembly Party, which were not open to the Press, and said that the way some members gave a version of the proceedings was not creditable. A case in point was the report of his remarks on the Calcutta election at the meeting of the party a day before the Constituent Assembly adjourned. This report, he said, did not accord with facts and helped to create a lot of misunderstanding. Papers had written editorials on the basis of the report. He, however, felt that it would be better to throw open such meetings to the Press as in that case there would be no possibility of any wrong statements being accepted.

The secret session of the A-I.C.C. in Dehra Dun had not been held to discuss any problems which could not be made public. It was mainly done to curb the tendency of some members to make long speeches, either with an eye to publicity or to speak for the sake of speaking. Such meetings, he added, were necessary to enable members to analyse calmly the problems of the day.

### *Indian Election Commission*

We do not share the lamentations of those members of the Indian Union's Constituent Assembly who appeared to have played the part of pall-bearers of

"Provincial Autonomy." The discussions they raised arose out of amendments moved by Dr. Ambedkar, the Law Minister himself, to Art. 289 of the Indian Constitution Bill. The Article proposed the setting up of an Election Commission to superintend, control and direct the preparation of electoral rolls for, and the conduct of, all elections to Parliament (Central), to the Legislatures of the States and Units, and of election to the offices of President, of Vice-President, including the appointment of Election Tribunals. The following description as it appeared in the daily press of June 17 last will indicate the nature and scope of the Article, and the purposes it was intended to serve.

Dr. Ambedkar said that this Article sought to ensure free and impartial elections. He disclosed that it had been brought to the notice both of the Drafting Committee as well as of the Central Government that in certain provinces "the Executive Government is instructing or managing things in such a manner that those people who do not belong to them either racially, culturally or linguistically are being excluded from the electoral rolls."

The Election Commission shall consist of the Chief Election Commissioner and such number of other Election Commissioners, if any, as the President may from time to time fix and the appointment of the Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners shall, subject to the provisions of any law made in this behalf by Parliament, be made by the President. The Article also provided for appointment of Regional Commissioners by the President after consultation with the Election Commission.

Subject to the provisions of any law made by Parliament the conditions of service and tenure of office of the Election Commissioners and the Regional Commissioners shall be such as the President may by law determine.

Dr. Ambedkar's amendments sought to take away from the President the power to appoint the Election Commission which was vested in him by the original amendment and to establish supremacy of the Parliament over the President in regard to the appointment of the Chief Election Commissioner and the conditions of service and tenure of office of the Election Commissioners.

The Chief Election Commissioner and the Regional Commissioners will be appointed by the President of the Union. Several members, including Pandit H. N. Kunzru, saw in this suggestion a move to weaken provincial authorities without providing a guarantee that Central control would refrain from political influences. Mr. R. K. Siddhwa commended the suggestion embodied in Article 289 of the constitution and said that every effort had been made to ensure that elections were not only impartial and fair but free from any executive influence. He characterised as "unfair" the suggestion that it encroached upon provincial powers. The Article provided for the setting up of an election machinery for the whole of India with powers of superintendence, control and direction of the preparation of electoral rolls and conduct of elections.

Discussion on the subject spread over two days, and the points urged against the amendment covered

many points, the most important of which touched on "trespass on Provincial Autonomy," centralization of power over elections, and the apprehended intrusion of Central Government influence "in a manner prejudicial to fair elections." Dr. Ambedkar's reply to the criticism will explain the difficulties that are being sought to be minimized by his amendment. Two points which had been raised by Prof. Shibbanlal and supported by Pandit Kunzru required consideration. One point was with regard to the appointment of Commissioners to the Election Commission and the second related to the removal of the Election Commissioners. As regards the removal, he did not think any change was necessary because the Chief Election Commissioner was placed on the same footing as a judge of the Supreme Court. There could not be a greater measure of security. With regard to other Commissioners, the power to remove them was left with the President but it was subject to an important limitation, namely, that the President could only act on the recommendations of the Chief Commissioner.

Pandit Kunzru said it was not right in a matter of this kind that provincial Government, which were being given full responsible Government, should be deprived of all the powers.

He asked whether the complaints that in some provinces members belonging to racial, linguistic and cultural minorities were being excluded under Ministerial instructions from the voters' lists had been investigated and substantiated. Even if they were correct he felt there was no necessity for the elaborate provision.

By leaving a great deal of power in the hands of the President the House, he said, left room for the exercise of political influence in the appointment of the Chief Election Commissioner and other election commissioners, should the Prime Minister be a man of strong party inclinations.

The issue really involved was the rise of parochialism in the country which, under the name of "Provincial Autonomy," has been discriminating against citizens of the Indian Union; Provincial Administrations have been known to use their powers to prevent Indian nationals from settling down in their territories if these people have the misfortune to differ in language and the other externals of culture from groups who happen to be dominant over the affairs of the Provinces. Mr. Kanayalal Munshi, Bombay's ex-Home Minister during the first Congress regime (1937-'39), brought to a focus the dangers of this tendency by illustrating these from the conduct of the Bardoloi Ministry of Assam. His remarks appear to have rattled Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha, one of the members representing Assam, who was heard to burst out: "I resent these remarks."

Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha of Assam was the loudest in denouncing the proposed Election Commission. If any enquiry had been made into the election vices mentioned by Pandit Kunzru, it would reveal that

most of them were being arranged for with meticulous care in the province Mr. Chaliha represented and it explains the cause of so much heat in his speech.

Mr. K. M. Munshi gave a fitting reply to the critics of the Article. He pointed out that it was subjected to two main criticisms. The critics said that it did not go far enough to make the election machinery sufficiently independent and the Central Government could influence it in a manner prejudicial to the fairness of elections. The other criticism was that it was a trespass on provincial autonomy. He refuted both the arguments.

Replying to Mr. Chaliha (Assam) Mr. Munshi said that a lot of complaints were received that non-Assamese settled in Assam were not getting a fair deal as regards enrolment in the voters' list. The fact that such complaints had been received showed that the Provincial Government could not be trusted to be as impartial as they ought to be.

Mr. Kuladhar Chaliha coming as he did from Assam should be the last person to say that the Centre was not better than the provinces. If it was so, he said, the sooner democracy was wound up in the country, the better. From the province of Assam complaints had been received that the people who had gone there were not allowed to settle.

He further said that neither the Central nor the provincial Governments would have anything to do with the elections. The Election Commissioners were practically independent though the Chief Commissioner would be appointed by the President. There could be no higher authority in India than the President to appoint this tribunal.

Referring to the provision for removal of the Election Commissioners Mr. Munshi said a change had been made for valid reasons. Normally between two elections there would be five years and it was unnecessary to have an election commission sitting all the time. The chief Election Commissioner would hold office permanently and whenever major elections took place in the country, provincial or Central, he could appoint more commissioners for a period during which they could not be removed at the will of the President.

There was no reason to believe that temporary election commissioners would not be independent, and it was incorrect to say that independence was taken away to some extent. It was really the duty and function of the Government of India to hold elections, and the huge electorate, running to several millions must require a large army of election officers and clerks to control the ballot.

This army of officers and clerks could not be set up as an independent machinery of the Government. It was not possible to have a kingdom within a kingdom.

The argument that the Article whittled down provincial autonomy, Mr. Munshi said, had a knack of appearing again and again in respect of every Article.

"It is high time that honourable Members of the House reconciled themselves to the position that we

have taken a line which is more suited to conditions in the country, and even to the doctrinaire opinions or theoretical rights of federalism. The Fundamental Rights Committee put forward the recommendation that the Election Commission should be independent, and it was unanimously approved by the Constituent Assembly. It must be treated as the opinion of the House that the matter of elections should be taken out of the purview of the Centre and the provinces."

He therefore denied the suggestion that it was undemocratic.

"We must realize once and for all that it is the Constituent Assembly as the instrument of the sovereign people of India, which is one unit that will decide what the relative functions of the Centre and the provinces are going to be in view of the actual conditions in the country. It is for this sovereign body to see that the purity of elections is maintained in all possible ways. To say that this is undemocratic is entirely baseless. The sovereign people of India must be in a position to elect its own representatives in a manner above suspicion and above partiality."

The strength and unity that India had achieved were due mainly to the centralized administrative control. The one supreme fact in India's history was that the glorious phases of Indian history were only in the days of the Mauryas, the Guptas and the Moghuls, when there was a strong central authority. The most tragic days were those when the central authority was cut off and the provinces and States tried to be autonomous.

"We do not want to repeat the mistake," he said.

Dr. Ambedkar, in his reply said, that two points raised in the debate required consideration.

One was with regard to the appointment of commissioners to the Election Commission, and the other with regard to the removal of the Election Commissioners.

As regards the removal, Dr. Ambedkar did not think any change was necessary because the Chief Election Commissioner was placed on the same footing as a Judge of the Supreme Court. There could not be a greater measure of security.

With regard to other Commissioners, the power to remove them was left with the President, but it was subject to an important limitation, namely, that the President could only act on the recommendations of the Chief Commissioner.

With regard to the provision concerning appointment, he confessed there was a great deal of force in criticism. There was no use making the tenure of the Election Commissioner secure if there was no provision in the Constitution to prevent either a fool or a knave or a person likely to be under the thumb of the Executive being appointed.

This question had given him a headache, and it would give the House also a headache. In the USA, this question was solved by providing that the appointment by the President must be approved by the

Senate. Although such procedure had a salutary effect, it was a dilatory and difficult process likely to introduce political considerations.

He thought the House would take this into consideration when it dealt with the "instrument of instructions to the President."

In order to meet the criticisms in regard to the appointment by the President, he was prepared to amend the amended Article. His amendment sought to provide that the appointment by the President of the Chief Election Commissioner and other commissioners should be subject to any law made in this behalf by Parliament. It also suggested that the conditions of service and tenure of office of the Election Commissioners would be subject to any provision made by law by Parliament.

### *Rao Committee's Report*

With hardly two months left for the adoption of the Draft Constitution of the Indian Republic, the problem of fitting in the States in the general framework of the Indian Constitution is engaging the serious attention of the States Ministry.

The Rao Committee, which was appointed by the Constituent Assembly to draft a model constitution for the States, has submitted its report to the States Ministry. The Committee assumed that the Indian States would accede to the Union in respect of all subjects and therefore had followed the provisions relating to the provinces contained in the Draft Constitution. The Draft, it is understood, contains 107 Articles and four Schedules.

The Ruler is defined as the head of the State deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power. The executive power of the State, according to the report, should be vested in the Ruler. Just as the Governor of each Province is to be appointed by the President, the Ruler or the Rajpramukh is to be recognized by the President.

In the exercise of the executive function, the Draft is said to have made a slight improvement on the corresponding provisions relating to Provincial Governors. The Article is said to provide that the ruler might exercise the executive power of the State either himself or through officers subordinate to him.

It is stated that it might otherwise be construed as requiring the exercise of the executive power of the State in every case by the Ruler himself which, it is felt, would create practical difficulties in the administration of the State.

The Committee is reported to have felt that no provision regarding impeachment of the Ruler by the legislature was necessary because the Ruler is defined as a person for the time being recognized by the President who could be trusted to withdraw the recognition in the event of misbehaviour on the part of the Ruler.

The structure of the legislative bodies in the State is recommended on the model of provincial

legislature. Provision is, however, made for bicameral legislature. Two alternatives have, therefore, been suggested, one for the States which desire to have bicameral legislatures and the second for those who wish to have a unicameral assembly. So far as the composition of the Upper Chambers is concerned the Committee has left it to be determined by the Parliament, with the object of ensuring uniformity in this regard throughout India.

As regards the salary and allowances of the Ruler the Committee is said to have recommended that they should be charged on the State revenues, but there is a difference as to the authority for determining the amount.

The Privy Purse of the Rajpramukh and Rulers of the Covenanted States is guaranteed by the Government of India as prescribed in the Covenant and the Committee could not lodge the power to fix the salaries in the legislature of the State. Power is, however, given to the President in this regard, who is expected to take into account the terms of the Covenant.

Judiciary is sought to be made completely independent. The High Court judges, whose terms and conditions of office should, it is recommended, be similar to those of Provincial Judiciary, will be appointed by the President. The subordinate judges are to be appointed by the Ruler on the advice of the Chief Justice of the High Court. The Supreme Court of India will have appellate jurisdiction over the High Courts of the States as in the case of High Courts in the Provinces.

It is understood that the Committee has proposed that members of the Election Commission should be appointed by the President. The Chief Election Commissioner will have overall power of control, superintendence and direction and the Election Commission will function as a regional commission.

The Committee is reported to have recommended the inclusion of a new Article suggesting that where the President has by order directed that any area included within a Province or the whole or any part of the area included within an Indian State should be administered in all respects by the State, as if, such area formed part of the State, all the provisions of the Constitution applicable to the State should apply to that area.

As regards power to amend the Constitution, the Committee seems to have felt that the State Legislatures should have power to initiate any amendments to those constitutions, for the constitutions of the Indian States are ordinarily to be made by their own Constituent Assemblies.

According to the Draft Constitution of India, a Bill for amendment of the constitution can be initiated in a Provincial Legislature only in respect of the method of choosing the Governor and the number of Houses in the legislature.

The Committee is stated to have provided for the



contingency in which the work of the constitution-making is entrusted to the ordinary legislature and not to a Constituent Assembly specially set up for the purpose.

Substantial difference of opinion among the members of the Committee is said to have been expressed as to the wording of the Instrument of Instructions to the Rulers. Some members seem to urge that the wording should be the same as that in the case of the Provinces, namely, "in all matters within the scope of the executive power of the State, the Ruler shall, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him, be guided by the advice of his Ministers."

The other section is reported to be of the view that the wording should be: "The Ruler shall, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by this Constitution, be guided by the advice of his Ministers." The Draft, it is stated, provides for both alternatives.

The best method of giving effect to the proposals, should be, according to the Committee, to insert a special part in the Draft Constitution of India to deal with the constitutions of the Indian States. It should provide in effect that the provisions relating to the Provinces should apply to the Indian States. There should be a separate schedule to the Constitution specifying the variations between the Provinces and the Indian States.

Saurashtra is the first among the Unions to authorise the Constituent Assembly of India to frame the constitution for it. It is expected in political circles here that other States Unions will follow suit.

The nomenclature of the Rajpramukhs as the "Ruler" mentioned in the Draft Constitution appears to have not found favour with some influential sections of the Drafting Committee and a suitable synonym for it is being searched.

It is expected that the situation regarding the States with reference to the Constitution will crystallize by next month.

The report seems to be defective in two ways. In defining the executive authority in the State, it has been clearly laid down that such authority vests in the Ruler acting through his subordinates. No mention of ministerial responsibility has been made. Again, it has been provided that the State constitutions will be drafted by the people of the States and sovereign power will reside in the people. Now, the Indian Constituent Assembly, acting on Rao Report, is going to vest the Ruler with Executive power; but if the State Constituent Assembly decides otherwise and vests the elected Ministry with Executive power, then who is going to solve the difficulty? We are unable to understand the logic of our States Ministry when it agreed to concede the right of framing the States' Constitutions to the States, which had been created and maintained by British Imperialism as bulwark against the rising tide of national movement, in preference to the provinces who fought for

Indian freedom. Why should there be a preference for those isolated pockets? This procedure will have another disadvantage. There will be a motley of constitutions in the country, some autocratic, some semi-democratic, and some democratic. This is not desirable in a country which is sought to be developed with a strong centralised government and a minimum of provincial autonomy. It would have been much better to take representatives of States in the Indian Constituent Assembly and draft a uniform constitution for all States closely resembling the provincial constitution.

### *Travancore-Cochin Merger*

On June 8, the States Ministry of the Indian Union made the following announcement:

The States of Travancore and Cochin will form one State with a common executive, legislature and judiciary as from July 1, it is officially announced. The present ruler of Travancore will be the first Rajpramukh and will hold office during his lifetime.

A special feature of the covenant entered into by the rulers is the provision for the administration of Devaswoms (maintenance of temples). It will be an obligation on the part of the covenanting State of Travancore to contribute from its general revenue a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs every year towards the Devaswom Fund, out of which a contribution of Rs. 5 lakhs will be made towards the expenditure of Sree Padmanabhaswami Temple at Trivandrum (the deity of the ruling family in Travancore).

The administration of the fund will be under the direct control and supervision of the ruler.

Likewise the administration of Devaswoms in Cochin and the management of the properties and estates under the Devaswoms Department will vest in a board known by the name of the Cochin Devaswom Board. But the regulation and control of all rituals and ceremonies in the temple of Sree Poornathrayeesa at Trippunthura and in Pazayannore Bhagavathy temple will be exercised by the ruler of Cochin.

The members of the representative body of Travancore and the Legislative Assembly of Cochin will become members of the Legislative Assembly of the United State and any vacancy will be filled as if this covenant has not been entered into. The Legislature will have full powers to make laws for the United State, including provisions as to the Constitution of the United State within the framework of this covenant and the Constitution of India.

The Rajpramukh will have the power to promulgate ordinances for the maintenance of peace and good government of the United State. Until a Constitution framed or adopted by the Legislature comes into operation, the Rajpramukh and the Council of Ministers shall, in the exercise of their functions, comply with such directions as may from time to time, be given by the Government of India.

The ruler of each covenanting State shall be entitled to receive annually from the revenue of the United State for his privy purse as per schedule. It is intended to cover all the expenses of each ruler and shall neither be increased nor reduced for any reason whatsoever. The amount will be paid in four equal instalments at the beginning of each quarter in advance and will be free from all taxes. The rulers of the States will be entitled to full ownership, use and enjoyment of all private properties,



but they should furnish to the Government of India an inventory of all immovable property, securities and cash balances held by them. The succession to the *gaddi* of each State is guaranteed according to law and custom.

The rulers of the States shall continue to have their powers of suspension, remission or commutation of death sentences in respect of any person.

This development is welcome for more reasons than one. It will pave the way for the formation of the Kerala State for which thought-leaders of the Malayalee-speaking people have been striving; it will end the centuries-old conflicts and competitions between Travancore and Cochin. The two States have an area of 2,154 square miles, with a population of 75 lakhs and revenue income of about Rs. 13.39 crores.

### *Cooch-Bihar's Future*

At a recent meeting of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee a resolution was passed calling for a "merger" of the Cooch-Bihar State with Assam. We have known for a long time the goings-on between important members of the Cooch-Bihar bureaucracy and public men and publicists in Assam. We have seen concrete proofs of an intrigue, through the medium of the Publicity Officer of this State with a Pakistani English-language daily in Calcutta, seeking the help of the latter in the nefarious plan of sabotage of the best and ultimate interests of the Cooch-Bihar people. The worthy publicity officer would not have dared write and work like this, if the policy of Central Government had not made the Governor of Assam their agent in reference to this State. Since then this policy has been reversed, and the Governor of Bengal made the Centre's agent.

But mischief-makers there are in the State who have been conspiring to snap the historic relation between Bengal and Cooch-Bihar. A Pakistani-minded Muslim is chief secretary of the State, and Assamese publicists are known to be thick with him in pursuit of their own policy of grab. And this Cooch-Bihar officialdom is not unwilling to lend help to them. For he has a deeper game in view. The 40 per Muslim population, about 3 lakhs, of Cooch-Bihar added to the existing Muslim percentage in Assam will decrease the Hindu percentage in that Province, holding the threat of its ultimate Pakistanization. This game our gullible Assamese-speaking public men and publicists do not appear to appreciate, and they go to their doom driven thereto by their jealousy of the Bengalee.

We have a certain feeling that the Central Government of the Indian Union have not been in a position to apply their minds to the consequences of Assamese chauvinism which in its greed is prepared to make common cause with Pakistanis, declared or potential. The Bardoloi Ministry has been taking the help of Muslim Leaguers in Cachar to down the Congress in this predominantly Bengalee district. The recent speech at Silchar of Babu Sri Prakash, Governor of Assam, appears to show that he has been growing conscious of where the blindness of his Ministers has been leading the Province.

### *The Change-over in Sikkim*

On the 8th June last the following announcement appeared in the Press:

The Government of India are assuming responsibility for the administration of Sikkim from today in the interests of law and order according to an official announcement from the External Affairs Ministry.

This development in Sikkim, the announcement indicated, is the result of a conflict between the State Congress of Sikkim and the Maharaja and the inability of the Maharaja and the Ministry to control the threatened disorder.

On June 6, the announcement added, the Maharaja sent a letter to the Political Officer informing him that the administration cannot be carried on satisfactorily without the Government of India's assistance.

As requested by the Maharaja, a Dewan will be sent to Sikkim as soon as possible.

The Government of India expressed their "sincere hope that the present emergency arrangements may be terminated in the near future so that the political evolution of Sikkim may take an even and peaceful course."

This State came under British influence about 125 years back. Bounded by Tibet, Bhutan, Nepal and the district of Darjeeling in West Bengal ceded in 1834-35, it has an area of 2,818 square miles, and a population of 121,000 most of them Buddhists. As the State Congress had made a muddle of the whole affair, the Central Government of the Indian Union was left no choice but to intervene. Sikkim cannot be dealt with in the manner of the Indian States, and we will watch with interest the future developments. Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim constitute a ring which has a strategic value of its own, specially in these days when China is in a ferment.

### *Coming Sterling Balance Talks*

It is understood from a PTI report from New Delhi that four main points are likely to figure in the Matthai-Cripps talks on sterling balances due to take place in London early in July. The points are, firstly, that India will be entitled to ask for a larger release of sterling which can be multilaterally convertible. For 1948-49 U. K. released 15 million pounds sterling to India for use in hard currency areas. The allotment had been found completely inadequate and India will now try to get as much dollar release as possible. In view of Britain's dwindling dollar and gold resources, it will require hard bargaining in order to secure a larger amount of dollar release.

Secondly, India is also likely to demand a greater release of sterling for use in sterling areas only. According to the Indo-British Sterling Agreement of June, 1948 the United Kingdom would release for three years a sum of 80 million sterling in addition to which India would carry forward the unspent balance of 80 millions sterling out of the previous releases. In other words, the total available foreign exchange for three years from July 1, 1948 was to be 160 million sterling.

Thirdly, the free flow of imports from U. K. due to the Open General License No. 11 which was primarily designed to relieve the inflationary pressure in India, and which greatly helped the British export drive, resulted in an increased withdrawal by India from the sterling balances and in less than a year she withdrew about 42 million in addition to the unspent 80 million pounds of the previous releases. It is considered not unjustifiable for India to urge that this overdrawn amount should not be taken into account in the quantum of release during the current triennium.

Fourthly, it is expected that Britain will help India to a greater extent in regard to acquisition of capital goods and the sterling releases should be allowed to be used principally for the supply of capital equipment.

The total sterling balances were of the order of 1160 million when Sir Shanmukham Chetty negotiated the last three-year sterling release agreement in June, 1948. The payment for the military stores and installations and the purchase of annuities for pensions and the transfer of Pakistan's share to her, reduced the balance to about 800 million. It was agreed that India could use 160 million from the sterling balance till the end of June, 1951. When the officials of the U. K. Treasury came to India in February last for discussion in regard to next year's agreement, they were told by the Indian Finance Ministry that unless the U. K. was prepared to release more sterling, the Government of India would be obliged to restrict imports. The officials of the British Treasury promised to send in their final reply after they had reached Britain. But the reply was delayed and India was therefore prevented from curtailing imports at an earlier date.

Besides the release of sterling for use in sterling areas, the question of release of multilateral convertible sterling is said to present a complex problem. It is not merely a question of availability, but it raises the problem of subjecting the sterling area to a strong competition with the dollar areas for the supply of the needs of the Indian market. This question of multilateral convertibility is therefore expected to figure very prominently in the London talks. India's dollar deficit in 1948-49 exceeded 208 million dollars which was sought to be covered by a loan from the International Monetary Fund to the extent of 100 million dollars, the release of convertible sterling to a value of 60 million dollars and a saving of 20 million dollars by other ways. There was still a net deficit of 40 million dollars. Further loans from the International Monetary Fund, informed circles feel, are doubtful and India will be justified in demanding of Britain the release of more dollars because when a large balance is locked up with Britain, it is undesirable that India should be driven to other quarters for loan. The dollar deficit cannot be bridged in any other way.

The present economic conditions in India is, to a very large extent, the direct result of the way in which Britain accumulated the balance. It was built up on the sacrifices of the people of India by way of service

and supply of goods to Britain during the last war. The present inflation is the outcome of this policy and the machineries and plants in factories were worn out because of the pressure of war production. It has been very difficult for this country to recover from the economic dislocations, created through the process of the accumulation of the sterling balance, and the difficulties are likely to continue for some time.

### *Indian Fiscal Commission*

The Government of India have appointed a Fiscal Commission the primary task of which is to formulate for the consideration of the Government a new fiscal policy in the light of the many changes that have taken place in the country's economy since the last commission reported. The object of the commission's enquiry was to increase national wealth. In a Press Conference held in New Delhi, Sri V. T. Krishnamachari, Chairman of the Indian Fiscal Commission, said that the Commission would approach its task on a basis "that will ensure maximum production in the country." Asked whether the Commission would give more weight to the views of the consumers or of trade and industry, Sri Krishnamachari said, "We will give weight to every point of view. The stress will be on the country's interests generally."

Sri V. T. Krishnamachari said that the Fiscal Commission would naturally consider the question whether protected industries should be allowed to make large profits on the strength of the protection given to them. The Commission would have to think over the question what the maximum profit should be as well as the quality of goods manufactured by the protected industries.

The Commission, said the Chairman, would consider all forms of assistance to industry, including subsidies. At the same time, every member of the Commission was aware of the very important point of view of the consumer.

One of the questions that had been raised and which would be examined was that of granting protection to Indian industries without automatically conferring the same benefit on foreign industries established in India.

He emphasised that the Commission would deal not with the question of protection to individual industries but only with the policies that should be followed in future. The Commission's work would not in any way interfere with that of the existing Tariff Board.

The Chairman continuing said: "Discriminating protection as defined and elaborated in the majority report of the Indian Fiscal Commission of 1921-22, has hitherto formed the fundamental basis of fiscal policy in this country. The revenue needs of the Government of India conditioned the application of this policy from its very start, and the ad hoc character of the Tariff Boards constituted from time to time to deal with applications for protection from

particular industries, *e.g.*, iron and steel, cotton textiles, sugar, paper, etc., militated against the working out of a well-established technique of analysis and the formulation of a set of rules of general applicability bearing on procedure and methods of investigation.

"These ad hoc investigations, however, came to an abrupt end shortly before the outbreak of war, and for the next six years no tariff investigation was undertaken necessitating the appointment of any more ad hoc Tariff Boards. The termination of hostilities in 1945 presaged the renewal of normal peace-time trade relations, and revived the fears of foreign competition with the products of indigenous industries.

"Some of these industries had grown up and others had expanded under the stimulus of the war, and it was widely felt that they must be supported against unfair foreign competition, and where the industries were run on sound business lines, they should be protected against the competition of well-established foreign industries till they were able to face such competition.

"Accordingly, the Government of India set up an interim Tariff Board in 1945 and laid down certain new principles for its guidance. These principles substantially relaxed the conditions for the grant of protection or assistance which the Indian Fiscal Commission had laid down in 1922. The principle of discriminating protection was considerably modified in its actual working, but it still remained the official basis of the country's fiscal policy.

"The industrial and mercantile community, which had been always strongly critical of the policy of discriminating protection followed by Government since 1923, pressed for early revision of this policy in the altered circumstances created by the war, and the far-reaching changes in the international economic situation which had occurred as a result of the war.

"The pattern of India's foreign trade changed beyond recognition and altogether there were too many uncertain factors in the immediate post-war economic situation, which made it impossible for Government at that time to initiate any enquiry about a new fiscal policy. The partition of the country in 1947, introduced other factors and India's assumption of certain international obligations in the matter of international trade and tariffs further changed the background against which any long-term policy could be formulated.

"The urgency for the formulation of a revised fiscal policy which would take due note of the revolutionary changes in the industrial and commercial situation that had taken place since 1939-40 was, however, steadily increasing and could not be much longer ignored after the announcement of Government's industrial policy in April 1948. Indeed, the industrial policy statement foreshadowed the early formulation of a revised fiscal policy."

A comprehensive questionnaire has been issued. The questionnaire broadly covers the following subjects:

(1) Changes in the economic background since 1922 when the Fiscal Commission of 1922-23 reported: (2) Policy of discriminating protection and its application: (3) Review of the effects of the past tariff policy; (4) Factors in the formulation of the new fiscal policy; (5) Non-fiscal measures for the promotion of trade and industry; (6) Fiscal policy in relation to Havana charter on trade; (7) Treatment and obligations of assisted and protected industries; (8) Fiscal policy in relation to Commonwealth preference and (9) Organisation methods and procedure.

The objects underlying Sections 2 and 3 of the questionnaire, it is explained, are to review the working of the policy discriminating protection as accepted by the Government of the day and to assess its effects on the growth and development of India's trade and industry during the last 25 years.

This review would constitute the basis on which a new fiscal policy would be formulated. An important section of the questionnaire deals with the treatment and obligations of protected industries and seems to be designed to redress the balance of the earlier sections where the shift of thought seems to be from "discriminating protection" to "protection simpliciter" as a basis of the country's fiscal policy.

The Commission would immediately examine the question of India's adherence to the charter of agreements on trade and tariffs of the International trade organisations. The Government of India have asked the Commission to report on this subject by the third week of August next. The main report would be completed by the end of this year. Even if there be some extension of the time limit, it is understood that the report would definitely be submitted by the end of February next. The Commission would consult all interests—producers and consumers and also different provincial Governments.

### *India's Tea Industry*

Indian Union's Commerce Minister, Sri Kshitish Chandra Neogy, visited the tea districts in West Bengal, presumably because of the dissatisfaction of U.S.A. tea consumer with the quality of Indian tea. For an all-round investigation of this new difficulty, he will have to visit Assam and Cachar, as well as the Nilgiris to study the existing methods of tea production and manufacture and to find remedies for the complaints made against this industry.

The alacrity with which the Commerce Minister has moved in the matter appears to be due to the fact that tea is one of India's most important export commodities and "a good dollar earner." This latter fact has become of immediate importance to us because we have been buying more and more from the United States which must be repaid by our exports to the great republic.

There appear to be many factors responsible for the discontent amongst our foreign customers; deterior-

ration in quality and increased cost explain these. As regards the former certain practices on the part of labour appear to be partially accountable. The American complaint is that Indian tea is stalky. For the best tea the picking of the most tender leaves is followed; it appears that the lower and thicker parts of the tea-bush now find their place in the pickers' baskets.

The factor of higher cost has been explained thus: Partition of the country has undoubtedly given rise to new problems in regard to transport, because Calcutta's railway link with the tea gardens runs through Pakistan territory. Coal supplies now follow a new route involving motor transport over difficult hill roads. This naturally adds to the cost of manufacture. Moreover, coal stocks are not adequate, with the result that wood has to be collected on a large scale to supplement fuel supplies. Also, other materials needed by the industry, including chests for packing tea, have to be transported with considerable difficulty and at a much higher cost than before partition. Delays involved in such methods of transport necessitate the building up of larger stocks of essential stores than in previous years.

### Basic Education

The fifth All-India Basic Education Conference was held at Perianaicken Palayam in Malabar (Kerala) on the 9th of May last. Dr. Zakir Hussain, Principal of the Jamia Millia of Delhi, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University, presided over it. His speech threw light on the difficulties that stand in the way of this experiment in India's education. The following summary indicates certain of these.

The memory of Mahatma Gandhi was invoked by all kinds of people today without fully understanding his message. There were people in this country who had taken up some aspect of his work, not because they felt the inner impulse for it, or that they made it their own, but because Gandhiji had started it.

Mahatma Gandhi formulated a certain type of social order but he did not want to impose a set pattern. He encouraged different types of individual and group activities and like a good gardener or a good teacher, he welcomed differences.

Our traditional education had generally contented itself with giving books and symbols instead of real things. Gandhiji had removed the barrier between life and education and had striven to base education on real work. His idea was that from this work, they could develop in the child a life of the right values, like truth, beauty, goodness and justice, which he should unconditionally accept. Naturally this work was very difficult and it was much more than the introduction of spinning or *charkha* for handicraft in education.

Dr. Zakir Hussain also referred to the relationship that should exist between Government and non-official agencies in this field. Country-wide basic education was a very big project and could only be undertaken by the Government.

But sometimes the extent of the work and

nature of the governmental machinery was apt to lower the quality of work and change its original form and spirit.

It was, therefore, necessary that there should be a number of good non-official basic education institutions which would blaze the trail and do pioneering work which might raise the standard of the departmental work.

The President expressed himself as being strongly in disagreement with the present tendency to reduce the period of compulsory basic education to a period of five years as against the seven or eight years originally recommended by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh and the Central Advisory Board of Education.

The imparting of basic education for this short period, he thought, was a waste and was likely to prove futile and ineffective. The reason usually given by the Government for the reduction of the period was financial difficulties.

As against this, he asked the Governments to realise that productive labour was much more easily possible in the higher grades and if basic schools of eight years had been established, there was a reasonable likelihood of the system becoming self-supporting.

If Provinces had the finances for running five-year basic schools, they should not hesitate at the lengthening of the course to eight years because in the last three years the schools would certainly become self-supporting with the help of the work done by children in all the classes.

The universities were not playing their part in national life as fully as they should. They tended to live in a world of ideals and occupations that was different and completely detached from the national life. As leaders of the people must eventually come predominantly from the universities it was necessary that they should reorient their work and outlook and become servants of the great values.

But no reform was possible at this stage without rebuilding the foundations and without the establishment of dynamic basic schools where studies of the new values could be taken up.

There are hints and indications in this speech that the bureaucracy newly entrenched in the Government Departments and in the Universities have been creating certain of the difficulties referred to in Dr. Zakir Hussain's speech. These men and women bred in the atmosphere created by Macaulay's education despatch were temperamentally unequal to the task of making "a new departure" in education, to throw themselves enthusiastically to the task of that "type of social order" which would be rooted in honest labour but refuse to exploit the labour of others, which would be unaggressive but be ever ready to stand up for the dignity and integrity of its own values.

This is one of the handicaps that has been halting the honest working of the Basic Education Plan. The other is the demoralization of the classes that supply leadership to Nationalism. Now that the Master's living presence is not there to warn and advise, the majority of them have gone astray. Even Gandhiji's immediate disciples and followers have been rendered helpless.

### *Military Training in the United Provinces*

We commend the following description of military training given to people in the U. P. to all the Provincial Governments in India, specially to the West Bengal Government whose frontier runs side by side with Pakistan for more than 600 miles.

The United Provinces Government has enrolled 600,000 men for its *Prantiya Rakshak Dal* (Home Guards)—a peace-time army modelled on Britain's Home Guards.

This "People's Army" will assist the police in combating crime and preserving internal security. It will also form a "second line of defence" to aid the nation's armed forces in an emergency.

Said to be the cheapest "People Army" in the world, the force will cost the provincial exchequer a little over Rs. 5,000,000 per annum, with per capita expenditure of less than six annas per month when the target of 1,200,000 men is reached.

The P. R. D. is intended to teach discipline to the people and make them self-reliant for purposes of internal peace, so that in times of emergency the military could be wholly relieved from internal duties and devote itself exclusively to external defence.

Apart from its educative and strategic value, the P.R.D. effects economy in national expenditure on defence and security and serves as a recruiting ground for the Indian Army.

### *Chandernagore's Decision*

The nationalism of this small townlet of French territory in Bengal has gloriously stood the test, by voting on June 19 last for accession to the Indian Union, by over 7,400 to 114 votes. Of the 52,000 inhabitants a little over 12,000 were entitled to vote.

Pondicherry, Karikal and Mahe are to decide their future in December next. We have every hope that they will follow Chandernagore's inspired lead. The Madras Christian Weekly, *Guardian*, appears to feel that these French possessions may not do so as their inhabitants may find it more profitable to continue their relations with the French Union.

### *Administration of Sales Tax in Provinces*

Administration and incidence of Sales Tax in provinces are engaging the serious attention of the Government of India for some months past. The need for uniformity of rules regarding the quantum of the tax, its levy and the administration of the departments and the elimination of the present wide discrepancies regarding all these three points deserve very close study. This is necessary in the interest of commerce as well as the consuming public. The committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in a representation to the Government of India has drawn attention to the "adverse repercussions on the trade and industry of the country," caused by the sales tax policy of the provincial Governments and has suggested the necessity of adopting uniform legis-

lation in this respect "in the interest of social justice and the economic unity of the country as a whole."

The Committee urged the Government not to lose any further time in the matter of ensuring that the provincial Governments agree either to the Centre taking over the sales tax or accept the principle of adopting uniform measures in respect of sales tax. The Committee's first preference is for bringing the sales tax under the legislative and administrative spheres of the Government of India subject to the return of the receipts to the Provincial Governments on some agreed basis.

In case the Provincial Governments, the representation said, were not agreeable to the proposal of centralizing sales tax, the Committee felt that the Government of India should see to it that the Provincial Governments reorientated their sales tax policy. For this the Committee suggested that the sales tax should not be levied on raw materials, that it should be levied only at the stage at which the article was sold to the ultimate consumer, that no sales tax should be levied on exports from one province to another or outside India, that the rate at which a commodity was taxed by different provinces should be uniform and that there should be uniformity in the rules for the administration of sales tax in all the provinces.

In giving its reasons for making the suggestions, the Committee said that the sales tax on raw materials was objectionable because it was bound to result in a sort of double taxation and it amounted to a province exploiting the natural advantages it possessed to the disadvantage of other provinces.

Some provinces, the Committee said, were naturally very advanced and many commodities required all over the country were manufactured in those provinces. For a province to levy sales tax on exports out of that province would, therefore, in the long run, diversely affect the commercial and industrial importance of that province, although for the time being it might succeed in passing on some burden on the less fortunate brethren in other provinces. Sales tax on exports also resulted in double taxation unless the article on which tax had been paid in the exporting province was exempted in the importing province.

The bases adopted by provinces for the levy of sales tax differed. Some provinces levied sales tax at multiple points, while others levied it at a single point.

Differential rates of sales tax in different provinces in the same commodity affected distributive justice.

Another tendency that was becoming increasingly common in the administration of the sales tax systems in different provinces was the wide powers appropriated by the Governments in increasing or curtailing the rates, or in adding to or deleting from the schedule of exemptions. If the Provincial Governments could, by a notification in the official Gazette, add a commodity to the schedule of goods to be taxed, it amounted to power being given to tax a commodity without the express sanction of the legislature.

The representation added that as sales tax was going to be an important item in balancing the budgets of the provincial Governments, the best that could be done until such time as it might be abolished was to levy and administer it in such a way as to minimize the hardship and the harmful effects that resulted from the working of the present sales tax legislation.

### *Rival to Jute*

For decades we have been hearing of the Western world and its modern science striving to find a substitute for jute. They appear to have found it at last if we are to accept the claims made in a U. S. A. Information Service despatch dated June 1. The name of the fibre is Kenaf, a new crop in the Western hemisphere, now said to be successfully grown in Cuba and El Salvador; this has become possible as a result of co-operative work between agricultural scientists of the United States and the "Latin-American" States.

The need for the intensive search for a jute-substitute has been heightened since the second world war of the 20th century as jute has been in "increasingly short supply" owing to many reasons, one of which is said to be that "more" of India's and Pakistan's land has been "going into food crops."

Kenaf is said to be "a fast-growing fibre crop" whose "original home is India." Botanically it is known as *Hibiscus Cannabinus*; it is "distantly related" to cotton and okra. It has been found "fully competitive to jute fibre in yield, cost, and strength." Its seed yields an oil comparable to cotton seed oil.

Experiments in this behalf began in 1943; this formed part of the programme of co-operation between Western hemisphere States aimed "specifically" at promoting "production of crops of complementary or strategic importance."

This news should have some interest for Indian Union and Pakistan, specially for the latter which produces 75 p.c. of the jute crop in India; it was a great temptation for the latter to exploit her almost monopoly position in jute production.

In the Indian Union there have been attempts to find substitutes for jute. The Khadi Pratisthan experiment with Chukai botanically known as *Hibiscus Sabdarifa* is well-known. Its news came to be known during the latter part of 1948; then only did the West Bengal's Agricultural Department appear to have grown conscious of the possibilities of the thing; they tried to satisfy the public by declaring that "Chukai or Chukar is known to scientists and agriculturists from a very long time, and, therefore, cannot be regarded as a discovery by Sri Das-Gupta."

Since then we have not heard that the Department has followed it up. With the discovery of Kenaf what have they to say? The Western hemisphere threatens to rob India of a great source of income.

### *Indians in East Africa*

"The Immigration Control Ordinance which seeks to restrict the entry of Asians in East Africa is but twin sister of the racial policy which is being pursued by the South African Government. The ordinance, which is meant obviously to protect European interest, would very adversely affect the Indian settlers there and may even restrict the privileges which they enjoy at present."—This disquieting note was sounded by Mr. D. D. Puri, President of the East African Indian Congress, in the course of talks to the *United Press* representative at New Delhi. From a summarised press report of the talks given below it is clear that the same old colonial policy of exploitation through segregation and division is being followed in East Africa, which is going to be one of the strongest holds of British commercial interests for vital agricultural commodities like cotton, tea, etc.

Mr. Puri observed that on behalf of the Indian population in East Africa, the East African Indian Congress had already submitted a memorandum to the Secretary of State for Colonies, United Kingdom, demanding removal of restrictions which the Immigration Control Ordinance sought to impose on the Asiatics.

But this move on their part, said Mr. Puri, would not produce the desired effect on the British Colonial Office unless it was backed by their national government in India. "My principal object in coming out to India," observed Mr. Puri, "is to persuade the Government of India to take up our cause."

Amplifying the present trend of political situation in East Africa, Mr. Puri said that the British Government had been trying to federate all their colonies in that sector, including Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya, South and North Rhodesia and Nyasaland to be eventually developed as a new self-governing Dominion. Both the Indian and the East African native population were suspicious of this latest trend in the policy of the British Colonial Office and had decided to oppose it tooth and nail, hinted Mr. Puri.

Replying to another question, Mr. Puri said that the relations between the Indian and the native East African population were fairly cordial, although some incidents like the recent failure of the Exchange Bank of India and East Africa had tended to adversely affect the same. He, however, hoped that with a little tact, and sweet reasonableness on the part of the Indian settler, the old cordiality between these two sections of the population would be restored.

### *Liaquat Formula in West Punjab*

The stern anti-corruption drive of the Governor of West Punjab, backed by the Governor-General and Central Government of Pakistan, has caused great unrest among a section of Muslim Leaguers in the province. Removal of Sir Francis Mudie and the appointment of a Pakistani Governor in his place has been demanded by a section of the League. It will take

some time before general elections could be held. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, has evolved a formula for the solution of the differences among the Punjabi League-leaders for the interim period till elections were held. The suggestion has been called the "Liaquat Formula." This formula, according to usually well-informed sources, envisages setting-up of a Council of Advisers to be nominated by the Prime Minister in consultation with the Presidents of the Pakistan and West Punjab Muslim Leagues from a panel of names to be submitted by the Provincial League Council. These Advisers, who will be responsible to the Provincial League Council, will be invested with "full powers" and will, according to these sources, hold "Ministerial rank." The decisions of these Advisers will to a large extent be "binding" on the Governor, who will, however, continue to rule the province under Section 92-A. The arrangement will be of an "interim" nature and will remain in force till the new elections take place.

The working of this formula which makes Governor's Advisers directly responsible to a party organisation, will be observed with keen interest by students of constitutional history. The success of the formula will evidently depend upon the amount of support the Advisers can gain in the League Council. The silver lining in this dark cloud is the strong attitude of the Central Pakistan Government against corruption and their backing to the Governor in the latter's attempts to eradicate corruption from public life. The latest example of the Pakistan Government's sincere desire for the elimination of corruption comes in the order of trial of allegations against Khan of Mamdot, the ex-Premier of West Punjab.

The text of the official *Communique* is as follows :

Whereas the Governor of West Punjab is satisfied that there are good grounds for holding an inquiry into certain allegations of misconduct by Khan Iftikar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, ex-Premier of West Punjab, such allegations being more particularly set forth in the articles of charge, and whereas the said Khan Iftikar Hussain Khan of Mamdot was a Minister of the Province of West Punjab from August 15, 1947 to January 24, 1949, now therefore the Governor of West Punjab is pleased to order that, under the provisions of Sec. 3 of the Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act, 1949, an inquiry be held into the truth of the said allegations and the Governor of West Punjab is further pleased for this purpose to move the High Court of Judicature at Lahore, under Section 3 of the said Act, to hold the said enquiry.

### *Israel and the Arab States*

A conference of the State of Israel's representatives and those of Arab States has been sitting at Lausanne in Switzerland for bringing peace between them. The latest report records failure of the talks, and postponement of the conference. There is nothing unexpected in this news. By the law of their being, the Arab States, mostly Muslim, will find it difficult to accommodate a non-Muslim State in their midst. The only State, pre-

dominantly Muslim, that has accorded recognition to Israel is Turkey which since its re-formation under Kamal Ata-Turk has refused to allow creed to influence its politics.

The other State that has significantly changed its attitude towards Israel is Britain ; she has at long last recognized that her encouragement of the Arab States and concrete help rendered to them have been a waste and an invitation to danger to her own interests in the Mediterranean area. A British M.P., Richard Crossman, a consistent critic of the Bevin policy, has said that "only because Britain encouraged the Arabs to fight in every village and town, have the Jews been able to 'solve' the Arab problem." He explains this opinion thus :

In the first phase of the war, the unfortunate Arab masses, on the orders of their own leaders, and assisted by the British Army, fled to neighboring countries, hoping to return behind the victorious armies after two weeks. Instead, their places in town and country are now being taken by tens of thousands of new Jewish settlers. Only in the areas recently conquered by the Jews have Arabs disobeyed the evacuation order, staying behind when the armies fled. Thus, British policy has inadvertently fulfilled Weizmann's claim at the Versailles Conference of 1919, that Palestine should become as Jewish as England is English. Seventy thousand Arabs who remained in Israel have been granted full Jewish wage rates and have put forward four Party lists for the Elections on January 25. Earning higher wages, living freely, this Arab minority is now the envy of all the neighboring countries and the illegal immigration of Arabs into Israel has now begun.

Mr. Crossman applauds Israel as "the one constructive force" in the area, "a 20th century Socialist State in the midst of the Middle Ages." This commendation has been won by the strength of spirit, an example of which was shown by settlers at Gahlee who "fought British-made tanks with their bare hands and a bottle of kerosene." It was this spirit that enabled the Jews to rise up to the occasion on May 15, 1948, when Britain withdrew her mandate. The tasks that faced Israel seemed "too big to tackle." But they did it. First, to win the war as a nation of 800,000 against six nations with forty million. Second, while winning the war, to create a State out of chaos deliberately created by the evacuating authority. Third, while winning the war and building the State, to bring in and settle 130,000 new immigrants in one year, thus increasing the population by 15 per cent.

"Israel has done all three. When you ask how it was done you are simply told 'We had our secret weapon—no alternative'."

The news from Lausanne may not be cheerful. But Israel has come to stay, to make good. And it is time that Pandit Nehru did turn his attention to regularize our relations with her. Further inconsequent delay and vacillation may finally cause us more loss than we can now calculate. It is time, he explained the difficulties that stand in front of Israel's recognition by the Indian Union.



## *Racialism and War*

The following cable, on June 18 from Lake Success, headquarters of the United Nations Organization, spotlights one of the causes of war that modern civilization has not been able to eliminate. We are told in the news that the Memorandum represents the studies of some 600 scientists including sociologists, anthropologists, historians, economists and jurists; it brings together the findings of the world's foremost thinkers on the subject.

Racial and group prejudice "may result in attitudes favourable to warfare," according to a Memorandum prepared by the U. N. Secretariat for the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities now in session here.

The Memorandum deals exclusively with the prevention of discrimination and does not touch the question of minorities.

Setting the U. N. Charter and the universal declaration of Human Rights as its "guiding principle," the 62-page Memorandum says that discrimination "usually originates from prejudice" and that the three main causes are: (a) cultural conflicts, (b) irrational emotional reactions (such as complexes, resentment, etc., etc.), and, (c) conflicts of interests.

Asserting that any of the enumerated causes of prejudices may induce "attitudes favourable to warfare," the study further says that "prejudices are strengthened by the reactions they produce, and thus a vicious circle is created."

The Memorandum deals also with discriminatory acts deriving not from prejudice but from "standard of economic interests."

Coming to remedial measures, the Memorandum says, "Law can and should suppress all discriminatory actions involving a denial of legal equality," but suggests that individual freedom should not be unduly interfered with.

"Important as the prevention of discrimination is," it says, "individual freedom is at least equally important."

The paper suggests the enforcement of legislation (1) abrogating all laws that permit or entail discrimination and (2) penalising discrimination by official or private persons.

Finally, the Memorandum calls for a global educational bias to inculcate that discrimination is to be eschewed not as a requirement of justice alone, but as a necessity in the development of national life.

Alongside this news, the daily press published a news from the same place, dated June 15, which said:

United States expert Jonathan Daniels has proposed machinery for handling urgent problems by the United Nations Sub-Commission for the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities.

Mr. Daniels proposed: (1) All communications alleging discrimination problems should be examined by the Sub-Commission.

(2) The United Nations Secretary-General should examine all petitions concerning discrimination and indicate to the Sub-Commission where he "considered urgent problems exist."

(3) Three members of the Sub-commission

should form a petitions committee to request further information and informally assist the State concerned.

(4) The petitions committee would report to the sub-commission on its findings if it considered further United Nations consideration of the case advisable.

(5) If the State concerned in the alleged discrimination advised the petitions committee that it regarded the matter as essentially domestic the committee would report this and await further guidance from the Sub-Commission.

The first news speaks of "the world's foremost thinkers" finding anew an almost perennial cause of war. But, as in the past so in the present, these thinkers do not appear to have had any influence over rulers of States. The reason why of their failure has to be searched and found. Otherwise, the Memorandum (62 pages) is a waste of valuable time and paper.

The second item of news refers to a subject which is not covered in the Memorandum referred to above. The minorities are very often racial, and very seldom in human history have States been known to behave properly towards them. The U.S.A. Information Service circularized the following news which directs attention to a sore in the body politic of the greatest country in the modern world. We shall be glad to believe that the news records a real change of heart in the U.S.A.

St Louis, Missouri June 2. The Missouri House of Representatives has voted 92 to 24 to end an 85-year-old ban against Negro students at the University of Missouri and at other tax-supported State institutions of higher learning. Editorials in many southern and northern newspapers commended the action.

## *Indonesian Republic*

It has been announced that the Dutch Government has agreed to the restoration of the Republican Government to its capital Jogjakarta by the end of June. On the 18-19th of December last the Dutch military had staged a "blitz-krieg" on the Republican Government capturing almost all the leaders including President Soekarno and Dr. Mahomed Hatta, the Prime Minister. But the Republican Government continued as an Emergency Administration from "somewhere" in the heart of Java under Emir Sarfuddin, a former Prime Minister. And the following from the report of the U.N.O. Commission submitted to the Security Council bore testimony to the fact that the Dutch were not having everything in their own way, that the Republicans were giving a good account of themselves.

"Throughout a great part of the former Republican territory the Netherlands controls only the main towns and roads. In areas of West and East Java which were under the Netherlands control prior to December 19, 1948, there are concentrations of Republican forces.

"Hostilities have continued in Java and Sumatra. While there have been variations in the scale of guerilla activities in different areas, there has not



been any major change in the overall outcome of such activities during the past two months. During that period there were military operations involving at least 200 men on each side. In such encounters modern weapons were used by both sides. In one case in an attack on Jogjakarta Republican forces amounted to approximately 1,500 men."

Since the above was written Dutch military formations have started to move out of Republican territory, and it is proposed to restore the Republican Government to Jogjakarta, its capital. This is gladsome news.

And before we go into the implications of the present developments we propose to recall the activities of Dutch imperialists that prepared the ground for these. They had sneaked into Indonesia at the tail of the victorious Anglo-American forces during August-September, 1945 when they found an Indonesian Republican Authority in possession. The retiring Japs had recognized it; so had their Anglo-American victors. It took about 19 months for the Dutch to realize the significance of this new portent and accept the logic of a situation in which the Republic Administration, weaker in military organization to the Dutch, fought gallantly for the democratic nationalism for which it stood. On March 25, 1947, we find the Dutch Lt.-General Dr. Hubertus van Mook signing on behalf of the Dutch Government an agreement which provided for "the *de facto* recognition of the Republic of Java, Sumatra and Madura, and formation by 1949 of a United States of Indonesia which will enter into a Union under the Dutch Crown."

But this proved to be an uneasy transaction, the reasons for which are quite plain considering the history of the exploitation by the Dutch of Indonesian weaknesses. One of these were the Federalists, a group of politicians who in the name of States' rights have agreed more or less to toe the Dutch line. There have been instances, however, where these Federalist politicians have been driven by public opinion to declare themselves for a policy that is hateful to the Dutch. Such was the resolution adopted on March 3 last and submitted to the Dutch Crown representative in Jacarta on the 11th March. The Special Federal Consultative Body or the Conference of "Federal States" stipulated in their resolution among other things—

(1) The restoration of the Republican Government at Jogjakarta; (2) the recognition of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia's authority in the other Indonesian-Dutch dispute and (3) the issue of a cease-fire order.

Thus the Roem-Van Royen agreement arrived at on May 17, 1949, was a recognition by the Dutch that behind the Republican Authority stood the whole public opinion of the country, even that of the Federalists who formerly appeared to be amenable to Dutch influence. By signing it, the Dutch agree to the restoration of the Republic of Indonesia to Jogjakarta Residency, to operate over the residency and presumably "in those areas outside the residency of Jogjakarta where civil, police and other officials of the government

of Indonesia (Dutch-sponsored government) are not operating at present," to the ensurance of immediate discontinuance of all military operations, the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners, to the acceptance of the demand for one-third membership for the Republic in the assembly of the proposed Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the accelerated and unconditional transfer of real and complete sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia. The Dutch undertake not to establish or recognize "states" or "especial territories" on territory under Republican control prior to 19th December, 1948—prior to the 2nd "police action."

The Federalists represent 14 small States which came into existence in Sumatra, Borneo, Java and Madoera islands during the past two years. They are now claiming the right of separate autonomous existence and have been co-operating with Dutch authorities in a greater or smaller measure. They have organised themselves into what is known as Besoender Federal Overleg (Assembly of Federal Consultations).

The United Nations invited them also to present their views with regard to stabilising the Indonesian situation.

Dr. Van Royen, referring to inter-Indonesian consultations, said that he hoped Republicans and Federalists would agree among themselves and if they deemed it desirable, send a joint delegation to the conference at the Hague to be held sometime in August next.

### *British Attitude Towards Communist China*

While Indian leaders are pointing towards Communist China as a menace, Britain is trying her best to make friends with the new regime. Mr. Bevin declared that it was not Britain's concern to see whether China was Communist or anti-Communist, she wanted to maintain the closest of relations with that great Asian nation. Mr. Alexander, Britain's Defence Minister, undertook a visit to Hongkong and said there that "Britain's object was to maintain the friendliest possible relationship with whatever might be the Government of China at the given moment."

Mao-tse-Tung's recent statement at the opening, ceremony of the preparatory committee of the People's Political Conference in Peiping has come as the first top level pronouncement by the Chinese Communist Party on foreign policy. Mao said that the Chinese Communists were willing to "establish diplomatic relations with any foreign country on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and of mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity provided that the foreign country is willing to sever its relations with the Chinese reactionaries, that it will not give further assistance to them, and that it will adopt a truly friendly attitude to the peoples of China." On the whole, reports the *Times*, the statement has been welcomed as being moderate and restrained in tone, but observers, specially those at Hongkong, note that

it is studiously vague and that there is unlimited scope for interpretation in its application. For example, the Peiping radio, breaking its long silence on the subject of Hongkong, has recently broadcast attacks on the measures the Hongkong Government has taken to tighten up the ordinance on societies and to curb the activities of Chinese Communists in Hongkong.

Observers have also noted that Mao talks as if it were the Western Powers who were suppliants for recognition. This may be explained by the recent statements of British statesmen desiring friendly relations with the new regime and the silence of America on the subject. The *Times* reports that the latest tribute to the Communists comes from the British Consul-General in Shanghai, who in a speech to the British Chamber of Commerce, praised the "restraint, moderation and realism" of the Communist military authorities in Shanghai where normal life has quickly been restored. He said that it would be wrong to expect them to make no mistakes and most ungracious to blame them if mistakes were made.

The new regime's attitude towards English is being clearly demonstrated. All signboards in English language have been re-written in Chinese. The English marking on commodity-packets have also been changed. All communications to the government agencies and business firms must now be written in Chinese. Chinese officials who speak perfect English are now afraid to use it and all discussions with foreigners are now conducted through interpreters. English has been banned as a means of instruction in colleges. Even the International Communications Bureau in Shanghai, which operates almost wholly in English, insists now on letters addressed to it being written in Chinese or accompanied by a Chinese translation. Romanisation of the Chinese script is discouraged. The only place where English is officially allowed to remain is on commodities consigned for export.

### *Peace over Germany?*

The following *Press Trust of India* news cabled from Paris on June 20 tells the world that the "cold war" over Germany has lost something of its tension.

The Big Four Foreign Ministers' agreement on a working arrangement between the occupying Powers in Germany and Berlin is the first official admission that Germany and Berlin are both henceforth to be divided.

Under the new agreement there will be two separate administrations representing acknowledgment for the present that German unity under Four-Power control is not feasible.

On the other hand, the working agreement, if it is loyally implemented by both sides, should restore to Berlin a normality that it has not enjoyed since the blockade was imposed last summer.

The agreement also pledges the two parties to work for the restoration of trade between east and west of Germany.

The total omission of any direct mention of the currency problem is a striking feature of the working agreement.

Western Conference observers interpreted this as meaning that the two halves of Germany will be left to work out by trial and error a viable relationship between the Soviet and Western mark.

In reaching this arrangement German expert and economic organisations will be co-opted by the representatives of the four occupying Powers. But there will be no single German economic body drawn from both zones as originally suggested by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky.

The test of the working arrangement will be in whether or not it succeeds in reducing the tension in Berlin to a point where Berlin can serve as a starting point for a better understanding between East and West throughout the whole of Germany.

The Foreign Ministers, it is understood, met to clear up their remaining differences over conclusion of an Austrian peace treaty.

(1) Soviet claims to all the Danube docks.  
(2) The right of the Soviet Government to take out of Austrian profits from Soviet-owned oil and Danube shipping concerns in Austria.

The question here is whether these profits should be subject to Austrian Law.

(3) The timing of the hand-over of German assets returnable by Russia to Austria on receipt of a 150,000,000 dollars settlement. This settlement to be paid over a period of six years, but the Western Powers claim that the transfer of assets should be made to Austria at the start of the agreement. It was expected that a communique on the results of the Conference would be announced later tonight.

Paris, June 20—Big Four Foreign Ministers tonight announced they had reached agreement on Austrian Peace Treaty and "live and let live" arrangement between occupying Powers in Germany.

On the Austrian treaty Ministers instructed their deputies to resume work immediately to reach agreement on completing draft peace treaty by September 1, 1949.

They announced Austria's frontiers would be the same as those on January 1, 1938, that Austria would pay no reparations and that Soviet Union would receive 150,000,000 dollars in convertible currency to be paid in six years.

West Berlin newspapers have hailed this agreement as "a ray of hope from Paris." It is improvement no doubt, though later news from Paris of the same date modifies it—"fifteen minutes before the agreed time for releasing the details of the four-Power agreements the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr Vyshinsky asked that the publication of the *communique* be held up.... But the Russian request came too late for it (the *communique*) had been flashed to all parts of the world for publication at 7 p.m."

The reason for this request appears to have been "some mistranslations" in the Austrian agreement; to a French spokesman we are thankful for the further light that "Mr Vyshinsky had received instructions from Moscow at 8 P. M. (B.S.T) to add an Article specifying that the exportation of profits made by Russian companies in Austria should be free."

We cannot say that we understand all the impli-

cations of the two agreements. Germany is split up between democracy and totalitarianism. This arrangement will not pave the way to permanent peace over Germany. The German people, though divided, will not lose any of their skill in modern science, so this division may keep Europe in an uncertainty. And the problem will reduce itself to the competition between the two—democracy or totalitarianism—as to who will be able to offer the best bribe.

With regard to Austria, the Soviet Union could have afforded to be generous. We are told that she will not be required to pay any reparations; at the same announcement is made that "the Soviet Union will receive 150,000,000 dollars (about 50 crores of rupees) in convertible currency to be paid in six years." Paid—by whom, by whose labour and services? We await the concrete interpretation of these agreements.

### *Orissa's History*

Speaking to members of the Puri Municipality, the Governor of the Province, Mr. Asaf Ali, ventured on an excursion into history that is liable to misapprehension. For a thousand years Orissa has lain low, contributing hardly anything of value to the synthesis that is India; this appears to be the interpretation of Orissa's history that Mr. Asaf Ali, greatly daring, has thrown at the thought-leaders of the Province.

We are afraid that it will not be easy to sustain this view in the light of history which the late Rakhial Das Bannerjee, among many others, has rescued from the debris. As lay men we know that Utkal, as Orissa was then known has had a glorious history as late as the Gajapati dynasty of kings. And recently a school of historians has grown up in Orissa who trace the debacle in their people's life to the influence of Vaishnavism as it was propagated by Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu of Navadvip Bengal. Into this controversy we are not prepared to enter. But this particular fact should have told Mr. Asaf Ali that there are other points of view on Orissa's history than what is entertained by him.

### *Proposed Removal of Commercial Library*

We understand that an attempt is being made to remove the Commercial Intelligence Office and the Commercial Library from Calcutta to New Delhi. Calcutta is the biggest port of India and it handles the largest amount of our national export trade. It is also one of the principal industrial centres of the country. These two

informative institutions have been found immensely useful for trade, commerce and industry and for long have catered to their daily needs. With the partition of India, the city has assumed greater international importance as the most important clearing city for inter-dominion trade. The need for ready commercial intelligence and reference for quick transmission and utilisation has, at no time, been more acute here than at present. With the huge industrial schemes on hand for the establishment of big industrial units costing about Rs. 200 crores and with the proposal to dig a ship canal to Calcutta, the commercial and industrial importance of this city will immensely increase in the near future. We wonder what useful purpose will be served by transferring these two institutions to a commercially obscure place like New Delhi when Calcutta needs them most.

There are other considerations that ought to be taken into account. We know New Delhi has not even a room to spare for housing even the Department of Industrial Statistics now rotting on the hills of Simla. Most acute housing shortage is experienced both by the officials and also by the public. Under such circumstances we consider it a matter for investigation to find out the interests that are at work to graft these two institutions with their large paraphernalia on the heavily congested capital city where they will be the least useful.

Lastly, there is a strong academic ground not only for retaining the two institutions here in Calcutta but also for strengthening them. Accurate statistics have now become an imperative necessity both for the Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the State for the formulation of our economic policies. There has been a growing tendency among a section of commercial people to submit wrong statistics for gaining special concessions under the control and license orders as also for tax-dodging. An official supervision over such statistics is now an immediate need and can best be made in Calcutta, where most of the units of commerce and industry supplying them are situated. Supervision may best be effected at the primary stage of data collection. This can be done in Calcutta jointly by the Departments of Commercial and Industrial Statistics. The assistance of the Calcutta University in its department of statistics, as also the Indian Statistical Institute will also be available. There is not only a strong case for retaining the Commercial Library and Commercial Intelligence Office in Calcutta but an equally strong case exists for the transfer of the head offices of the departments of Commercial and Industrial statistics from their present decorative abodes in Delhi and Simla to this principal centre of commerce, industry and tax-collection.



# THE CRISIS IN INDIA

## An Appeal to the People of India

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

EVERY Indian is conscious of the fact that India is passing through a crisis due to the food situation, internal politics, economic and commercial weakness of the country. But it is not known that India is passing through a serious crisis in her relations with Pakistan, which is the product of the partition policy of the British as well as of the Indian politicians. The policy of appeasing Pakistan by financial and other kinds of aid has failed completely; Pakistan is pursuing a policy which is highly detrimental to India.

As a result of the partition of India, all surplus food-producing areas of Sind and the Punjab have been taken over by Pakistan; and the Government of Pakistan is exporting surplus rice and wheat not to India, but to other countries to buy cloth, machinery and other goods and develop Pakistan's industrial potentials and military power. By not supplying food products to India in place of Indian industrial goods which used to be consumed in Pakistan areas before India was partitioned, Pakistan is pursuing a policy of "starving the Indian population." Pakistan's food export policy against India is worse than the food export situation to India from Burma, because in Burma internal chaos has reduced rice export to India, whereas Pakistan is pursuing a deliberate anti-Indian policy in matters of food export. This also means that through the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan, India is slowly but surely losing markets in all the territory of Pakistan which used to be an integral part of India.

In spite of the rosy picture of the Indian financial and commercial situation painted by Indian politicians and those industrialists who are more interested in profits than in developing Indian industries and commerce on a sound basis (and there are a good many business concerns of India which should be placed in this class), India's economic position today is weaker than it was two years ago. These things have contributed to general unrest in India and Indian politicians more interested in preserving their power than serving the people of India, are jittery about the political opposition that is bound to develop in the country. Just as the British Government could not suppress the revolutionary movement for Indian freedom by its repressive measures, similarly the present Government of India is bound to fail in suppressing anti-government agitation, unless the causes for such discontent are removed by constructive measures, and corruption, inefficiency and nepotism in high places of the administration are made to disappear.

### II

During the latter part of 1947, I came to know that Pakistan, Hyderabad and Pan-Islamist Moslems

in India (former members of the Moslem League who now for political reasons pretend to be loyal to India), supported by Pan-Islamists outside of India and a powerful British group, were plotting to create chaos in India. This fact cannot be denied by any sane man, now that only some of the facts have been exposed in the Sidney Cotton gun-running case. By the evidence given in that case before the British court in London, two Pakistan officials, two or more Hyderabad officials and the Nizam's former Commander-in-Chief—the Pan-Islamist Arab General El Edroos—were privy to the plot, and the British military officials and the British Governor of the North-Western Frontier Province were also involved in it through Pakistan's invasion of Kashmir which was a part of the plot against India. The Sidney Cotton revelations show clearly how the Arab General of the Nizam acted as an intermediary between Mr. Cotton and Pakistan representatives in Karachi and London. Airplanes were bought with Hyderabad's money and flown from Pakistan to Hyderabad for the purpose of jeopardizing India's security.

By the stubborn resistance of the brave Indian army, under most difficult circumstances, Pakistan's invasion was checked. To create a diversion in India, an attack on India from Hyderabad and a simultaneous attack from Eastern Pakistan and uprising of Moslems in India were parts of this plot. Thanks again to the ability of the Indian army to crush Hyderabad's attack against India and the stern measures adopted by Sardar Patel to insure the internal security of India, the crisis was overcome. The anti-Indian plotters in Pakistan and London and others regard their defeats in Hyderabad and Kashmir as mere set-backs and they are now engaged with greater energy in developing their military strength for a final showdown which may come during the coming winter.

To gain world sympathy for Pakistan and to undermine the position of confidence now enjoyed by India, Pakistan, through its British, American and Arab supporters, has succeeded in reviving the dead issue of Hyderabad in U. N. The Hyderabad issue is being used for anti-Indian propaganda on a world scale. This fact cannot be minimized. Readers of America's greatest daily, *The New York Times*, have been astonished within the last three weeks by the amount of space in the editorial and letter columns\* devoted to fighting bitterly over the Hyderabad question which to most Indians has seemed a dead issue.

The only way the Hyderabad issue can be solved once and for all is to take prompt action towards the election of a Representative Assembly, in Hyderabad.

\* Vide letters published in our Foreign Periodicals section.

a step towards the establishment of a responsible government and democracy in that territory. It is to be hoped that this will be accomplished before August 15, 1949, the second anniversary of Indian Independence. It is also to be hoped that the first act of the new Legislative Assembly in Hyderabad will be to confirm Hyderabad's status as an integral part of India and to confirm the end of the autocratic rule of the Nizam.

During the last week of May in the United Nations Sir Zafrulla Khan, helped by Pakistan's British and American legal experts on International Law, tried his utmost to get recognition of Hyderabad as an independent state and to re-open the issue by the sending of a U. N. commission to Hyderabad to interview the Nizam or to hold a plebiscite in Hyderabad under U. N. The Security Council patiently heard his arguments, but did not take any action in favor of Pakistan or Hyderabad. But the very fact that the Hyderabad issue remains on the agenda of the Security Council, indicates India's enemies will do their best to revive the issue during the next session of U. N. It is imperative, therefore, that the Hyderabad issue be settled by India by holding an immediate democratic election, a step that will best serve the welfare of the people of Hyderabad and India at large and eliminate the possibility of further plotting against Indian freedom in Hyderabad. Any concession to the Nizam or any form of appeasement will be regarded as weakness on the part of India and this will be used against India. Any concession made on the Hyderabad issue will be used in connection with the pending Kashmir issue, and furthermore it will establish a precedent for some of the disgruntled feudal barons of India.

The people of India should demand firm action and immediate settlement of the Hyderabad issue now. The people of India, irrespective of all party affiliations should, for the sake of Indian freedom, support present government's firm stand—No Compromise on Hyderabad.

### III

It is known to many people outside of India and also to Indian military leaders that Pakistan's policy regarding Kashmir is to gain time through the "cease fire" order, U. N. mediation efforts, plebiscite negotiations, etc., so that it will be able to build up formidable and superior forces and take over all Kashmir and East Punjab by military action. Many of the Indian leaders are oblivious of such a possibility; others think that Pakistan with one-fifth of India's population will not dare to take such a measure and if it does, it will be defeated. On this score, however, it should be remembered that a well-organized army of the Israeli State, which has a population less than one-twenty-fifth of the Arab League States, has defeated the attacking Arab forces. We know that numerically inferior Japanese and German forces proved to be superior to their enemies,

although they were ultimately defeated by greater efforts of the United States. Unless the Indian military forces be strengthened, Pakistan will be able to defeat the Indian forces. If ever such a thing happens, the responsibility will be on the shoulders of the Indian people as well as the Indian leaders.

A large part of the five hundred millions of rupees received by Pakistan from the Government of India through the intervention of the late Mahatma Gandhi and two hundred millions of rupees received by Pakistan from the Nizam's Government (through Anglo-Arab-Pakistan-Hyderabad plot of 1947-48) have been used to acquire arms and ammunitions and to employ veteran British and Polish airmen to augment Pakistan's air-power. Pakistan has recently bought a large number of Lancaster bombers as well as tanks to augment its army's striking power. British Generals and high military officials are working hard to organize a Pakistan Legion on the lines of Glubb Pasha's Arab Legion in Trans-Jordan. If India refuses to accede to Pakistan's demands for annexation or at least partition of Kashmir, under some pretext Pakistan's aggressive warfare will be started again. This may happen during the coming winter.

*What should be the policy of the Government of India in the present crisis? It must not be forgotten that the future position of India, nay the very independence of India, depends on the satisfactory solution of the Kashmir question. There is only one solution of the problem. Kashmir has been a part of India and will remain a part of India, in spite of Pakistan and her secret allies, the enemies of India. Pakistan is the self-confessed aggressor in Kashmir. India should not give up any part of Kashmir to Pakistan and legalize it by a so-called plebiscite under the direction of the United Nations or any organization outside the jurisdiction of the Government of India.*

It may be said that the Government of India once agreed to a settlement of the Kashmir issue by plebiscite. But the Government of India can change its stand on the Kashmir issue as the governments of Britain, United States and other nations did change their stand on the question of the recognition of the State of Israel. India should not only withdraw her proposition of submitting the issue of Kashmir to a fair plebiscite, but demand that all Pakistan forces be withdrawn from Kashmir within three months at the latest. Pakistan's action in Kashmir is menacing peace between India and Pakistan, and thus the peace of the world. Pakistan will be held responsible for any developments menacing peace.

### IV

What about India's foreign policy? The people of India are told, as Mrs Pandit recently told a New York audience in the course of a dinner party given in her honor, that India will remain neutral.

† This is a popular but totally wrong belief. Mahatma Gandhi had nothing to do with this payment.—Ed., M.R.

But Mrs. Pandit, Mr. Nehru and others know India has not maintained her neutrality and is not pursuing a policy of neutrality. Indian foreign policy has been go along with the pro-Pan-Islamic Powers, even when such a policy has been decidedly to the detriment of Indian interests. It is about time that the people of India should demand that India pursue a really independent foreign policy.

To make an end of the policy of appeasing Pakistan and her Pan-Islamist allies, India should extend immediate recognition of Israel and send a Hindu nationalist, preferably a Bengalee military leader of the late Subhas Chandra Bose's school, as Ambassador to Israel. India should send a distinguished Sikh military leader with combat experience at Kashmir

and Hyderabad and also preferably a member of the General Staff of India, as a military attache. A Sindhi patriot of commercial experience should be sent as a Commercial attache. In making selection of diplomatic, military and commercial representatives those should be given preference who were and are now opposed to partition of India and also belong to the partitioned provinces of India.

In the present crisis in India, the crying need is to have a party which will dare to demand changes in the present internal and foreign policies of India. At the same time in the present crisis every Indian patriot should stand behind the government which will fight for Indian national security. There cannot be peace and security through appeasement.

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## INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

By PRAFULLA CHANDRA MUKERJI

On the 15th of August, 1947, there was a stir throughout the world. On that date India took her first step towards independence. The Government of India was transferred from British to Indian hands. The world hailed that event, not that mere transference of government made much material difference, but the world hailed it in anticipation of the day when India would declare her independence and by virtue of that independence would usher in a new era in world history, when the empire system and power-politics from which the world has suffered much and of which England was a symbol, will be a thing of the past and the people of the world will have a chance to live with justice and in security. Gandhi and Nehru had fired the imagination of the people everywhere. General Marshall of America called Gandhi the conscience of the world. Well-known journalists like Walter Lippmann and Dorothy Thompson recognized Nehru as the spokesman of all Asia and suggested that the Government of the United States would do well to consult Nehru before it formulates its own Asian policy. There were great expectations. A war-weary world was looking desperately for a way out of the present morass. Naturally the colonial and other oppressed peoples were looking towards India with great hope to guide them to get rid of all domination and oppression. Everybody felt that Nehru would take moral leadership and that his dynamic moral force would have to be reckoned with in world affairs.

Just at this time when India's prestige was rising high and she was showing signs of rapid progress, word came from Mr. Attlee, the Prime Minister of England, that the Government of India has decided that India would remain within the Commonwealth of Nations and would accept the King of England as the symbol and head of the Commonwealth. The statement was received with considerable misgiving. According to

then previous notions, people reacted differently. Their reactions may be summarized as follows :

- (1) That India is not yet ready for independence ;
- (2) That India is afraid to travel alone. She is particularly afraid of Pakistan on the one hand and Soviet Russia on the other and that she wants help from England ;
- (3) That Pandit Nehru has been greatly influenced by strong pressure from powerful industrialists and land-holders and some of their henchmen in the Congress Party, who are afraid that without British influence the Government of India may undertake drastic reforms in economic and land systems, thus endangering their vested interests ;
- (4) That India now can be counted upon to help England and United States in a possible war with the Soviet Union.

These views are certainly not very complimentary to India and hence cannot enhance India's prestige. If shared extensively, they will actually hamper India in developing her foreign policy and even her industries. It should be mentioned here that very few take such terms as "independent members," "equal partners," "sovereign republic" at their face value. They point out that the German Empire had 2 or 3 small republics under Kaiser Wilhelm II. They take it for granted that the very fact that India, after long years of untold suffering and humiliation at the hands of British imperialism, is still anxious to cling to England, would indicate that India is willing to accept her inferior status. High-sounding slogans are not always convincing.

According to the Information Services bulletins of the Indian Embassy in Washington, most of the Indian leaders and newspapers have endorsed the Indian

Government's decision ; and, with indecent haste, the Constituent Assembly has ratified it. Naturally this decision of the Indian Government has raised some questions which may be summed up under the following heads :

If India does not join the Commonwealth—

- (1) Would the relations between India and Pakistan get worse ?
- (2) Would India face the danger of isolation ?
- (3) What would happen to the sterling balance ?
- (4) Can India get technological aid and industrialize ?
- (5) Would there be greater threat of Communism ?
- (6) What influence would India have in the colonial countries of Asia ?
- (7) What psychological effect would this have on India ?

Undoubtedly the Government of India has considered these questions and has concluded that remaining within the Commonwealth will serve India's best interest.

If India is to be a democracy, the government should take the people into its confidence and explain the factors which influenced its position. As far as we are aware, no such explanation has been issued from authoritative sources. Lacking such official explanation, the people must study the question thoroughly before they can support the government's decision. Already outstanding independent leaders like Jai Prakash Narain and Acharya Narendra Dev have voiced their opposition. Their arguments should be publicly discussed as well as the arguments of the spokesmen for the government, before the election takes place.

It would be well to examine these questions categorically.

#### 1. FUTURE RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

There is a suspicion that Pakistan may take undue advantage of India in retarding her economic growth and may put many obstacles in the way of her progress ; and, if India is not within the Commonwealth, she may not expect any aid from England. It is hard to visualize England helping India in any dispute between herself and Pakistan whether India is within or outside the Commonwealth when one remembers that Pakistan is just as much the creation of British imperialism as it is of Mr. Jinnah. Further, can England really give any help ? Did India get any aid from England in her dispute with the Commonwealth of South Africa ? Sir Stafford Cripps, in answering Mr. Churchill's opposition to India Independence Bill in British Parliament, declared that England had neither the money nor the men to hold India. It was for the same reason that England withdrew from Palestine. The stern fact is that England, at the end of the Second World War, was unable to help herself, let alone helping other countries, without receiving active help from the United States. Furthermore, is it not high time that India should attend to all such difficulties herself

without depending on outside aid ? It should not be necessary to remind ourselves that the Asian Conference held at New Delhi at India's initiative and that India's independent action at the United Nations Organization<sup>™</sup> with regard to Dutch aggression in Indonesia have raised India's prestige to a great extent. Only just and independent action can invite confidence from the rest of the world. Obviously it is to India's interest to keep friendliest relations not only with Pakistan but with the whole Moslem world, as it is to India's interest to keep friendly relations with China and South-East Asia. Indian statesmen must face these problems themselves and solve them satisfactorily.

#### 2. DANGER OF ISOLATION

The imperialist nations of the world will always try to isolate India, and, as a matter of fact, any other country which will oppose the expansion or preservation of imperialist control over any area. Will India ever collaborate or even condone such control ? She can do so only at the peril of her own safety and her own independence ! If she does not collaborate with the imperialist designs, attempt will be made to isolate her whether she is within the Commonwealth or not. India has a much better chance to prevent isolation as an independent nation. The fact is that there is a fundamental clash of interest between England, which still follows an imperialist foreign policy and most likely will follow for some time to come, and Indian Republic<sup>™</sup> whose national interest, safety and integrity demand that she must oppose imperialism wherever it raises its head, particularly in Asia. Commonwealth does not safeguard India against such clash of interest. India must be free to make and choose friends. Attempt will be made by imperialist powers to keep India and China apart on the pretext of stopping Communism. India can not afford to be a party in that plan. During the long years of India's struggle for independence, the leaders of India had time and again championed the cause of all other peoples who were similarly fighting for their freedom. Can India now give up that championship without sacrificing her honour ? Statesmen of India must fight against any attempt to isolate her, not by appeasement of imperialism, but by inviting and encouraging other nations to support her in her fight against imperialism.

#### 3. STERLING BALANCE

Can the contention that India will not be able to collect the money (still over 3 billion dollars) which England owes to India if India is not within the Commonwealth, be justified ? Past experience would show that the reverse is true. At the Rye conference, in spite of very able representation and the support of many American businessmen, India was unable to get a settlement in her favour. United States failed to support India's claim for the release of the sterling on the ground that the dispute is not an international one. It would, indeed, be very hard to explain how one country could refuse to honour its legitimate debt to



another independent country without declaring itself bankrupt; and surely England is not ready for that. England may want to pay in goods. But there are, for example, various kinds of machineries which India needs but which England cannot supply. Those, India must buy in the open market and England must pay for them out of this sterling balance.

#### 4. TECHNOLOGICAL HELP AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

The need for rapid growth of industries in India as well as in the rest of Asia is very urgent. Without industries it would be impossible to solve the problem of poverty. Standard of living must be raised at the earliest possible moment. India is in a fairly advantageous position in this respect. She has enough of raw materials to start many useful industries, and, for whose products she does not have to look immediately for markets outside her own borders. India, at the beginning of her large-scale industrialization plan, will undoubtedly need foreign co-operation in the shape of technological help, credit, and machineries. But in what way can she get more help as a member of the Commonwealth than as an independent nation? In 25 years, the Soviet Union, as an independent nation, has developed great industries with a totally peasant population, and, at the same time, modernized her agriculture. Though she had received plenty of technological assistance, credits and machineries from other industrial countries, most of which were opposed to her ideologically, her principal asset was not any political connection with other countries, but her strong determination and willingness to sacrifice.

After the First World War, Czechoslovakia became an independent nation and, as such, developed great industries without being politically connected with any group. No matter what political group controls the country, China, in order to survive, must develop industries. But who would suggest that China must be politically connected with some group, such as the Soviet Union, for her industrialization programme? India must seek technological aid, credit, exchange of commodities and machineries wherever she can get them. Above all, she must train her own young people as fast as possible. Our experiences have proved that foreign help can never take the place of self-help. Imperial preference is a distinct handicap and not an advantage for India.

#### 5. DANGER OF COMMUNISM

It has been claimed that once outside the Commonwealth, India would become the easy victim of Communism. It would be well to look at what is happening in China. In spite of very strong support and active aid from the powerful United States of America, the Kuomintang has been losing ground every day to the Communists of China, not because the Communists are better equipped with arms and ammunition, nor because their armies are superior, but because a corrupt Nationalist Government has failed

to meet the just and very urgent demands of the suffering people. The people, consequently, have flocked to the Communists who have tried to meet some of their immediate needs. If Communism gains in India, it would not be because of the acceptance of Communism by the people but because the government will condone corruption and be controlled by unscrupulous industrialists and landholders and, thereby, fail to meet the most crying needs of the people. It would then make no difference whether that government were connected with the Commonwealth or not. People must enquire if the present leaders of the Indian Government are willing to mortgage the whole future of India in order to check Communism? People everywhere want freedom—freedom from oppression and freedom from want. If the government is able to give them these freedoms, Communism will have no chance in India; but if the government cannot give the people these freedoms, then it will be only wishful thinking that Commonwealth will save India from Communism.

#### 6. INDIA'S INFLUENCE IN COLONIAL COUNTRIES OF ASIA

Can India serve the cause of the colonial peoples of Asia better as a member of the Commonwealth or as an independent nation? As has been pointed out, there is a clash of interest. India, not merely for the sake of idealism but for her future safety and prosperity, must help the colonial countries to gain their independence so that they can develop their own agriculture, industries, defence programme, and become self-supporting nations. Only then will they be assets to India. As the United States can not afford to have foreign domination over any of her Central or South American neighbours without imperilling her own safety and her own interest, so, also, can India ill afford to have foreign domination, political or economic, over her neighbours without imperilling her own safety and her own interest.

For over two centuries, England has followed a ruthless imperialist policy in Asia. She is still following that policy, making concessions only where she has to. She is still backing Holland and France in their aggression in Indonesia and Indo-China. She is trying to keep her control over Near and Middle East with the help of the United States. England has systematically opposed any move in the U.N. to have joint trusteeship over colonial countries. She even opposed joint trusteeship over Italian colonies. She wanted some of them herself for air and naval bases. How in common decency can India co-operate with that policy? If India is within the Commonwealth, either she will have to support British policy or she will be overruled every time. India, then, will find herself in a pitiable position, unheeded by the big powers and unrespected by the smaller ones. India's honourable course must be to take the leadership of smaller powers in their fight against foreign domination. This she can do only as an independent nation and not as a member of the Commonwealth of Nations.



## 7. PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT

Talking with the Government officials of India, one gets a feeling that most of them are mentally quite dependent, though they speak of "independence" and "sovereign republic." They do not seem to comprehend India without British guidance and British help. The fact is, as long as India will remain connected with England, they will never be mentally free. Consequently India will not progress materially or morally, and her prestige and influence in the world will be quite insignificant. Canada can be taken as an example. She has enjoyed the so-called "Independence" as a Dominion or a member of the Commonwealth for many generations. She cannot, however, be compared with her neighbour, the United States, in material strength, prestige and influence in the world, though they are inhabited by the same stock of people. Climate is not the cause of this difference; nor is the presence of some expanse of non-productive land responsible. In these conditions she can be compared with the Soviet Union. Canada has about 2 million square miles of habitable and productive land, and can support 150 million people, but she has only 10½ million now. United States has to pass laws to restrict immigration, whereas Canada has to offer inducements to get people to immigrate and settle there. Why is this difference?

Is it not because Canada can offer productive land and great mineral resources but does not offer an unshackled mind? She does not offer the incentive of real freedom. She is still mentally dependent on England. Without meaning any slight, one may ask if India is going to play the same role as Canada, or has she a much larger role to play? One may also ask if it is not sheer hypocrisy to tell the people that Indians hold an equal position within the Commonwealth. Where? In Canada? In Australia? In South Africa?

Instead of the delusion of receiving protection from the Commonwealth, Indian statesmanship should earnestly work towards the formation of a world government under the United Nations with a constitution similar to that suggested by Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, President of Chicago University and Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell. Therein lies the security of India as well as the rest of the world. In the meantime, the decision of the Government of India to keep India within the Commonwealth is a challenge to all the people of India. They must decide whether India should take the moral leadership of the world in getting rid of the scourge of imperialism or seek imaginary protection under an empire in the guise of a Commonwealth.

Pittsburgh, U. S. A.

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## PUBLIC EXPENDITURE IN INDIA

By MRITYUNJOY BANERJEE, M.A.

Public expenditure may broadly be classified under three heads: (1) preservative expenditure which results in just maintaining the framework of government including the tax-collecting departments, defence, general administration, police and justice; (2) productive or developmental expenditure which aims at improving either directly or indirectly the productivity and quality of the community and which includes civil works, educational expenditure, agricultural and industrial aid; and (3) transfer or redistributive expenditure, such as old-age benefits, unemployment relief and other social insurance measures which are intended to reduce the prevailing inequalities of wealth. The early nineteenth-century dogma that "every particle of expenditure beyond what necessity absolutely requires for the preservation of social order and for protection against foreign attack is waste and an unjust and oppressive imposition on the public" (quoted by Adams in *Science of Finance*, p. 50) is now fully exploded. Wagner's law of increasing State activities is being more and more realised in practice. The last two World Wars have added momentum to it. The modern democratic State is no longer an organisation for mere defence and police but it is more a social service corporation.

It must be admitted that the total Governmental expenditure in this country relatively to its size and population is very small. Per capita Central expenditure in India is only Rs. 13 to 15 while in Australia it is something like Rs. 907, in England Rs. 973 and in

U.S.A. Rs. 900. Of course there might be explanations for this. The nation as a whole is poor, national income very low and taxable capacity of the people limited, the number of rich persons and the size of their fortunes comparing very unfavourably with the corresponding classes in progressive countries. But not only the quantum of public expenditure is very low but its character is predominantly preservative. The amount of productive and developmental expenditure is no doubt on the increase and the budgets after Independence reveal considerable attention focussed on it. But even now the proportion of such expenditure is quite small and the amount of redistributive or social service expenditure is no better than negligible. This will be evident from the following table:

	Estimated Revenue expenditure in India for 1948-49 (in Rs. crores)	Percentage to total
Defence	121.08	47
Cost of tax collection, mints, etc.	11.18	4.4
Ordinary administration, civil works, etc.	24.27	9.4
Interest debt redemption, pensions	43.86	17
Planning and resettlement	3.15	1.2
Relief and rehabilitation	10.04	3.9
Food subsidies	19.91	7.8
Nation-building departments	20.93	8.1
Grants to provinces	2.95	1.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>257.37</b>	<b>100.0</b>

This excludes the expenditure of Rs. 165½ crores separately provided in the capital budget, of which about 54 per cent is developmental expenditure. But of this 54 per cent, only 15 per cent is Central, while 18 per cent represents grants and 21 per cent loans to provinces for development. The development grant to provinces was conditional upon their providing an equal amount from their own coffers and has further been curtailed as a result of the disinflation measures. This exhibits a deplorable state of affairs when compared to advanced democracies. In England, the estimated expenditure for 1948-49 on defence was only 20 per cent while that on national services and assistance to local services, such as education, health and housing comprised about 47 per cent of the total. Food subsidies alone accounted for 13 per cent and were equivalent to something like 12 to 14 sh. a week per family in addition to a like sum by way of social services. In U.S.A. in 1948, defence consumed 31.6 per cent of the federal budget, general government only 4 per cent, international affairs and finance 8 per cent while developmental and redistributive expenditure including veterans' services and benefits amounted to about 36 per cent. In the Australian Commonwealth budget for 1948-49, 39 per cent of the total expenditure was set apart for defence and about 18 per cent for national and social welfare, excluding 15 per cent as payment to or for provinces. It may be noted that in federal countries the task of nation-building is shared by the member-states with the federation. In India under the recent allocation of functions development is mainly the responsibility of the provinces but there too the position of Governmental expenditure is not at all commendable. This will be clear from the analysis of provincial expenditure which is attempted below :

*Provinces of the Indian Dominion*

	Estimated expenditure for 1948-49 (Rs. crores)	Percentage to total
Direct demands of revenue	18.30	7.0
Public security*	67.90	26.3
Debt services	4.43	1.7
Nation-building†	78.95	30.6
Other expenditure	88.69	34.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>258.27</b>	<b>100.0</b>

As compared to this, the American States in 1945 spent only 3.1 of their income on general control, 2.2 on public safety and about 53 per cent on nation-

\* Public security comprises general administration, administration of justice, jails and police mainly.

† Nation-building includes irrigation, scientific departments, education, medical, public health, agriculture, veterinary, co-operation and industries departments.

building activities, including contributions to trust funds and enterprises.

Local or municipal expenditure presents a still more gloomy picture. In the 1948-49 budget of the Calcutta Corporation, which may be taken as the model institution of its kind, about 3 per cent of the total income was proposed to be spent on education, 2 per cent on hospitals, maternity homes, dispensaries, etc., 1.3 per cent on street lighting, while establishments and D. A. to employees consumed something like 31 per cent. The average condition of town municipalities would be much worse and of union boards and village panchayats still worse. Compared to this, in England and Wales local authorities in 1942-43 spent about 16 per cent of their income on education, 10 per cent on public health, 4 per cent on poor relief, 6 per cent on highways and bridges and 8 per cent on public safety (police, fire brigades) and administration of justice. In U.S.A. administrations of cities having 1940 populations over 25,000 allotted in 1946 about 17 per cent of their expenditure on schools, 13 per cent on sanitation, health and hospitals, 7 per cent on public welfare, 6 per cent on highways and 18 per cent on public safety.

In public finance as distinguished from private, expenditure is reckoned first and income adjusted to it. So proper planning of public expenditure is vitally necessary. Under a democratic Government people can reasonably claim that before payment they will be given to know the ends for which they will have to pay. Prior to increase in demands upon their purses in the name of development a proper publicity to all the relevant schemes is quite a justifiable demand. A thorough scrutiny of past expenditure is also a natural corollary. The system of administration in India which the Mahatma once described as ruinously expensive still continues to be top-heavy. More than one commission and committee in recent years have pleaded for drastic economy. While this goes unheeded, both civil and defence expenditure have increased out of proportion to taxable capacity. The compromise of capitalism and socialism if at all such is possible can best be effected by progressive increase of socialistic expenditure. Even the Bombay planners while proposing reduction in the cost of living admitted the efficacy of measures like (i) provision of free social services, e.g., primary and middle school education, adult education and medical treatment and (ii) provision of essential utility services, e.g., electricity and transport at low costs. The Congress President said the other day in Madras that if we want to slow down the revolution that is definitely coming, we must do something. Reform of public expenditure should occupy a major share of that something and may indeed be the first item to start with.



# FREEDOM OF PERSON AND OF EXPRESSION

## New Presbyterian but Old Priest Writ Large

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"The duty of the journalist is the same as that of the historian—to seek out the truth, above all things, and to present to his readers not such things as Statecraft would wish them to know but the truth as near as he can attain it."—*DEALINE* of the *London Times*.

As a confirmed Liberal I am naturally reluctant to express myself in any other terms than those that bear the unmistakable stamp of sweet reasonableness. Ah, how that much-abused phrase (fast becoming "rehabilitated" again to suit the totally altered circumstances of today) recalls to my mind old, unhappy, far-off things and battles long ago! The sardonic reaction of our Congress friends towards that consistent playing down of our emotions is still very fresh in my memory. In then (pardonable) hurry to usher in the millennium they were given to laughing consummately at our measured language and our moderate aims. But all that is now happily past "Time, which antiquates antiquaries," has made Liberals of our erstwhile revolutionaries. Those who had come to scoff remained to pray. That is a welcome development, for which everyone of us ought to be enormously thankful. As has so often been proved, there is nothing that has a more sobering effect on one than the holding of responsible office: it rounds off one's more protruding angularities.

In some respects, indeed, Congressmen have gone much further (and, to be candid, fared much worse) than the Liberals would ever have done. For instance, a seemingly endless appeasement of the hot-gospellers of a separate homeland for the Muslims and all that *abracadabra* never formed part of the Liberals' creed: the illustrious author of the *June 3 Plan* would have wasted his blandishments (none too inconsiderable) upon them. But partition, for good or ill, is now a *fait accompli*, and those of us that had set their faces like flint against it must learn to grin and bear it. For the rest, however, Congressmen, the while pretending undesirable coyness, have fallen plump into the (outstretched) arms of these some once-despised Liberals and have meticulously copied their policies and programmes—especially in that matter of remaining within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

### OUR COMPLACENCY RUDELY SHAKEN

However brought about then, August 15 1947 witnessed the birth of an independent, if truncated, India. It is certainly a matter for hearty congratulation. The "Quit India" resolution of exactly five years earlier had thus justified itself. At last, the Old Man of the Sea was off Sinbad's back, and of his own volition, too. It is now eighteen months since Sinbad's back has been allowed to straighten itself. But is Sinbad, in all conscience, conspicuously the happier for that? Or, rather, has his back straightened itself fully? Are

there no more Old Men of the Sea in any shape or form still crushing his back by their tremendous weight? It is high time that these questions were not only put but answered. Without in the least wishing to don the habiliments of a political Jeremiah I must own that I am very much concerned for the *real*, as opposed to the *nominal*, freedom of my country. After the withdrawal of the British from our shores we have been too apt to flatter ourselves that everything in our garden is surpassingly lovely. Recent events, however, have gone a long way towards shaking our complacency on that point: it would be no exaggeration to say that they have given us a rather severe jolt.

### NO ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCE

To cut the cackle and to come to the 'esses, there has, of late, been a very noticeable searching of the heart amongst the thinking sections of the people, who have been asking themselves whether they had gone through all this toil and blood and sweat and tears merely to be the ineluctable spectators of the substitution of King Stork for King Log—in other words, of the Brown bureaucracy for the White. It is too often forgotten by the ultra-loyal followers of the Congress Party that what matters ultimately is whether our historic six years of struggle for the attainment of *Poorna Swaraj* has resulted in a *genuine* broadening of the bases of Government, in the ushering in of a *full-fledged* democracy, in the bringing about of the loudly-proclaimed *Century of the Common Man*. All other considerations are not germane to the issue; they are but the crackling of thorns under the pot.

### THAT "FIRST FREEDOM"

In the light of what has transpired after the memorable fifteenth of August, 1947, we have a right to go up to our leaders and ask them whether they can solemnly declare that, far from improving the lot of the people, they have not, in quite a few respects, put back the hands of the clock and repelled the surging democratic ocean with the menacing mop of a dictatorial Mrs. Partington. My space is running out and I cannot bring in here all that I want to say. But, as a journalist, I am unable to sit quiet while the "first freedom" of the late President Roosevelt's famous enumeration is systematically being trampled upon by the juggernaut of Governmental repression. There were none so vociferous as our own present leaders (who literally made the welkin ring with their raucous

denunciations) whenever our liberties were sought to be curtailed by their predecessors in office. The slogans they raised then were almost blood-curdling when compared with the singularly effeminate manner in which a much-harassed public has been reacting to its manifold disabilities under a more "popular" regime. It is not only that the old repressive laws are still in vigorous operation, none of their venomous fangs having been drawn out or flashing teeth extracted: our new *Ma Baps* are daily adding more and more repressive laws to the already-congested Statute Book, piling Pelion on Ossa, as it were.

#### PLAUSIBLE REASONS

The tragedy of it is that there is not as much discontent and disaffection in the land as there should have been by rights. The reason for this (comparative) apathy is that the populace has been indoctrinated by its respected mentors with the ridiculous theory that the country's freedom is yet in its infancy, that there are in this world such things as "growing pains" and "teething troubles," and that, as such, our newly-won freedom has to be very carefully nursed. For this careful nursing the primary requisite, apparently, is the abolition of public criticism altogether: or, if such a devout consummation is found, in this exacting age, to be more or less infeasible, the reduction of it to a mere pin-point, "the shadow of a shade."

The situation has become so farcical, indeed, that our elders and betters have, for the last so many months, been seriously dinning into our ears that, now that we are free, and our own chosen representatives are at the helm of affairs, the curtailment of any, or all, of our several freedoms should not be regarded as so much of a cruel deprivation, after all. The implication, doubtless, is that the emphasis should be placed on the deliverance of our beloved Motherland from a galling foreign domination, not on the devolution of power to the people. Our Honourable Ministers and their henchmen go about from place to place address—ink—or, rather, admonishing—their hearers to soft-pedal their criticism of their rulers as those rulers are flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone and must be perpetually patted on the back, regardless of whether they are doing right or wrong.

#### DR. PATTABHI'S ADMISSION

Only the other day, for instance (January 13, to be more precise), our revered Rashtrapati, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, admitted unblushingly at a Press Conference in Madras that the liberty of our newspapers "is definitely less today under the National Government than it was under the bureaucratic regime." He proceeded to say that during the days of the foreign Government the Press was "as much a patriotic unit" as any political party or agitator, but that, under the National Government "it is a unit of the Government." "Therefore, it is true," he added, "that the so-called freedom of the Press has been curtailed considerably since the advent of the National Government."

("So-called" is good!) When asked whether this was not autocracy he replied blandly: "Democracy is only the autocracy of the chosen person."

For the sheer taking of one's breath away I am not sure whether this astounding dictum of the great Andhra leader bears away the bell or that other astounding dictum of Bombay's beloved Premier, the Hon. B. G. Kher. Defending the Bill to amend the 1947 Public Security Measure Act on the floor of the Bombay Legislative Assembly Mr. Kher, it may be remembered, delivered himself of this astonishing apophthegm: "It is better to do a little harm now in order to save the people from much greater harm in the future."

#### PLAYING INTO OUR ENEMIES' HANDS

The mentality is the same behind both these perverse pronouncements. Such utterly different persons as Acharya Vinoba Bhave and the Chief Justice of Bihar have given the identical explanation of it. It is, to quote Lord Acton's words, that power corrupts and that absolute power corrupts absolutely. I do not know whether our political luminaries have ever bothered to consider what amidst their multifarious distractions, they may be only too prone to dismiss as a matter of no consequence, namely, that this kind of off-hand talk, of haphazard observation, but buttresses and bolsters up the familiar argument of Westerners that the Eastern peoples do not understand what democracy means, that it is an exotic plant in Eastern climes. An undercurrent of this criticism was discernible in the speeches of Lord Milverton and of Lord Vansittart in the debate on Indonesia in the House of Lords on January 20.

Dr. Pattabhi had himself dabbled in journalism decades ago. Nor can he honestly plead that he has quite done with that queer profession even now. Let him not, then, turn traitor to his own first love and waste his, and our, precious time by the display of such intellectual acrobatics as the one I have referred to above. If our leaders are determined to go back unashamedly on what the Indian National Congress had fought for for nearly six decades it is their own affair. They are now in power, nor is there any rival for their throne. But let them not employ fancy arguments and flashy illustrations in support of their indefensible positions.

#### THE VARIOUS ACTS

The various Public Safety Measures Acts are a total negation of the first freedom. Even our Draft Constitution contains not a few clauses (chiefly clause 15, on which a lively, but fruitless, debate took place in our Parliament some weeks ago) that strike at the very root of received notions of democracy. Our popular Governor-General went off the deep end when he observed recently (it was at a Press reception in Bombay) that the Press in India is as free as the Press in England. His Excellency, as we all know, must have his joke in season and out of season, nor can one, in fairness, grudge at him in such abominably depressing

days as these. But this assertion of his unquestionably touches the high watermark of irresponsibility and is inexcusable in the extreme.

It almost looks as though our Government have already forgotten the Freedom of Information Conference at Geneva in March and April of last year to which they sent some distinguished delegates—notably the late Mr. Syed Abdullah Brelvi. Let them note the U.S. resolution of April 3, 1948, which their own nominees to the Conference blessed with their approval. It ran :

"Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought and of expression, including the freedom to hold opinions without interference, and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas by any means."

The U.S. delegate Mr. William Benton went so far as to declare :

"Freedom of information is the basic essential of living peace and the foundation of man's freedom on this earth . . . . Any attempt to regiment men's thoughts and stifle his words is a base denial of his dignity."

— :O

### A WARNING

It was as much our Press as our politicians—our Press *more than* our politicians, in my humble opinion—that was responsible for our eventual emancipation. It is, therefore, rank ingratitude on the part of our rulers not only to permit the old fetters on our Press to remain but to forge fresh ones at their sweet will and pleasure. There is nothing permanent in this world—no, not even the British Empire, as we but lately discovered to our infinite delight—and the Congress Government of the present day, for all the weight of popular support behind it, may also go the way of "the many Ninevchs and Hecatempoli" if, forgetting the essential mutability of things, it persists in playing fast and loose with the cherished liberties of those very people who, by their innumerable sacrifices, have hoisted it to the top.

*"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,  
And all that beauty, all that wealth, e'er gave  
Awaits alike th' inevitable hour—  
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."*

## INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

By MANKUMAR SEN

Trade and commerce constitute the life-blood of a country and as such the pattern of foreign trade is basically an index of the strength or otherwise of the country's national economy. In this context the over-all picture of India's foreign trade in recent times would certainly cause anxiety. During the abnormal war years India completely reversed her international debtor position. While she was starved of the most essential imports, exports continued more vigorously and thus the huge balances were accumulated. Due to this incredible sacrifice, however, India attained a favourable trade balance of fairly big size. Her accumulated sterling balances it should be noted, reached a record figure of Rs. 1,733 crores in April, 1946. By March, 1947, they came down to Rs. 1,612 crores showing a reduction of Rs. 121 crores in a year. By July, 1947, they further declined to Rs. 1,547 crores mainly on account of large imports of food-grains and consumer's goods. Such sharp exhaustion of our external wealth for current demands only constituted a danger to long-term post-war projects that called for investment on capital account. Accordingly, the import policy was so amended in 1947 as to conserve these resources for the future. But despite this amendment the volume of imports has been overflowing the exports, the result being an unfavourable balance for the country. More significant is the lower percentage of import of capital goods in proportion to total imports. Obviously, in the total imports

the share of food-grains has been overwhelmingly large.

The following table indicates the position of the export trade with reference to articles which are mainly exported by India.

TABLE I

*Value of Exports (in lakhs of rupees)*

<i>Commodities</i>	1938-39	1945-46
Jute manufactures	26.26	57.12
Tea	23.42	35.52
Cotton piecegoods	3.24	29.52
Twist and yarn	1.87	1.42
Coal and Coke	1.36	25
Coffee	75	26
Manganese Ore	1.07	65
Tobacco manufactures	74	48
Rubber	72	37
Sandalwood oil	10	16

TABLE II

*Other Exports (in lakhs of rupees)*

<i>Commodities</i>	1938-39	1945-46
Exports from Madras	12.85	15.76
Exports from Bombay	5.72	11.66
Exports from West Bengal	2.72	3.81
Total	21.29	31.23
Miscellaneous exports	47.15	34.18

Since the partition, however, the outstanding features of our foreign trade have been (a) an increase in the total value of trade accompanied by a fall in its volume; (b) movement of terms of trade against us; (c) a widening of the gap between our exports to and imports from the hard-currency areas; and the emergence of Pakistan as a foreign territory for purposes of trade and other economic matters. A detailed picture of our sea-borne trade during the nine months ended December 1948, as compared with the corresponding period of 1947, is given in the following table:

TABLE III

(Value in lakhs of rupees)

	Exports including Re-exports		Imports		Total-Trade	
	1947	1948	1947	1948	1947	1948
April	2575	3856	3249	2973	5824	6829
May	3607	3153	3719	4332	7326	7185
June	3520	3680	3505	3575	7025	7255
July	2852	3880	3933	4056	6785	7936
August	3127	3383	3296	4390	6423	7773
September	3410	3516	3261	3925	6671	7471
October	3486	3251	2956	3513	6442	6764
November	3269	3706	2958	4222	6227	7928
December	3609	3520	3004	4595	6613	8115
Total (April to December)	294,56	319,45	298,80	355,83	593,36	675,28

India cannot pretend to be left alone in the post-war world. In the modern world international relationship in the economic sphere has grown up so closely that it is futile and foolish for a country to afford to remain isolated. India has suffered enormously in the war and it is no easy job for her to reconstruct her foreign trade and elevate her position to the former level. A careful study would reveal, however, that the trend and content of India's foreign trade has been grossly affected by some of the major factors in recent years as follows:

- Partial paralysation of foreign trade, particularly exports during the war;
- Diversion of productive resources to the essential groups of the industrial system of the country;
- Export and import restrictions, together with control of trade, with hard-currency areas in recent times;
- Phenomenal rise of prices and costs of production in agriculture and in industry;
- Difficulties in securing capital equipment for our industries from abroad and the deterioration of relationship between demand and supply in the consumption markets of the country; and
- Lack of response in rural production-schedules due to distortion of primary prices by the procurement and rationing systems of the Central and Provincial Governments.

These are some of the determining factors of the composition and trend of India's foreign trade in the post-war years. The following table shows the pre-war and post-war position of India's trade in relation to some of the leading foreign countries and clearly demonstrates the need for its drastic re-orientation in the immediate future.

TABLE IV

(Share of countries in the foreign trade of India)  
Percentage of total trade

Countries	1913-14		1935-36		Quarter ending 30th June, 1948	
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
U. K.	64.1	23.4	38.8	31.5	29.15	24.07
Australia	.5	1.6	1.0	1.7	5.19	3.47
U.S.A.	2.6	8.7	6.7	10.1	26.21	18.13
Japan	2.6	9.1	16.3	13.1		
Germany	6.9	10.6	9.2	5.8		

India's Finance Minister in his Budget speech made an exhaustive but unhappy review of India's balance of payments.

"The aim of Government import policy," we were told, "is so to regulate trade that while it is kept at the highest possible level consistent with the needs and requirements of the country, India should not have an overall deficit in her balance of payments on her current account during any particular period of time more than the amount by which it has been agreed with the U. K. Government, India's sterling balances should be drawn upon."

Unfortunately in practice this sound policy of the Government has not been followed with the desired restraint. The following table records sterling transactions of the Reserve Bank of India, excluding Government transactions, for the calendar year, 1948:

TABLE V

Half-year	Purchases	Sales	Net purchases (+) Sales (-)
January-June	84.73	11.20	+70.53
July-December	19.83	65.97	-46.14

So the deficit in non-governmental transactions in the latter half of last year was approximately Rs. 46 crores, and the spendable sterling during the same period was only about Rs. 53 crores. This means that virtually the entire amount of spendable sterling for the period has been taken up by non-governmental transactions, including both goods and service transactions. Government transactions, we must remember, include financing of food imports and would have necessarily resulted\* in a large net deficit. Obviously, contrary to the declared policy of the Government we have in recent months been having an overall deficit in current account.

Indeed the most disappointing feature of our foreign trade in the post-war period has been the sharp decline of our sterling assets for purposes other than capital development of the country. The following table speaks for itself :

TABLE VI

31st March, 1946	Rs. 1724 crores
" 1947	" 1663 "
August 1947	1523 "
March 1948	1524 "
June 1948	1541 "
July 1948	1396 "
August 1948	1249 "
September 1948	1104 "

Thus we find that out of a total of Rs. 1724 crores of sterling balances, Rs. 620 crores or nearly 36 per cent has already been spent. Including nearly Rs. 100 crores of net sterling balances purchased by the Bank in 1947-48, as a result of favourable balance of trade on private account, we have in fact to account for the disappearance of nearly Rs. 720 crores. This sum may be roughly accounted for as follows :

TABLE VII

Net sales of sterling in 1946-47 due to increased imports of foodstuffs and stores on Govt. account	Rs. 87
Repatriation of sterling loans in 1946-47	" 2
Approx. transfer to Pakistan	" 135
Disposal of sterling in terms of Sterling Balances Agreement, 1948	" 357
Repatriation of sterling loans in 1947-48	" 7
Adverse balance of payments in 1947-48	" 122
Other items	" 10
Total	Rs. 720 crores

The sterling balances, we have already noted, are our only resources of external assets and must be conserved and carefully utilized for capital development of the country. But as we all know (and the above table also demonstrates), the single item of food alone accounts for a colossal expenditure every year. Imports of foodstuffs which amounted to an average of Rs. 15 to Rs. 16 crores a year in pre-war India jumped to Rs. 77.43 crores in 1946, and the Indian Parliament interpellations have revealed that at present our annual import of foodstuffs amount to the tune of Rs. 130 crores. We need hardly point out that no amount of planning of the foreign trade would be of any avail unless we can reduce our foreign imports of food to the minimum and reduce this ominous deficiency in food supply by increased home production. The disequilibrium in our foreign trade position and losses of sterling to meet the gaps in our balance of payments cannot be checked to any remarkable extent until we

return to the pre-war standard, nay, to a much higher standard of production.

The figures of India's sea-borne trade as supplied by the Commerce Minister of India Mr. K. C. Neogy reveal that, *barring a slight change in some cases*, our balance of trade with the principal Commonwealth countries, Hard currency countries and Medium and Small currency countries has been adverse. The position can be judged from the following table which, however, is not a complete picture.

TABLE VIII

(Value in Rs. lakhs)

Countries	Exports and Re-exports during nine months ended 31st Dec.		Imports during nine months ended 31st Dec.	
	1947	1948	1947	1948
<i>Commonwealth Countries—</i>				
U. K.	70.30	70.96	88.45	102.15
Australia	16.05	15.52	6.95	16.81
Pakistan	—	38.00	—	11.30
<i>Hard currency countries—</i>				
U.S.A.	55.84	54.19	89.57	76.93
Argentina	6.16	11.25	43	2.71
Canada	8.70	6.21	6.86	5.23
<i>Medium currency countries—</i>				
Switzerland	96	78	7.68	4.97
Sweden	1.58	1.60	2.27	3.17
Spain	5.05	91	36	34
Japan	5	4.10	5	99

The following table shows more clearly currency-wise distribution of India's sea-borne trade :

TABLE IX

(Value in Rs. lakhs)

Currency areas	Imports Apl.-Oct.	Imports Apl.-Oct.	Exports Apl.-Oct.	Exports Apl.-Oct.
	1947	1948	1947	1948
Dollar areas	80.98	67.12	56.62	57.59
Hard currency areas	4.87	5.84	7.58	9.98
Medium currency areas	6.38	3.61	62	68
Soft currency areas	147.28	199.09	154.18	169.89

At this stage we would like to lay great emphasis on the urgency of maintaining a high level of export trade with Pakistan. The evils of partition and consequent rupture in trade have hard hit both the Dominions and it is in their own interests that more and more unrestricted commodity exchange is adhered to by them, and in this context, the imperativeness of a customs union cannot be over-estimated. Although no official statistics are as yet available to indicate the true pattern of Indo-Pakistan trade, the following tables compiled out of the Indo-Pakistan Agreement relating to the mutual supply of essential commodities which was signed in Karachi on May 26, 1948, are significant :

TABLE X  
*India's supply to Pakistan*

Commodity	Unit	Pakistan's annual requirements	Quantity agreed to by India	
			Volume	Value (Rs. crores)
Cloth and yarn	'000 bales	400	400	25.0
Jute manufactures	'000 tons	50	50	8.4
Steel, pig-iron and scrap	'000 tons	314	80	4.0
Coal	'000 tons	3,400	2,196	7.7
Tea	....	....	....	3.0
Railway stores	....	....	....	0.4
Tyres and Tubes	'000 No.	1,300	1,300	0.7
Paper and Board	'000 tons	21	8	—
Paint, enamels and varnishes	....	2,500	2,500	..
Woollen and worsted goods	'000 lbs.	1,100	1,000	..
Vegetable oils	'000 tons	86	25	..
Tobacco	'000 lbs.	700	700	..
Soap toilet	'000 tons	2	2	..

TABLE XI  
*Pakistan's supply to India*

Commodity	Unit	India's annual requirements	Quantity agreed to by Pakistan	
			Volume	Value (Rs. crores)
Raw jute	'000 bales	5,500	5,500	100.0
Raw cotton	'000 bales	900	650	29.2
Food-grains	'000 tons	300	175	—
Raw hides and skins	'000 pes.	4,000	2,700	—
Rock salt	'000 mds.	2,000	2,000	—
Potassium nitrate	'000 tons	5	5	—

The Government of India's desire to come to mutual understanding and agreement has been manifestly clear in the series of conferences initiated by them. Unfortunately, however, Pakistan's ways and manners have been far from fair and satisfactory in this regard too. Nevertheless, this seemingly endless chain of bickerings must come to an end for the mutual benefit of the two Dominions. India's balance of payments position with Pakistan has so far been overwhelmingly in favour of the latter and on the 11th February, 1949, Pakistan's balance with the Reserve Bank of India amounted to Rs. 21.39 crores after payment to her of Rs. 5.17 crores in free sterling. Under the existing arrangements each Dominion is under obligation to accept the other currency only up to the limit of Rs. 15 crores. And quite obviously India can

no longer afford to finance imports from Pakistan with sterling when the supply position of capital goods in the United Kingdom is gradually easing. We cannot also cut down our imports of raw cotton and raw jute from Pakistan without serious prejudice to our economy. All these points call for careful consideration in initiating and increasing our trade with Pakistan.

As we have stressed, increased production of food to bring down the imports of foodstuffs to the minimum is the number one measure to be taken up in right earnest. Recently, bi-lateral trade agreements have been completed with countries like Pakistan, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Belgium, Poland, Finland, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, U.S.S.R., Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, etc., and with France, Italy, Sweden, Siam, Ceylon, Tibet and Burma negotiations are being conducted. But a close scrutiny of our trade with the former group of countries would reveal that in almost all cases the values of imports listed are in excess of exports, which means we have contracted with them for deficit only. Surely this would not help in balancing the two sides of our trade account. With the world prices declining steadily our goods would encounter increasing competition abroad. For instance, our tea is already in less demand in the American market. It is not likely that things may turn much worse for India in the near future. Obviously an austere policy in respect of our import trade is urgently called for.

Nevertheless, we must say shrinkage of imports is not the solution, rather increased imports are to be met by increased exports. There is no other short-cut means to solve our foreign trade problems. But we cannot find wider markets for our goods unless they are cheaper. With that end in view the proposed creation of free-port zones in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay as they exist in U.S.A. should be given effect to without delay. The zonal officers who must necessarily be conversant with internal and external trends of trade and would be in close touch with the Indian trade commissioners abroad should be in a position to give useful guidance to the trades and industries of their respective zones.

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# ATOMIC ENERGY IN PEACE

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TODAY atomic energy, the most widely discussed topic the world over, is almost invariably linked up with its application as a destructive force and its potentialities as a weapon of annihilation in a future global conflict. Its application to human welfare and comfort vast as they are, are not so much in prominence as the former. Some of the possible peace-time applications of this vast reservoir of energy kept stored so carefully and cautiously by nature are discussed in brief here.

The first indication of this unbelievably large amount of energy stored up in atoms was given in the classical experiments of Rutherford in the early years of this century. Ever since during the last half of this century there has been a continuous attempt in releasing that energy and harnessing it in a regulated fashion. Even today the latter aim cannot be said to have been completely achieved. There are, however, hopeful indications that with improvements in technique it may be practicable.

It was Einstein who suggested in 1905 that mass and energy are but two aspects of matter and are inter-convertible—a prediction based on mathematical arguments and amply verified by extensive experiments with all forms of energy. This famous postulate of Einstein propounds that unit mass of any matter if completely converted into energy will give  $C^2$  units of energy where  $C$  stands for the velocity of light and is equal to  $3 \times 10^{10}$  cms per second. Thus because of the high value of the conversion factor, even a small mass of matter if converted into energy will produce an enormous amount of power. An example may make it clear. With the present process which converts only a very minute fraction of the total mass of uranium into energy in nuclear reaction, one pound of uranium gives an energy equivalent to 1500 tons of coal. In principle therefore it can be expected that with a regular supply of just a few pounds of uranium it should be possible to shut down all the existing power stations and still continue to supply power. This is indeed true, but since the amount of materials whose atoms can be broken with the desired results needed for power generation is very much limited and the technical difficulties associated with the system are too many, there are practical limitations to its use.

The principle of generating electrical power from nuclear energy remains the same as that from coal since there is no method which converts nuclear energy directly into electrical energy.\* There is one point of fundamental importance which may be noted here. An atom, when split up in the nuclear furnace, apart from

heat gives rise to an enormous amount of radioactive radiations. These radiations have got extremely harmful effects on human tissues if absorbed in excess. Hence it is of paramount importance to provide a thick shielding around the thermal part of the nuclear power plant to stop radiations from being transmitted and thus to provide protection. That means a gigantic structure of reinforced concrete embedded with lead sheets. Hence the prospect of using nuclear energy in places where weight and size is of considerable importance does not seem to be so bright.

There is another point which may also be mentioned. Since the heat given off in the nuclear furnace is of a very high order, adequate cooling must be provided to avoid the danger of explosion. But the obvious advantages of this new and highly concentrated fuel cannot be over-emphasized. Places without any natural source of power and/or far away from coal reserves can indeed be very well served with power by this new method. For automobiles and small aircraft nuclear power plants may not be a practical proposition but for a 200 ton or bigger air-liner, for large ocean-going vessels and submarines these power plants are particularly well-suited not only because it can supply bulk power but also because it need not be refuelled so frequently.

Many disadvantages especially those arising from the danger of explosion and the necessity for shielding referred to above can be overcome if atomic storage batteries are used instead of placing fissile elements themselves for power supply. The building of atomic storage batteries is simple. Any element put in the nuclear furnace is transformed into an artificial source of radioactive radiations. The heat arising out of these radioactive radiations can be readily used to generate power. But these storage batteries suffer from a serious disadvantage. They always work at maximum power level and once started cannot be stopped easily. This limits their use in fields where a constant source of high power is not needed.

Do economic considerations permit a wide use of this new source?

\* For technical details of the proposed nuclear power plant, the following papers may be referred to :

1. M. S. Thacker and N. P. Bhournick : "Power Development with Nuclear Energy," *Science and Culture*, April and May, 1949, Nos. 10 and 11, Vol. 14.

2. H. D. Smyth : *Atomic Energy for Military Purposes*, Princeton University Press, 1945.

Instead of going much into details it can be viewed as follows :

Of the two varieties of uranium that we get from the earth's crust, that one which forms only 1/140th part of the total mass can be used in the nuclear furnace directly for power generation. But a very interesting phenomenon occurs when both varieties are put together inside the nuclear furnace. The apparently useless variety of uranium gets converted into the useful variety amounting roughly to one pound per pound of the useful variety burnt. Apart from this when an atom of uranium of the useful variety splits up, except for a minute fraction of it which is converted into energy, the rest of the mass becomes radioactive. In other words, on splitting up, the atom becomes an additional source of heat. These two factors lead to the virtual increase of energy content per gram of the useful variety of uranium burnt. To generate 1000 kilowatts a nuclear power plant will require one gram of uranium per day.

Thus one gram generates  $1000 \times 24 \times 0.3 \times Y = 7200Y$  units of electrical energy assuming the thermal efficiency to be 30 per cent and the factor by which overall energy output is increased =  $Y$ .

The pre-war cost of uranium metal was £2000 per ton. Of this, as mentioned above, only 1/140th part is the useful variety. For technical reasons, the metal cannot be introduced bare in the nuclear furnace. It must be sheathed. Practical experience has revealed that the uranium rods have got to be withdrawn very often before the useful variety is exhausted. Otherwise the plant will stop functioning. Due to the traditions manual operation is impossible. Hence all the successive steps of withdrawal of the rods from the furnace and the separation of the useful variety of uranium from the partially used up metal later on have to be carried out by remote controlled mechanism.

All this means an increase in the initial cost of the useful variety of uranium. Let  $Z$  be the factor by which the cost of the useful variety of uranium is enhanced.

Then the cost of the primary fuel =  $\frac{140 \times 240 \times 2000}{10^6} \times Z$   
 $= 67 Z$  pence per gram.

Fuel cost is therefore  $67Z/7200Y = .0094Z/Y$  pence per unit of electrical energy.

If  $Z/Y = 30$ , the cost of nuclear fuel comes within the range of coal. The latest information reveals that nuclear power cost may exceed hydro-electricity cost but certainly it will be less than thermal power cost.

For quite a long time scientists have been thinking of inter-planetary exploration with space ships on the rocket principle. With the release of atomic energy, the dream now seems to have landed into the domain of reality. According to the basic principle, a rocket must attain a speed of nearly 11 kilometers per second to fly out of the earth's gravitational field. It is a common experience that when a bullet is shot out from a gun, the gun recoils. But the velocity with which the gun

recoils is much less than that of the bullet as the velocity is inversely proportional to the mass. Consequently the velocity acquired by a rocket flying through empty space will be much less than the velocity of ejected gases. Even if the weight of the ejected gases is equal to the weight of the rocket the maximum speed that will be attained by the rocket will only be a few kilometers per second. Hence to have a speed of about 11 kilometers per second, the total mass of ejected gases must be at least 10 times the weight of the rocket. Thus if chemical energy is used the rocket has to be designed for a full load of fuel of more than ten times the weight of the ship at the start and this presents extreme constructional difficulties. But with the advent of nuclear energy this intricate design problem has been eased immensely.\*

There is another alternative which can make the design still simpler. Instead of turning the kinetic energy of high speed particles originating in nuclear reactions into heat and then converting this heat again into kinetic energy of gas flow, the mechanical recoil produced by the reacting nuclei can be directly used for propelling the rocket at the desired speed. A thin layer of a radioactive substance radiating alpha-particles may be spread on a supporting metal plate carefully designed to radiate alpha-particles of such a number that the total effective force due to recoil as imparted to the rocket will be sufficient to keep it flying with steadily increasing speed. Designs based on this principle are in fact receiving very careful consideration.

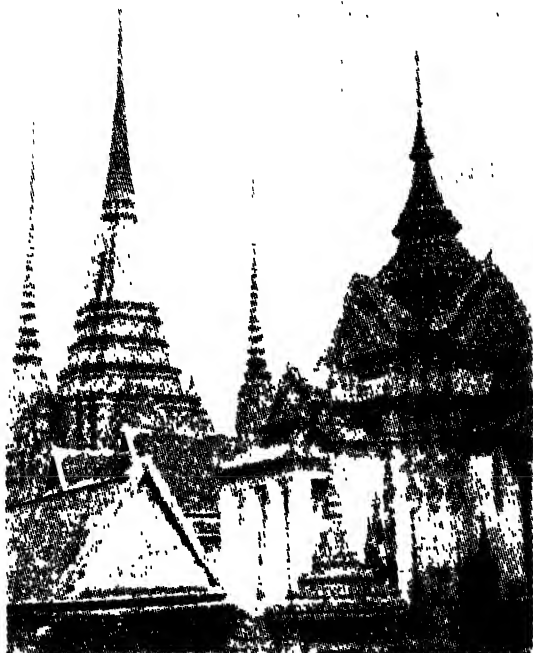
Another indirect but very important application of the nuclear furnace seems to be in producing radioactive isotopes, whose use today, as radioactive tracers, to biologists and medical-men, is extremely important and fascinating. Just as X-ray has opened a completely new chapter in medical science so also the application of radioactive tracers as a powerful tool in the study of many complicated problems related with the human system seems to be latent with immense possibilities. Previously these radioactive isotopes were produced in very small quantities by cyclotrons. Naturally it was very costly and its application was very limited. But with the development of the nuclear furnace and consequently easier and cheaper method of producing the radioactive isotopes in large quantities, its applications in varied fields have gained an impetus resulting in its much wider use. To illustrate its importance we shall quote a few examples.

It is known that one of the chief constituents of blood is iron and of the bone is calcium. But if different compounds of iron are fed to the patient

\* The following papers may be referred to for technical details of the preliminary schemes for rockets :

1. Shepherd, I. R. : "The Problem of Interplanetary Propulsion," *Bull of the British Interplanetary Society*, 1, 9 Nov., 1946.
2. Cleaver, A. V. : "Interplanetary Flight", *Journal of the British Interplanetary Society*, VI, June, 1947.

the monastery of Wat Si Jum<sup>5</sup>, relating the Jataka stories, have become conspicuous in the domain of the Far-Eastern Art. Except this among others the beautiful paintings in the Jinarat temple of Vishnulok (North Siam) depict the life-story of Lord Buddha in a wonderful and subtle propensity.<sup>6</sup> Really, the Buddhist Art of Thailand shows and clarifies what a supreme position Buddhism occupies in the country and how it pulsates with rhythm in even the day-to-day life of the Siamese.



A close view of Wat Pho (Bangkok)

The present Wats or Monasteries of Bangkok and other parts of Siam also show a great artistic brilliance, which can be easily discernible on the green "carpet-coloured" roofs and elongated, finger-like freeze-corners. Wat Phra Keo, Wat Suthat, Wat Arun Wat Pho and Wat Benchamabopit stand as everlasting monuments of beauty in the heart of Bangkok. I have reasons to believe that Prof. Le May has not shown much consideration by ignoring the Wats of Bangkok in his book on the Buddhist Art of Siam.

5. Coomaraswamy thinks with due justification that they were executed at the instance of King Suryavamsa Mahadharma Rajadhiraja, whose reign may be placed in Circa 1357-1383 A.D. The supposed Ceylonese influence upon the carvings attributed by the author seems to be over-emphasised. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

6. Anil P. C. Das Gupta, "A Visit to the Interior of Siam" — *Calcutta Review*, February, 1948.

7. It is noteworthy that the religious edifices of modern Siam show much similarity with the Menangkaban houses in the Padang highlands of Sumatra. See, Fay Cooper Cole: *The Peoples of Malaya*.

2. *The Hindu Mythology*: The Hindu mythology has played a very conspicuous part in the art development of Siam. It has poured forth numerous ideas in the minds of the Thais which have been inspiring their tendency of artistic creations. The figures of Yaksas,<sup>8</sup> Kinnaris and other semi-celestial beings form common art-motifs in the country being here and there associated with the Buddhist Monasteries and Chaityas. The Yaksas and the Kinnaris have got their best expressions on the base and spires (Prang) of Wat Arun, which stands opposite Bangkok just on the bank of the Menam (Chao Phya) river. The spires are shown to be borne by the struggling Yaksas, who it seems cannot bear the immense weight any longer on their shoulders. Every wrinkle on their faces shows the perfection of artistic expression. No doubt Wat Arun stands as a witness of Thai assimilation of Hindu mythology done in a way of superb originality and vivacity. The Kinnaris with their half-peacock bodies stand on the upper portions of the Wat. Their faces are so beautifully curved that they bespeak the talent or the liberal art of the Thais. Being Buddhist themselves they are artistically so keen about the charming contours of the celestial figures who are best known in the Hindu mythology.

The figures of Indra and other Hindu gods also occur in the niches of the spires of Wat Arun. Indra sitting on the back of huge *Anavata* (mythical elephant) looks really gorgeous and has been given the expression of a true mythical omnipotence.

The Siamese believe in Mahadeva, Narayana, Lakshmi and Ganesha. The first two deities they call as 'Mahathep' and 'Phra Naray' These gods are continuously shown in the "Dance-dramas" (Lakhon-Ram) of the country. When I had been in Vishnulok, I attended such a dance-drama, where Indra, Lakshmi, Ananta Naga (celestial serpent) and many other divine associates of the first two deities (Narayana and Mahadeva) were shown. Mahadeva was shown on the peak of mount Kailasa,<sup>9</sup> the Hindu olympus, with his "Lamaist" adherents, the "Bhutas" and the "Pisachas." Narayana was shown in one scene as lying asleep on a blue ocean sheltered under the immense hoods of a large hydra-headed serpent having Lakshmi sitting by his side chanting a divine lullaby. The dances of Indra and his ethereal compatriots in the heavenly garden of Nandanakanana also showed the reflections of Hindu mythology.

The Garuda (Eagle-God) and Naga (serpent)<sup>10</sup> are also adored by the Thais. The former has occupied such an exalted position in Siam that it has become the

8. Siamese, "Yak."

9. The Siamese idea of Kinnari is best shown in the story of Manora (*Manohara* mind-captivating) which occurs in a native collection of fifty Jatakas, popularly known as *Panjas Chataka* (Bengali—*Panchas Jatak*).

10. The Thais pronounce it as *Kailat*.

11. Thai pronunciation is *Nakh*. It is generally associated with sea.

royal insignia. The Eagle-God with his beaked nose, wide-spread wings and brandished claws can be seen on every official document of Siam. The building of the General Post Office of Bangkok has such a huge specimen on its top. The worship of Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu, was possibly introduced by the Thais from the Khmers, who were the earlier settlers of Siam<sup>12</sup>. The latter were great devotees of Vishnu whose images of Khmer period have been abundantly found in the country. Big "Chaturbhaja" (four-armed), standing "Vishnu murtis" i.e., the images of Vishnu can be seen in the gallery of the Bangkok museum.<sup>13</sup>

The Nagas or serpents are adored by the Thais as it can be discerned in their use in the balustrades of Buddhist monasteries and other sacred edifices. The great chapel at Nakhon Pathon has such strange balustrades. The worship of snakes has been coming down as a popular practice in India from time immemorial.<sup>14</sup> Some scholars including Dr. T. C. Das Gupta<sup>15</sup> think that the Nagas are originally associated with the Austrians who, we have reason to believe, once came to India from the South-East Asia.<sup>16</sup>

Ganesha was devotionally regarded by king Rama VI (1910-25) the grandson of Chulalongkorn. Still a big image of Ganesha (Ganesh) exists in the front of the Sripakorn Theatre of Bangkok, and its stamp is given on the front page of every theatrical programme.

Some old Mahayanist seals found in West Siam and now preserved in the Singapore Raffles Museum probably show the success of the Saichendras of Srivijaya in the direction of propagating East Indian Tantricism in the Far East. This eclectic cult surely inspired to some extent the later art of the Thais.

3. *The Civilization of China* The influence of Chinese myths and legends in the Thai Art is also very notable. In the modern Wats of Bangkok, the images of Chinese Lokapalas have been kept along with the Indian Yakshas. These Mongolian figures with thin beards and flowing dresses look really strange to the non-Chinese onlookers and make them aware of the position of Siam so very near to China. Such Lokapalas can be seen in Wat Phra Keo, Wat Arun, Wat Pho and many other monasteries of Siam.

12. For Eagle worship in Champa, i.e., present Annam in Indo-China, see, R. C. Majumdar: *Champa*, p. 196 and pp. 263-69. The Garudas are stylistically same with Garudas of Champa being "not always a faithful reproduction of that of a bird."

13. Guide-book to the Vajrapurana Library and National Museum, Bangkok, 1948.

14. Ferguson: *Tree and Serpent Worship*, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, T. C. Das Gupta: *Narayan Periya Padmapurana* Preface.

15. *Prachin Bangla Sahityer Kutha*.

16. The researches of Perry (*The Children of the Sun*) and Keane (*Man, Past and Present*) may prove the original habitation of the Austronesians in Polynesia, where traces of a pre-historic civilisation still exists. For the Austrians, see Levi: *The Pre-Dravidians and the Pre-Aryans in Ancient India* (translated by Dr. P. C. Bagchi); and the *Cambridge History of India*, Sec. R. L. Mehta: *Pre-Buddhist India*.

Perhaps Dragon was the foremost among the semi-celestial beings of China which formed the art-motifs in Siam. Dragon was introduced in Siam possibly during the first wave of Thai invasion of the country. The fanciful being with all its strangeness appears most elaborately in the art and architecture of Thailand. Later, however, probably it was a bit ousted by the Naga designs. The serpent looks so similar to the Chinese dragon depicted in Siam, that sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish them. Both the creatures are reptiles and their bodies are scaly. Their eyes shine



A portion of the temple of Wat Phra Keo (Bangkok)

with venom in absolutely the same manner. Sometimes both of them have horn-like outgrowths on their heads. The only difference between a Naga and a Dragon is this that the latter has two coiled legs, which the former lacks. They are generally depicted in Siam in an winding attitude. The obvious outward similarities between the Naga and the Dragon possibly explains the reason of substitution of the one by the other in the Siamese Art. In this connection possibly it will not be entirely out of place to remember the opinion of Binyon (*The Paintings of the Far East*) according to which Dragon is a mystic creature more associated with the transcendentalism of the Ocean. Same is the case with Naga, which is also associated with Sea in the Indian literature.<sup>17</sup> So the temperamental similarities between the two mysterious creatures may have some value in the discussion on the Thai Art.

17. The belief in Sea serpents is also current among the Thais.

Considerable Chinese influence can also be seen in the architecture of some modern monasteries of Siam. A small edifice in the area of the monastery of Pak-Nam is of purely Chinese construction. The modern Wats of Thailand unlike the old Khmer monuments are more or less of Chinese fashion. Really, the "Three Pagodas" (Wat Sam Jot) of Lopburi with Indianesque Art and the modern monasteries of Siam have a great gulf of difference between them from an architectural point of view. The oblong domes of the Khmer shrines of Lopburi can be easily distinguished from the coloured and sloping roofs of the modern Wats of Bangkok.<sup>18</sup> The latter are undoubtedly influenced by the Chinese architecture.



Cambodian plastic decoration on a door of the temple of Chulaman (Vishnulok, N. Siam)

The Siamese porcelain art has been also greatly influenced by the Chinese Art.<sup>19</sup> The Thais first adopted the art from China and handed it over to the distant islands of Borneo, Celebes and Japan. According to a tradition current in Thailand, the celebrated Sukhodaya king Rama Khamhaeng (14th century A.D.) first introduced the porcelain art of China in Siam.

There are reasons to believe that this particular branch of Ceramic Art was familiarised in Japan by the enterprise of Siam since the beginning of Sukhodaya-Svankalok epoch (13th century A.D.) of

the Thais. It has been noted by Honey<sup>20</sup> that the porcelain wares of Siam were designed as "Shunkorok" (i.e., Svankhaloka in Northern Thailand) by the Japanese. At present it is a matter of regret that the Porcelain Art of Siam is steadily declining and the present writer apprehends that, if this process continues, it will vanish in Siam within a few decades.

Some Siamese mural paintings are also inspired by Chinese art-motifs. As an instance, the paintings of Wat Pho (or Wat Phra Chetuphon) concerns with the Taoist philosophy of Lao Tzu. These paintings were first noted by Dr. K. D. Nag<sup>21</sup> when he visited Siam in 1929 with Dr. Tagore.

4. *The Ramayana*. Much of the Siamese Art has been inspired by the stories of the Hindu Epic of the Ramayana.<sup>22</sup> The Thai *Lakhon-Rams* (Dance Dramas) are generally based upon the ballads of Rama's<sup>23</sup> heroic career in Lanka. On the stages of Siamese theatres the Aryan Prince, his brother and the large monkey hordes are represented in a most artistic and at the same time in a realistic way with a touch of breathing emotion and hilling melancholy. On seeing these dances the Indians will recall to their memories the days of forgotten yore when the Ramayanic themes could happen in the Ramayanic atmosphere in the soil of India.

Perhaps, the most notable Ramayanic influence on the Thai Art can be seen in the wall-paintings of Wat Phra Keo<sup>24</sup> which stands just by the side of the Royal palace of Bangkok. The wonderful colour and beautiful technique in these paintings really attract the observers. I would like to describe the gallery paintings of the temple of the Emerald Buddha as a vivid depiction of the "Ramakien" done by the brushes and colour-pigments of the Thai artists. Every outline of the paintings is tinged with the emotion of a classic age and drawn with the beauty of breathing life.

The silver works of Siam are also sometimes artistically inspired by the motifs of the "Ramakien". The pictures of Rama, Hanumana, Dasaskandha, Ravana and others are generally taken for decorating the silver-ornaments of Thailand.

5. *The Primitive Beliefs*. The primitive beliefs must have also co-operated in the development of the Thai Art. The immensity of the influence of many primitive ideas on Siamese life has been noted by Reginald Le May in the following lines:

"It must not be forgotten that to the vast majority of Siamese (and Burmese) peasants Buddhism is, and always has been, what I call 'the decoration of life' and the people themselves have remained at heart animists. Their lives fall into two parts. They pay their devotions and give their offerings to the Lord Buddha, so that

20. *Ibid.*

21. *India and the Pacific World.*

22. Known as "Ramakien" in Siam.

23. Thais call him Phra Ram or Phra Lam.

24. They were originally drawn at the instance of Rama I (1782-1809 A.D.) or Phra Buddha Yot Fa Chulalok of the present Chakri dynasty.

18. Reginald Le May: *Buddhist Art in Siam*. Introduction.

19. William Gwyer Honey: *The Ceramic Art of China and the Other Countries of the Far East*.

their merit may increase and their *karma* may enrich them in future life, but in their present life there are a host of P'i, or spirits to be propitiated if evil is not to befall them, and the latter are, therefore, continually courted and feasted to the same.<sup>25</sup>

There are tiny wooden sanctuaries supported on 4 or 5 ft. high poles, with terra-cotta crude human images in front of many Thai residences. These sanctuaries, I have heard, have been kept in order to extol certain good-spirits. The terra-cotta crude and toy-like images, reminded me in Siam of the cult of "Dharmapuja"<sup>26</sup> in Bengal where also such images are propitiated with reverence. The worship of spirits<sup>27</sup> is certainly of pre-historic origin as it may be discerned from the crude art of the terra-cotta images. This cult of spirit-worship might have been handed down to the Thais by the earlier Khmers<sup>28</sup> who, as we have reasons to believe, were of Austrie descent.

6 *The Panji Tales of Java* The Panji epic of Java has also got expression in the Thai Art for its beautiful stories and subtle literary merits. The epic relates the heroic exploits of Sri Panji or Radin Inu of Kuntan. The prince was at first betrothed to Chandrakirana, the princess of Daha. The princess was extraordinarily beautiful and so her fame travelled in distant lands. Now, Radin Inu fell in love with another girl during the time of his betrothal with the Daha princess and, thereby, caused the wrath of her father, who decided to give his daughter to any other suitor who will come first to marry her. Unfortunately, uncomely Choraka advanced first to marry her. As the king of Daha could not fall back in his promise, unwillingly arranged his daughter's marriage with him. In the meantime, Radin Inu, by chance and for the first time saw Chandrakirana and fell deeply in love with her. To regain the princess he had to pass through many risks and difficulties and at last he could gain her with her true love for him. This is the main theme of the Panji-tale,<sup>29</sup> which possibly first appeared in Java in the 14th century A.D. and then was introduced in Siam in the 18th century A.D., i.e., at the end of the Ayuthian period. As the tradition goes, the two daughters of King Baromakot, princess Kunthon and princess Mongkut, first translated the Panji-tale into Siamese after having been acquainted with the story by a Malayan girl. The play written by the elder sister is known as "Inao Yai" (the elder's Inao) and the play composed by the younger sister is known as

"Inao Lek" (the younger's Inao).<sup>30</sup> Later on, the Javanese tale was translated or adopted by others into Thai, but none was so excellent as was the one composed by King Rama II (1809-1824).<sup>31</sup> Although the play of Rama II is regarded as best among other versions the Siamese theatres generally stage the play that was composed by H. R. H. Prince Naris in the last part of the 19th century. His version is known as "Lakhon Digdamban" i.e., classical play. The reason of the immense popularity of the "Digdamban play"<sup>32</sup> was possibly the true assimilation of the Javanese epic into Thai. Recently, it was shown in the Silpakorn Theatre of Bangkok.



Phra Monkhotopobit—A Buddha image (Ayuthia)

The classical play of "Inao" not only inspires the dances of Siam but it is also becoming the art-motif in Thailand from the latter part of the Ayuthian period (1350-1767 A.D.) A particular class of Thai paintings (as I have seen) depict the scenes of "Inao" with poetic colours and romantic backgrounds. Some of such beautiful paintings can be seen in the Fine Arts Department of Bangkok. Somewhere, writing his ecstatic love for Busba on the petals Inao gives a screw-pine flower

25. *Ibid.*, page 102.

26. For information about "Dharmapuja," see, the relevant works of H. P. Sastri, D. C. Sen, T. C. Das Gupta and S. Sen on the *History of Bengali Literature*.

27. The Shans, the Karens and the Kachins of Burma are also great worshippers of spirits. See, Lyde : *The Continent of Asia*, page 496.

28. For the mysterious cults of the pre-historic Austries, see, Perry *The Children of the Sun* ; Van Der Hoop : *The Megaliths and Remains in South Sumatra*.

29. H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and H. H. Prince Dham Nivat hold that there are many versions of this Javanese epic.

30. Radin Inu is called Inao, and Chandrakirana is called Busba in Siam.

31. Full name was Phra Buddha Loes La Nobhalai. See, Wood : *History of Siam*.

32. It was first shown in the Chao Phya Theatres' Theatre in Bangkok.

to a maid-servant named Ubol. The lover still holds (in a painting) his dagger in his left hand with which he detached the flower from the tree with a wonderful expression of hope, reluctance and grace. The vast mountain in the background with its gushing streams and sharp ridges, looms, with a sense of eternity, as if it were an epitaph of cosmic sorrow having the rippling love of Inao in front of it—a strange contrast! In another picture Inao is seen gravely riding in a jungle with his warrior-comrades fully accoutred with weapons and armours, possibly to engage himself in some skirmish with his enemies. In this picture he looks like a gallant Troubadour or Minnesinger of mediaeval Europe with a mixed poetic and heroic expression. Really one cannot forget the Inao-paintings which are all tinged with a delicacy of emotion and marvel of refinement.



Wat Sam Jot or The Three Pagodas (Lopburi)

As the Ramayane and the Indo paintings can be seen many times, side by side in Siam, one can hardly check his temptation to compare them. The comparison may go as follows:

(a) While the Ramayane paintings show sometimes some grotesque scenes depicting the fearful demons, the Inao-paintings are entirely free from them. All the Inao pictures are rich with beautiful scenes and associated with cultured and princely personages. The heaps of skulls and loathsome figures (as it is a case with the Ramkien) cannot be seen in the Inao-paintings.

(b) The Ramayanic paintings are the depictions of a mythology. The Inao paintings on the other hand, look like the depictions of a heroic ballad of the Middle Ages.

(c) The pictures of the Indian epic are drawn with the stereotyped techniques, while the Inao paintings display a better style of a finer school of art.

7. *The Folk-lore and the Panchas Chataka*: Besides what we have related, there are other motifs of more popular and indigenous origin, which get expres-

sion in the Thai Art. In the Vajirajñana<sup>35</sup> Library of Bangkok there are some fine lacquer and gilt book-cases the surfaces of which display the folk-arts of Siam. The popular legend of "women-fruits" (*Nam-phal*)<sup>36</sup> is depicted on one of such cases. The story runs like this, that in the olden days in some mountainous regions there were some trees whose fruits resembled each a grown-up girl. Now for the acquisition of these fruits there was a tussle between the celestial Gandharvas and the Vidyadharas, both the parties trying to take away as many fruits as they could. At last they could not gain much in this sensual struggle, as they frittered away all their energy by hitting each other. Recently Phya Anuman Rajadhon, the Director-General of the Fine Arts in Siam, has written a very interesting article on this subject<sup>37</sup>. One day, he himself showed me the gilt decorations of this peculiar story of woman-fruit in the Vajirajñana Library.

After investigating several Thai manuscripts in the Museum, the present writer has seen that a great number of them depict the folk-tales of ancient and mediaeval Siam. The pictures of winged horses, winged elephants and other peculiar beings were surely drawn to express some Thai folk-stories. The popular folk-art of mediaeval Siam of the Ayutthian epoch (1350-1767 A.D.) was possibly, also, influenced by the "Panchas Chataka" or the "Fifty Jatakas" which were originally compiled by some monks of Chueang Mai in the extreme north of Siam. These Jatakas have little connection with the original Indian Jatakas and they are coloured with Laos-Thai legends.

The mediaeval Thai drama of Phra Law<sup>38</sup> (15th century A.D.) also has been inspiring the indigenous Art of the Thais. The story is tinged with so much tragedy that even in the modern days the Thai people cannot but shed tears when they read or listen to this sad episode of the bygone days.

Many years ago, there were two rival kingdoms in the region of present Chiangmai, called Muang Song and Muang Suang, ruled by king Pijai and King Phra Law<sup>39</sup> respectively. The late father of Phra Law once killed the father of Pijai in a hot battle. This caused the vindictive wrath of Pijai's step-mother Dara who was one of the widows of the slaughtered king. Now, it was the irony of fate that the two beautiful

35. It was the priestly name of king Mongkut (Rama VI), son of king Chulalongkorn. He reigned from 1910 to 1925 A.D.

36. The Si also called it *nakkh phal*. It sounds similar to Bengali *mukh phal*.

37. *The Silpakorn Journal*, February 1948, Bangkok.

38. It has been translated into English by H. H. Prince Prem Chava, Lecturer of the Chulalongkorn University.

39. The story of "Phra Law" possibly depicts the political condition of North Siam during the epoch of Thai invasion of the country in the 13th century A.D. At that time the part of Siam North of Uttaradit was divided into numerous small principalities. See, the Sukhothai Inscription of Rama Khumbhaeng, C. B. Bradley: *The History of the Sukhothai Letters*.



daughters of Pijai (of Muang Song), Pern and Parn fell deeply in love with Phra Law (of Muang Suang), as they heard about his charming beauty, and fervently longed to unify themselves with him in marriage union. Having secured the help of a magician named Phu Chao Saming Prai (Lord of the Forest, a sorcerer) they brought the young prince of Muang Suang in their own palace by means of charms. Phra Law went there only with his two soldiers Nai Keo and Nai Karn, refusing his mother Boon Long's continuous fervent appeals not to leave home to be a prey to an unknown peril. Magician Saming Prai himself brought him to the palace of Muang Suang having taken the shape of a white chicken. The delights of the two princesses knew no bounds when they saw him in their palace-garden and within a short time Phra Law and the two princesses were submerged in torrents of love and self-expression. In the meantime, the matter came to the ears of king Pijai and his step-mother Dara. The king acknowledged the love of Phra Law, as he had no grudge against the innocent and charming prince who was not guilty of killing his (Pijai's) father. Dara, was, however, of a different disposition. She sent a company of Royal Guards to kill him on the spot. The rough soldiers immediately hastened to the garden and began to fling arrows upon the prince. The bodyguards of Phra Law, and the two princesses became the first victims. Out of overwhelming grief and sorrow, the young prince tried to dash against the murderers with his Royal scimitar but unfortunately an arrow pierced his heart before he could approach them. In the meantime, king Pijai was awakened by the noise and when he rushed towards the fatal spot he was stunned with boundless agony. It was too late; his daughters and their lover had already bled to death with their associates. Out of immense despair Pijai ordered his step-mother and her troops to be tortured to death. This is, in brief, the story of "Phra Law." Here, I cannot stop without quoting the following words of grief which came from the mouth of king Pijai in the last scene:

"O my daughters, what great sorrow you have

inflicted on me! How shall I live now that you are dead? I would follow you, but it cannot be. Much did I hope that by your union with Phra Law both our countries' wounds would soon be healed. Little did I



The figures of the Chinese "Lokapalas" before a modern temple of Bangkok

think that by your death it should be so. For never shall our states be at enmity. Let messages be sent to Phra Law's court, and to Boon Long, his queen-mother, and let the great ones of their land attend the funeral rites. Together in one funeral-pyre shall these lovers be cremated, and with their ashes we shall sow in both our countries' fields the seeds of perpetual peace."

"Phra Law" has been many times enacted as a dance-drama in the Silpakorn Theatre of Bangkok.

38. Translation by H. H. Prince Prem Chaya.





# A DAY IN HAMPTON COURT

By DR. MATILAL DAS, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

HAMPTON Court is a beautiful palace built by Cardinal Wolsey, the last of the great ecclesiastical statesmen of England. He displayed great energy in the management of supplies for the French War and in negotiating the alliance with France and thus won the great favour of King Henry VIII. But his failure to procure the divorce of Queen Catherine was the cause of his fall. It was a present to his patron but beyond all doubt it was no willing offer of homage.

*And when he falls, he falls like Lucette,  
Never to hope again."*

Life is such a tragedy !

Hampton court is close to London and affords a pleasant trip. It can be reached by rail from Waterloo, by motor buses from Putney Highgate and other places, and by green-line coaches from Victoria and Hyde Park corner. I travelled by coach from the Hyde Park corner. During the summer months one can also travel by river on steamers. The gardens adjoining this stately palace are open daily till dark. One however is to pay various charges for a view of the state apartments, the Chapel, the Haunted Gallery, the great Hall, the great kitchen and cellars and the orangery. These are generally kept open between 10 and 5 p.m.

Hampton court bears no longer the royal pomp, but still a visit to it is worth-while, for it is the largest and in several ways the finest of all the royal palaces of England. Though George I was the last sovereign who resided here, still the palace is maintained with great care.

Standing in the midst of this beauty in stones one feels with a profound faith in the value of beauty that all effort and all striving after beauty has the supreme value for life, even if the high goal of perfection is never reached. I tried to understand the symbolical language of the sculptor who built this marvellous edifice. It was the living expression of a unique personality who sang his songs not in tunes, not in words but in lines and curves on stones.

The sensitive artists who were engaged in planning and constructing this edifice were lovers of beauty. The desire to experience pleasure and to please, to enjoy and make others enjoy, is the most forceful earthly incentive in all the creation of beauty and I must say candidly that these sculptors have succeeded well in their mission.

The palace contains about a thousand apartments, most of them are now the residence of royal pensioners and other privileged persons. But the magnificent state rooms with the fine pictures, the courts and the charming gardens are being preserved for public views.

There is a compelling grace in this lively palace, one feels that there is a permanence which time cannot



Hampton Court Palace. View from the south

Loitering in the Chestnut Avenue with the palace of red brick in the background, the famous lines of Shakespeare put into the mouth of Cardinal Wolsey came to my mind :

*"Farewell, a long farewell to all my greatness !  
This is the state of man : today he puts forth  
The tender leaves of hope, tomorrow blossoms,  
And bears his blushing honour thick upon him ;  
The third day comes a frost, a killing frost,  
And, when he thinks, good easy man, full surely  
His greatness is a-ripening, a-nips his root,  
And then he falls, as I do. I have ventured  
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,  
This many summers in a sea of glory ;  
But far beyond my depth : my high-blown pride  
At length broke under me ; and now has left me,  
Weary and old with service, to the mercy  
Of a rude stream, that must for ever hide me.  
Vain pomp and glory of this world, I hate ye :  
I feel my heart new opened, O, how wretched  
Is that poor man that hangs on prince's favours !  
There is, betwixt that smile we would aspire to,  
That sweet aspect of princes, and their ruin,  
More pangs and fears than wars or women have ;*

touch. It requires the sensitiveness of a Ruskin to appreciate the beauties that lie hidden in stones. But I felt that this magnificent and beautiful palace is the outward expression of the inward beauty which haunted the imagination of the master-builders. In recent years, several parts which were not formerly open for public gaze have been opened to the public. These include the old moat and a fine battlemented Bridge, built by King Henry VIII for his beloved darling Anne Boleyn.



The Broad Walk. General view

It has been well said that Henry VIII was the king, the whole king, and nothing but the king. He was a despot whose will was law and his Ministers and Parliament carried out whatever he wished. His love for Anne Boleyn was the indirect cause of his greatest achievement, which was to secure the ecclesiastical independence of his country. Henry VIII wanted to have a divorce with his queen Catherine. He believed that his marriage with his brother's widow was cursed by God but as Catherine was the aunt of Charles V of Spain, the Pope feared to offend him and the king could not secure the divorce from the Pope. This enraged the despot and he got his Parliament to pass a number of Acts which took away the authority of the Pope in England.

The famous "Haunted Gallery" was not also open to the public before. It is believed that the ghost of Catherine Howard, another of Henry's unfortunate 'darlings', haunts the gallery. Love is the supreme force in life that sanctifies and strengthens the soul. But when frustrated it may take the lovers to the abysses

of tragic horror and agonies of sense and spirit. It is no wonder therefore that the suffering soul of the lovely lady always seeks for the loved one throughout the many rooms and apartments of the stately palace. Though she never finds the joy of union, still one can fondly believe that the pursuit gives a purpose and meaning to her forsaken soul. The hunger of the human heart for love survives the grave. We felt an electric touch as it were when we were shown round the Haunted Gallery. There are and there will be mysteries that touch the horizon of human thought but will never be made known to man.

We can also visit now "My Lord Cardinal's Lodgings," the apartments of Cardinal Wolsey. While going through them I pondered on the life and achievements of this great man. The well-educated son of a merchant of Ipswich he attracted the notice of Henry VIII by his wonderful capacity for business. He was the first man to envisage the value of the policy known as balance of power. By skilfully manipulating the tangled threads of continental politics, he raised high the prestige of England. He was a proud upstart however and was disliked by the people for his arbitrary taxation and for his desire to rule without the Parliament. His life of shadow



Crocus time

and shine cannot therefore but fascinate the visitors as they move round the palace of his love and delight.

This noble edifice was built of red bricks which are now delightfully mellowed by time. In the clock court stands the reputed astronomical clock which was con-

structed for Henry VIII. The gate-house is one of the finest portions of the original buildings. The noble Tudor monarch built also the Great Hall with its magnificent tapestries and wonderful timber-roof. It was Sir Christopher Wren, the great architect who added the state rooms surrounding the Fountain Court

In the Wren Orangery we saw with delight the nine large tempera paintings by Andrea Mantegna. They represent the triumph of Julius Ceaser.

I left the palace by the Chestnut Avenue. I had not the pleasure of seeing the 200 years old chestnut trees in bloom. It is said that the flowering chestnuts



The Lion Gateway



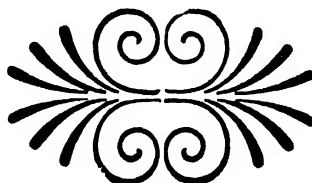
Hampton Court Palace. Corner of south front

for William III. The collection of paintings in this palace is one of the finest in England though some of the best have been removed to other palaces. We were charmed by the paintings of Kneller which celebrated the lovely ladies of the court of Charles II.

It struck us with wonder and joy to see the admirable tapestries which depict the life of Abraham. The great vine is an object of great attraction in the gardens. It was great fun to remove through the maze. You are to go to the right when entering and come out by the left if you would not be caught by its intricacies. In the Bushy Park are still maintained tame deer.

which stretch up to Teddington are the source of great delight to the sight-seers during the summer.

In the modern life of bustle and worries we live from moment to moment and accordingly we fail to perceive the things of the world in its true context. This day in Hampton enabled me to make the unconscious surrender to the spirit of beauty and harmony. The impressions of this trip would therefore remain in my life as a permanent source of creative delight. The sweet music of the lovely landscape, the beauty which is the work of human skill and the emotions which arise out of its associations still haunt me in the midst of petty cares and distractions of life.



# MOBILE HOMES

## Trailers in America

**ALTHOUGH** the trailer is comparatively new to the road, has, within its short span of life, established itself as a flourishing industry in the United States. Early

It was during the war that trailer manufacturers discovered new ways of providing extra space without increasing weight and new methods for stepped-up production. They also learned from America's trailer population what accommodations a family expected in its trailer. Consequently, engineers learned to squeeze into 200 or so square feet all the necessities and many of the luxuries of the modern American home.

By the end of the war, the trailer industry was producing 75,000 units a year. In 1946, almost 90 per cent of those sold went to permanent trailer dwellers.

### MANY TYPES AND DESIGNS

There are many types and designs for trailers, but today's 150 manufacturers all produce at least two general types: the big Caravan model, which, in spite of its name, is best suited for permanent housing; and the so-called conventional model, which is streamlined for travel.



A new arrival is checked in at a trailer camp in one of the many modern parks now being established throughout the U.S.A.

in its development (toward the 1930's), construction men, oil men and carnival folk were quick to recognize its advantages as a home on wheels and a solution to the many problems of packing, transportation and housing. By 1935, there were 34 builders in Elkhart, Indiana, (birthplace of the trailer), and plants had also sprung up in Alma and Kalamazoo, Michigan, and in Chicago and Los Angeles. As America pulled out of the depression and times improved, strong competition developed and bigger and more luxurious trailer models were put on the road. Engineers were called in to create new designs for greater comfort, and assembly-line methods were employed to speed production.

The outbreak of World War II, which at first threatened to ruin the growing industry, actually gave further impetus to production. The U. S. Government called upon manufacturers to provide special mobile units for the field and thousands of trailer-coaches for defense-housing purposes.



This American family, vacationing in the wilderness of one of the many National Parks in the U.S.A., enjoy all the comforts of home in their trailer

The typical trailer is about 25 feet long, eight feet wide and weighs between 3,000 and 3,500 pounds. Most of this weight is carried on tandem wheels with about 11 per cent distributed over the chassis of the tow car

through a ball-and-socket hitch, which allows easy control of the trailer on the road.



The interior of one of America's modern trailers showing the galley and dining areas

The covering of the trailer is usually of plastic, composition board or aluminium, and the frame is made of welded steel. In the wheel unit are brakes operated from a button in the steering wheel of the tow car, which will stop not only the tow car but the trailer as well. In addition to driving lights, some trailers carry an electric device to signal motorists behind that the road ahead is clear for passing.

Within the 200 square feet of the average trailer, there is a surprising amount of space. The combined living room and dinette, 8 feet by 11 feet, usually contains a convertible davenport, sleeping two people, a full-length wardrobe, mirrored cabinets, built-in table ends, a radio nook, and book and knickknack shelves. Carpentry, curtains, fluorescent lights and overhead cabinets add extra comfort.

The bedroom, usually at the rear, is large enough for a double bed, stowage cabinets and a small vanity. Extra storage space is provided under the beds, and sliding doors, using a minimum of space, offer privacy. The lower-priced models are less roomy, with fewer novelties, and less expensive trimmings.

While most trailers are uniform in general appearance, individual owners can add whatever improvements and gadgets they like.

#### LUXURY MODEL ON DISPLAY

One of the most expensive trailers on display in the spring trailer shows was one built for a Near East potentate. It is 38 feet long and contains four rooms. It was equipped with an electric fireplace. In addition to the standard equipment in the galley, it had an electric dish-washer and garbage disposal unit, an air-conditioning unit, and a large electric refrigerator. The bathroom, of stainless steel and Plexiglass, had a hot and cold shower, a washbowl and toilet. Such novelties, however, will not often be seen on the road because trailers over 35 feet in length are difficult to manoeuvre and, in addition to their high cost, are impractical for families really interested in mobility.

#### TRAILER RESORTS

As the trailer gains in popularity, trailer resorts have begun to dot the countryside, offering many conveniences for a nominal fee. Most of these trailer camps are within a day's driving distance in every part of the United States. Some of the parks like those in the vicinity of Miami, Tampa, Los Angeles and Palm Springs are similar to first rate resort hotels. Among other things, they offer landscape parking areas, concrete patios for each trailer stand, surfaced walks and roads, swimming pools, up-to-date sanitary facilities, shower baths, game rooms, directed recreational programs, free dances and motion pictures.



By night the seats of the trailer can be pulled out to form a bed

The day when the typical trailerite was willing to undergo inconveniences for the benefits of economy, independence and an outdoor life is apparently over. The average trailer-owner is a family man, and his housewife demands home facilities in her moveable living quarters. Today even the lowest-priced trailers provide oil heat, butane-gas stoves, built-in iceboxes, electric lights, stainless steel sink units, insulation and comfortable sleeping accommodations.—USIS.

# HUMOUR IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE

By RAM NIVAS MIRDHA

It is one of the most obstinate, though least-founded, of literary prejudices that there is no Russian humour. Russians are a solemn and serious people, and at the first acquaintance, whether in literature or in life, give the impression of being gloomy and forbidding; but under this cold exterior beats a warm and human, though not flippant, heart. Like the English, the Russians too are endowed with a strong sense of humour, which they express in their own individual way.

Russians have always been a poor and oppressed people and the things are no better today. The vast majority of them have led a life of poverty and degradation and therefore it is but natural that in their humour we seek in vain for boisterous laughter and fatuous optimism characteristic of the humour of more prosperous countries.

The oppressors of the common people of Russia have been the aristocrats, the Government officials, bureaucrats and others like them who belonged to the ruling hierarchy. From the earliest days to the present time, Russian writers have been ridiculing these high-up persons. Even in the present-day totalitarian Russia, we find writers having digs at Communist red-tapism, inefficiency and corruption. There has always been a very strict censorship in Russia and if an author wished to get into print or on the stage, he had to hide his scorn in the garb of innocent satire. This satire sometimes broke forth into vehement expressions of vitriolic indignation, as with Shchedrin, but there are many instances when it was tempered with indulgence and charity as in the case of Gogol.

The comparison of the English with the Russians in the beginning of this article was not unintentional. There is much in common between these two people. The insularity and the chilly self-consciousness of the English people is something that is, in effect, akin to the solemn and sullen aspect of the Russians. More than in England, the distinction between humour and exaggerating satire has become very thin in Russia due to the peculiarities of its historical development, but still the two literatures have much in common so far as their humorous sides are concerned. Menmee went so far as to call Gogol one of the best "English" humorists. Travels of Chichikov all over the country in search of dead "souls" is reminiscent of Mr. Pickwick's adventures, and his coachman, Selifan, who got drunk with every "decent man" has something of Sam Weller in him. Even the bitterness in Shchedrin is in the vein of Swift. There are many characters and authors in Russian literature which bring to our mind their English counterparts.

Russian literature is a great panorama of a vast humanity in grief and wisdom, but it is human none the less. It can be likened to an immense landscape

drenched in fog and cold, a fantastic mural that abounds with grey tints. But in spite of it there are visible at times distinct, though slightly desultory, shafts of light, humour and laughter.

We will now conduct a brief survey of Russian literature and see the rich and varied contents of its humour. This survey, of necessity, will have to be very sketchy, but I am sure that by the end of it we will have acquainted ourselves with the highlights of Russian humour.

Russian literature properly so-called begins with the 19th century and its principal originators are Pushkin and Gogol. It is difficult to imagine two writers more unlike one another than these in their style and approach to life.

Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837) was a romanticist by temperament and many of his stories are full of delightful humour. He was of this world and in spite of his trials and tribulations which led to an untimely death, he was satisfied with life and himself. This gave his works a tinge of merry laughter and pure frivolity—something that is very rare in Russian literature. As the philosopher Soloviev says, there were two different and separate beings in Pushkin: the inspired priest of Apollo, and the most frivolous of all the frivolous children of the world. His five *Stories of Belkin* are a very happy blend of comedy and pathos. *The Undertaker* is another of his well-known stories. It is a pleasant piece of writing done up with a touch of macabre realism.

Of a different genre was the genius of Nikolai Gogol (1809-52). He started by writing fairy tales of his native Ukraine and Little Russia. After he had achieved some success through these fantastic stories of nymphs and devils, he started writing about the capitals and Russia itself. He tried his hand at comedy and in *The Inspector General* wrote a brilliant satire depicting the corruption among lesser officials. Tsar Nicholas liked it very much and it was only due to his direct intervention that the play could evade the censorship.—The officials of an obscure country town hear the startling news that a Government Inspector is arriving incognito to investigate their affairs. A traveller from St. Petersburg—a fine natural liar—is taken for the Inspector, plays up to the part, and gets away just before the arrival of the real Inspector, which is the end of the play. The sly and irrelevant hero with his magnificent talent for easy lying is a masterly creation. Gogol is superb while creating characters of this kind and another instance is the delightful swindler Chichikov in *Dead Souls*. The heroes come into contact with all types of people through whom are ridiculed the various facets of Russian society, and so many-sided is the humorous

genius of the author that the heroes themselves are made the objects of derision because of their obvious depravity.

The hero Chichikov conceives a brilliant idea. Every landlord possessed a great many serfs, called "souls." A revision took place every ten years and the landlord had to pay tax on the "souls" who had died during the period. Chichikov's idea is to take over the dead "souls" from the landlord who would be too willing to get rid of them as thereby he would evade the tax, to register his purchases and then to mortgage them with a bank, and then abscond with the money before the fraud was discovered. The baseness of this trafficker of "dead souls" is superb and almost sublime, and there is greatness about this character, the type of greatness possessed by, say, Falstaff or Don Quixote.

A contemporary of these days was Sergeyevych Griboyedov (1795-1829). He was a nobleman and joined the Foreign Service where he rose to be the Russian Ambassador to Persia. He wrote a number of plays, the best known of which is called *The Misfortune of Being Clever*. It is a clever satire at the emptiness of much that passed for Russian high society. For many years the Tsars refused to allow its production on the stage. The most important character of the play is Molchalin, a wonderfully drawn type of perfect climber, time-server, place-seeker and the incarnation of convention. Another character in it is Chatsky, a young intellectual of independent ideas. He starts delivering a lengthy tirade on the prevailing vices and when he gets to the end of his speech, he finds that he is speaking in an empty room!

In the domain of satire Gogol was the successor of Griboyedov and he in his turn transmitted his ironical attitude towards the world to quite a number of Russian authors, notably to Shchedrin. Mikhail Saltykov (1826-89) who wrote under the name of Shchedrin, holds a unique place in Russian literature. He is one of the world's great satirists. The writers before him possessed sharp irony but at heart they were good-humoured and indulgent. But the innocuous thrusts of wit did not suffice for Shchedrin. His concentrated indignation expressed itself in downright spite. He describes the objects of his wrath—be they individuals or institutions—with a diabolic malice and a depth of indignation that is unequalled in any literature. He tells of the city of Glupov, where the people were such fools that they were not content until they found someone to rule them who was stupider than they were themselves. The various phases of Russian life are touched off: the mania for regulations, the formalism, the official red-tapism, the persecution of independent thought, and the oppression of original thinkers and writers. The whole book is written in a style that parodies that of the ancient chroniclers and is full of scorn and stinging malice.

The complement of Shchedrin is Nikolai Leskov (1831-95) and where one ends, the other begins. Leskov is bitter about all the things which enraged Shchedrin,

but in criticizing them, he does not confine himself to destructive irony. His is a positive approach to the problems of the day. Though he was a believer in liberalism, he had the courage to disagree with the Liberal reformers of that time and for this he had to pay the price in the shape of social ostracism.

It may seem strange to include Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821-81) among humorous writers. The predominant atmosphere in his novels is so gloomy and morbid that one cannot help going away with the impression that the author can never write in a lighter vein. But some of his grotesque exaggerations written in an agitated style are certainly very humorous pieces. One such instance is the uproarious fantasy *The Crocodile*. A very unusual situation is created in which a crocodile on show swallows one of the spectators and from the talks of that windbag is drawn a caricature of the "enlightenment" which was invading Russian thought at that time. The windbag's "enlightened" reactions in the crocodile's interior are duly reported to the readers. His frustrated vanity is at last gratified, since his case is being talked about and discussed in the newspapers.

Coming down to Anton Chekhov (1860-1904), we leave behind one literary era and enter another. It has been said that Chekhov brought back to Russian literature the note of humour. This is true even though Chekhov is mostly known because of his later works which are deep and serious. He started writing while he was a student of medicine at Moscow and contributed humorous pot-boilers to the cheap reviews of the day. Most of these stories were full of amusing and funny situations and suggest nothing of the grey atmosphere of his later writings. *The Orator* is a small story conceived in the spirit of pure fun. *The Safety Match* reads like a hilarious parody on detective stories with a dig or two at the investigating officers.

Then came the revolution. It was too serious an affair for humour to be indulged in for its own sake, but it provided a fertile ground for political and social lampoons. One of the most outstanding satirical works to be published soon after the civil war was Ilya Ehrenburg's (born 1889) *Extraordinary Adventures of the Julio Jurenito*, with its jeering denunciation of the entire capitalistic civilization.

The NEP period provided fresh opportunities for humorous satire. People were gradually settling down to their new life and that gave an upsurge to Soviet literature. This period produced a number of humorous and satirical authors, but we will mention here only the three important ones, Zoshchenko, Ilf and Petrov.

Mikhail Zoshchenko (born 1895) is the best humorist in Russian literature today. He kept a running fire of satire both at the remains of the bourgeois ideology and also at certain details of communist life. He wrote about the so-called "small defects of mechanism" in various branches of Soviet administration, satirical pictures of communist red-tape, corruption, inefficiency, etc. Here is an ironical picture of a happy Soviet marriage, both husband and wife being



enthusiastic communists and for reasons of work living apart and meeting once in five days.

"Lida, feeling a little sorry in her heart and at the same time surprised by the haste with which he had married, consented to wait a little, admitting that the search for a flat, the removal and various domestic affairs and troubles would unfavourably affect the course of his work. And he praised her for her common sense and political maturity, saying that he now realised full well that he had made no mistake in choosing her, and that, indeed, he would perhaps be unable to find, at present a better wife. And Lida, pleased with his praises, looked at him with admiring eyes, saying that she too, perhaps, could have no better husband. They were happy in their own way, and in no hurry to disturb their happiness by kisses and embraces."

Zoshchenko ridicules very cruelly the petty-bourgeois vices invading large circles of the Communist society, but in the process certain aspects of the collectivised and almost dehumanised Soviet social life also come in for some ironic comment so much so that he is denounced by over-zealous Soviet critics as an essentially bourgeois writer.

Ilya Ilf (1897-1940), in collaboration of Evgeny Petrov, wrote a number of humorous novels and stories which at once made a great hit. They subject the everyday life of Soviet Russia to a humorous, satirical

treatment which has in it a slight touch of fantasy. The world of Soviet bootleggers and unscrupulous Government officials gives the authors rich material for their gay and picturesque novels. *The Twelve Chairs* describes the farcical adventures of a cunning and ingenious rogue, Ostap Bender, in search of some diamonds which their pre-revolutionary owner hid in one of the twelve chairs. Ostap Bender is also the hero of *The Little Golden Calf* and his is a brilliant portrayal of the new profiteer born out of conditions created by the NEP. In many respects he resembles Gogol's Chichikov. Ilf and Petrov went to America and gave an amusing account of their impressions in their book *Little Golden America*.

There is a mistaken notion abroad that the Soviet authors have not the freedom to criticise conditions in their own country. If that were so, books by these writers could never have become best-sellers and would not have even been printed by the State Publishing Company. Though seen through a grotesquely distorting mirror, it is a picture of every-day Soviet actuality that these authors give us.

In conclusion we can say that the Russians can and do laugh and that their life and literature is full of humour of a particular blend which is an expression of their peculiar national development and character.

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## INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

Miss MUKUL MUKHERJEE, M.A.

SLEEPING quietly in the bosom of a sweep of restless blue is a little island of jostling verdure some miles east of the dark Africa. Centuries before the age of steamships and roaring boilers, peaceful peasant girls, the nut-brown maids of the fabulous Orient, crooned their dolorous melody as they harvested amidst a rich sun-bathed field. With no covetous designs to garner their own coffers a race of sturdy short-built youth plodded in its virgin soil nurturing, dressing and shaping a happy life of contentment and plenty. The palm-fringed shores, washed perpetually by surging billows of deep blue, harboured snug little villages where nude babies ran about, old grandpas eased out the remaining years of a toilsome life. Peace dropped as dews and life was one sweet song.

Hand-driven carts jolted heavily along the mud-bedecked furrows. Puffs of smoke coiled up against a bare sky. Fields of rice, tobacco, cane and tea welcomed fruitful labour, and bemocked want, hunger and privation.

Fateful was the day when the Cape of Good Hope was doubled by the hungry and avaricious merchant men from Europe; for with them came the misery

that slowly, gradually but surely engulfed the little island. The inhabitants, prompted by a natural call for hospitality, invited the fair-skinned mariners from the land of the beyond and befriended them. They, in their stupid simplicity, fell an easy prey to the ravenous plunderers, who though few, mastered the island and let loose an interminable era of exploitation, torture and aggrandisement.

The commercial possibility of Mauritius was quickly anticipated by the intelligent French and a handful of them possessed the island with almost no obstruction. The intruders had enchained the lively limbs of the inhabitants before the victims realised how encrippled were they by the craft, ingenuity and devices of a colonial conspiracy.

The whole of this island was treated like a common piece of bazaar commodity when the French, without any reference to the original settlers of the island, had handed it over to the commercial and more calculating British.

With the 19th century, as if to bleed this island white, the commercial interest of England succeeded in erecting huge factories, building commodious dockyards,



enslaving its enterprising, free, peace-loving populace and reducing them to an ignominious black majority drowned in indentured loans, hungry, spiritless, bond slaves of a civilisation that has spread in the name of enlightenment eternal suffering and humiliation to millions of mankind outside Europe.

The history of the exploitation of the island of Mauritius by the British is of special interest to India. For the vicinity of this huge Empire to this Lilliputian island afforded the Imperial race a golden opportunity.

Mills were built, the remaining problem for their white owners was to secure enough hands to till the soil and produce canes in thousands of tons to feed the mills. The ready and almost inexhaustible source for the supply of the necessary hands was India, which was already under the heels of British rule. So the British Government exported from India to Mauritius human labour cheap as cattle. Manual labour from India was cheaper than the tractors or other machineries from other European countries. Therefore between 1839 and 1922, with a brief period of total suspension, India continued to oblige Britain by organising large-scale emigration of Indian labour to this land. In 1922, the indentured labour system was put an end to but emigration continued under a free system.

Hence we find that though Indians in Mauritius form over 64 per cent of the population, they have little besides numbers in their favour as the majority of them are labourers. The island has a number of sugar mills but there are practically no Indian mill-owners. Though a few Indians have succeeded in building up medium-sized estates, the larger estates and the cane farms are owned by the Europeans. Nearly 20,000 Indians own small plantations of sugarcane for the crushing and milling of which they have to depend on European-owned mills and crushing plants. In 1940 less than 20 per cent of the cane crushed on the island was grown on Indian plantations. Thus the two-third Indian majority in Mauritius holds no more than about 30 per cent interest in the economic life of the colony.

It seems astounding that tens of thousands of Indians should have left their mother country to earn the petty wage of annas six per day in a far-off island. This scale of wages continued right up to 1937; and it took 2 major disturbances, accompanied by much shooting and killing, for this scale to be raised between Rs. 25 and Rs. 40 per month. Even to this day, Indian wage-earners in Mauritius draw but a fraction of the wages paid to workers of non-Asian origin.

It may be surprising that the law in Mauritius does not discriminate Indians from Europeans. In theory citizenship rights are enjoyed equally by all inhabitants of the colony but in practice, however, Indians are not able to exercise these rights so fully as the Europeans minority can. For example, in 1948, less than 10 per cent of the higher public posts were opened to the Indians but not a single Indian held any important post in the

medical and the educational services. The position in the other services was only slightly better.

While English and French are compulsorily taught in most of the schools and colleges, arrangements for the teaching of Indian languages were practically non-existent. Only recently, a few arrangements are made to teach Indian languages. Education of Indian women is neglected there. In an enquiry conducted in 1940, Mr. Ridley, an officer of the Government of India, revealed that there were practically no Indian girls receiving education in the secondary and higher schools on the island.

But perhaps, the worst type of indirect racial discrimination is done on the cultural side. To enjoy the full benefits of citizenship, Hindus in Mauritius often change their names, customs and even religion. Many Indians have welcomed Christianity and taken over European names to get public appointments or to obtain promotion in services. There are ample examples of students being forced to take on Christian names to get admission into higher schools.

The present constitution as revised in 1947, admitting unofficial members in the Executive Council is a better one than the previous constitution framed 16 years ago. There are 12 Indians who sit in a Council of 35 which include 3 ex-officio members and the Governor as Chairman. But even now the present constitution has certain disadvantages for Indians. Although more than 60 per cent of the total population are Indians, only 3.2 per cent possess the power of vote. This is mainly due to the introduction of a complicated literary test and female suffrage without full adult suffrage. It is obvious that Indians who for the most part are hired labourers and traders cannot fulfill the franchise qualification laid down in the new constitution. This is specially true of Indian women who are uneducated and without an independent economic status.

The Indians in Mauritius suffer due to three main causes. First, their poor economic status makes them the least heard-of section of the Mauritius population. Second, the system of 'closed door,' limited franchise for election to the few open seats in the Legislative Council and the local bodies prevent them from obtaining adequate representations on these bodies, as any form of representative government would mean transfer of power to the Indians because of their majority there. And third but not the least cause is that Indians as a community are not well organized on the island. This is due to India's negligence for them. India after her independence, has started taking every care of her children abroad. And as a result of which she has sent Sri Dharam Yash Dev as Commissioner for India in Mauritius to look after the Indians there. So we have reasons to hope that soon the Indians in Mauritius will be relieved of their disabilities from which they suffer so much.



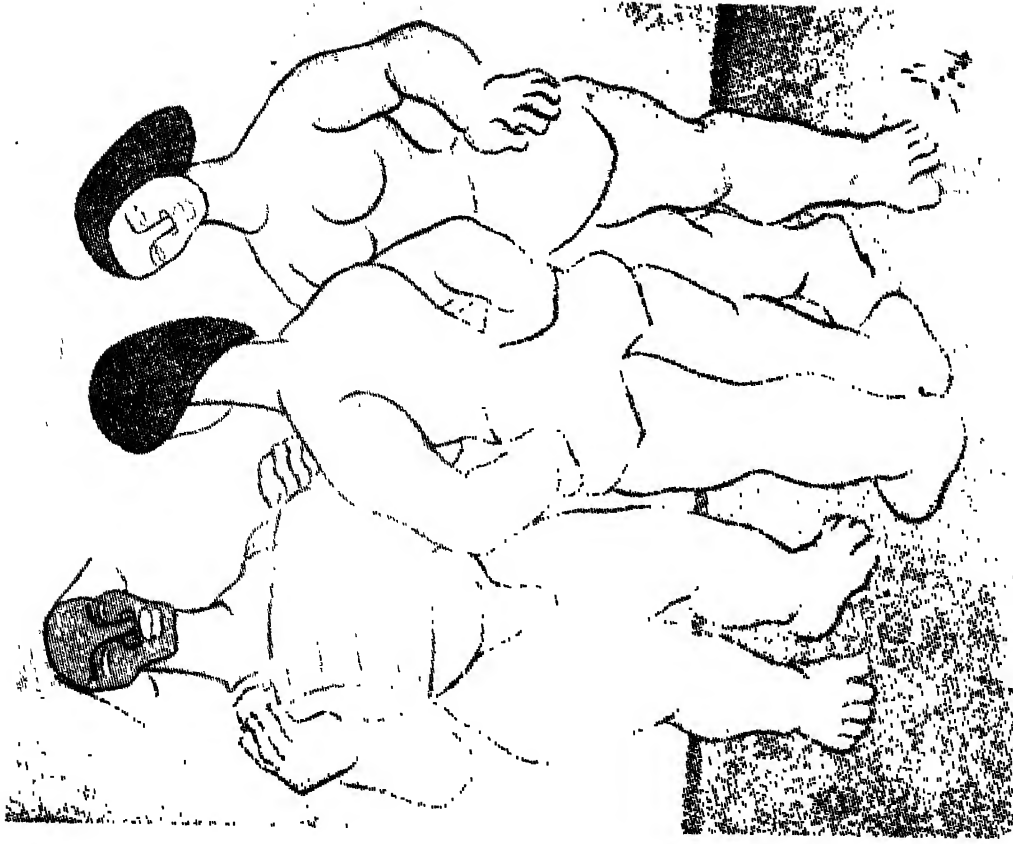
The site between the Chokkhaubc peak at the left and the Nukun peak at the right as seen from the 12,300 ft. high Kura Pass in the Himalayas investigated by scientists on behalf of the Government of India as a site for a multi-purpose laboratory



A British-owned tin mine in Malaya, one of the causes of British Capital's crusade against Indian labour-leaders



Insan tamen  
Sculptor—Pradosh Das Gupta



Devil Dance  
By Pankaj Das

# BEAUTY IN ART—A CRITICAL STUDY

By SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI, M.A.

G. E. MOORE in his *Principia Ethica* asks :

"Is it irrational, to hold that it is better that the beautiful world should exist than the one which is ugly?"

He speaks in the preceding lines of two worlds, one extremely beautiful, the other sorrowfully lacking the element of beauty. In the one you find 'mountains, rivers, the sea, trees, sunsets, stars and moon' and all that you admire and in the other a heap of filth with "that jars your mental equilibrium. Now the question to be answered 'Is it irrational?' A man in the street, outside the philosophical lecture-room will readily admit that it is not irrational. There is an eternal longing in man for the beautiful and this longing is universal. Man prefers beauty to ugliness even if that beauty be un contemplated. Plato would probably bring in his doctrine of recollection to offer an explanation for this universal prepossession in favour of un contemplated Beauty. Whatever may be the explanation offered by Plato, we are not concerned with that at this stage, but it shows unmistakable evidence of the common belief that Beauty is something objective, *i.e.*, the thing has an element which may be termed beautiful. It is neither my mental projection nor a mere emotion of my mind devoid of reference to the object in question.

But there are others who offer the view that beauty is subjective. The thinkers who subscribe to this view range from our Kuntaka of ancient India, the noted author of *Bakrokti Jibita* to such modern art-connoisseurs as Croce and Santayana. Expression and intuition are practically identical to Croce and Art is expression to him. Beauty is the expression of emotion and all such expression without any exception is beautiful. Santayana defines beauty as 'value positive, intrinsic and objectified'. We may explain this in less technical language as pleasure regarded as the quality of a thing. Aesthetic pleasure or beauty differs from pleasure in general on account of its objectification. Croce and Santayana are not alone. There are others also who belong to the same school of thought. H. R. Marshall speaks of the 'stable pleasure' which is precisely provided by art and is known to us by the name of beauty. Another psychological aesthete M. Porena defines beautiful as that which pleases the mind as an objective value, *i.e.*, without any apparent reference to ourselves as the sources of feeling. There is this illusion of objectivity in our appreciation of the beautiful. This seeming objectivity has been totally repudiated by Tolstoy. Modern thinkers, however, explain away this seeming objectivity as a mere semblance but Tolstoy ignores it totally.

Tolstoy, in his famous book *What is Art*, published in 1897, defines Art as the communication of emotion

When we tell a story, compose a song or paint a picture with the object of communicating to others an emotion, we have ourselves felt that there is Art. Art leaps to the Olympian height of 'great art' when the emotion is fresh and springs from a "fresh and vivid attitude to the world." The beauty of a work of art, according to Tolstoy, should be assessed entirely by reference to the verdict of the greatest number of men. Thus a democratic principle was applied in the field of art-criticism for Tolstoy took beauty not to be objective and inherent in works of art. Beauty is a quality of the effect produced by works of art on those who are brought into contact with them. It is a mere subjective experience, works of art simply produce a sense of the beautiful in the people who regard it. This is extreme subjectivism. The position of Tolstoy has been further strengthened by Dr. I. A. Richards as he has ably offered a psychological explanation of the enjoyment of the beautiful. Dr. Richards in his *Principles of Literary Criticism and Foundations of Aesthetics* defines beauty as emotional satisfaction. By the contemplation of a beautiful object certain impulses in ourselves are brought to a state of emotional equilibrium or harmony. We experience satisfaction because of this condition of equilibrium and postulate the presence of beauty in that which has caused it. Thus, such postulation only speaks of a projection into the outside world of our own feelings. Dr. Richards, in his emphasis on the feeling-element comes closer to Gentile who equates art with feeling. According to Gentile, art is neither expression nor intuition of feeling but feeling itself and the feeling is pleasure. And such feeling is the essence of art.

Dr. Richards's theory has a psychological background from which it cannot be divorced. Our impulses need a thorough systematisation; the warring impulses should be so regulated as to give us the maximum benefit from the enjoyment of beautiful objects. Dr. Richards in explaining the nature of this systematisation says :

"A complete systematisation must take the form of such an adjustment as will preserve free play to every impulse with entire avoidance of frustration."

He concludes :

"In any equilibrium of this kind, however momentary, we are experiencing beauty. This complete integration and harmonising of our impulses in the enjoyment of the beautiful explains the detachment so often noted as a characteristic of aesthetic experience."

We have fairly represented the views of the subjectivists headed by Tolstoy. Now let us critically examine their position. The common man will rise against these pedants saying that when we call a thing beautiful, we do not refer to our feeling of satisfaction, which is subjective; but to all intents and purposes,

we refer to something latent in the object in question. Again, Dr. Richards's view that all that we mean by beauty is that there is an equilibrium of impulses in the person experiencing it has difficulty in explaining the circumstance that works of art which are valued in one age are neglected in another. The different standards for the evaluation of artistic products in different ages can not be accounted for, on this theory. The emergence of new aesthetic values and the decay of the old ones are similarly inexplicable. Moreover, Dr. Richards nowhere maintains that any and every object is capable of producing this effect, viz., the harmonisation of impulses. We presume that only objects of a certain class are regarded as the appropriate objects of aesthetic estimation. According to Dr. Richards, every such object is marked by a certain property of being able to effect a harmony of impulses in the person appreciating it. This property belongs to the object. What exactly can this property be? Before we attempt an answer, let us point out that Dr. Richards is not justified in declaring that objects of a certain class are capable of evoking aesthetic emotion. Given the right situation and circumstances, given also an appreciating mind in the requisite state of sensibility, it is always possible to have aesthetic emotion. All objects can be regarded aesthetically. Many modern art-critics think that the practical restriction of fine art to music, painting, sculpture, pottery, etc., is in the nature of an historical accident. Lastly, let us point out that the thing and the knowledge of the thing are distinct and separate. If we cease to know the thing, the thing does not cease to exist. Similarly if we abolish a knowing mind, we abolish not the beauty of the object known but only the appreciation of beauty.

What can possibly this property be? We asked this question with regard to Dr. Richards's finding that certain classes of objects are capable of effecting a harmony of impulses in the person appreciating the object aesthetically. A subjectivist like Dr. Richards or Tolstoy or Croce can hardly satisfy us. We turn to Plato for an answer. Plato's answer would be that the property is "the property or characteristic of being beautiful, which the object possesses in virtue of its participation in the form of beauty." The distinguishing feature of Plato's theory of aesthetics is his insistence upon the fact that aesthetic experience is always in its essential nature a process of discovery. This is true of all such experience, whether it be creative or appreciative. Plato affirms that there is a form of beauty. We can attain at a working knowledge of the form by following an appropriate training. We can conveniently reproduce our knowledge of the form in sound, line and colour or stone images and can thus produce a 'Sistine Madonna,' a 'Round Madonna' or a 'King Lear.' The objectivity which Plato gives to the element of beauty leaves room for the explanation of differences in aesthetic judgments. All such differences, according to Plato, are not purely subjective or mere differences of taste. They are differences of knowledge. In different

ages forms of artistic expression may change but the feelings which great art awakens have been the same. This is due to the fact that the artist discerns the element of reality, which is latent in the object, dis-entangles it from the sensuous material in which it is embodied and lastly expresses his vision of it in the work of art to enable us to glimpse the pure form which he has visualised. Genuine works of art, according to Clive Bell, lead along the same road of aesthetic emotion to the contemplation of the same ultimate reality.

From the Platonic point of view, Clive Bell's treatment of the subject commands our attention. His theory of 'significant form' boldly defends the Platonic position. Mr. Bell in his celebrated book *Art* tells us that a work of art produces aesthetic emotion in virtue of the fact that it possesses significant form. The cause of this possession of significant form by the work of art has been further explained by the fact that the creator or the artist experiences a certain emotion to which it gives expression in the work of art. This emotion felt by the artist which is the indispensable condition of the presence of significant form in the work of art, is an emotion for something which the artist has seen. The artist sees an object not as a means to an end but as an end in itself. In other words, he sees it as a combination of significant forms. The artist is aware of the reality which is behind the object and which is latent in it. It is this vision of reality in the object which thrills the artist to ecstasy and it is the emotion felt for reality which he conveys to us when he transfers to canvas or stone his vision of reality as a combination of pure forms. On this view, art is a window through which we gaze upon reality. Avinabagupta, the noted Indian aesthetician of the tenth century A.D., in his definition of beauty forestalls Mr. Bell's position. His assertion:

*Api tu prativanaparapanaya sakshatkara  
svavarabhyamiti.\**

speaks of the vision of which Mr. Bell speaks at such a length in his *Art*. This *sakshatkara* of Avinabagupta is the 'vision' of Mr. Bell. Both of them give us a glimpse of the reality. It is neither discrimination nor observation. Carlyle speaks of this vision as the "seeing eye" it is this that discloses the inner harmony of things." (*The Hero as Poet*). This vision discloses the inner harmony and beauty latent in the objects. Without this vision an artist is no artist at all. Creation of beauty in the work of art is impossible if the artist has no 'seeing eye.' The 'Form of Beauty' as explained by Plato must be present in the work of art. In other words, the artistic work must participate in Plato's 'Form' and this participation is the criterion of the value of a work of art. If the 'Form' is manifest in the work the work is beautiful.

\* "अपि तु प्रतिभानावरयययि-साक्षात्कार-स्वाभावेयमिति"—

नाट्यशास्त्र, ६।३४, भाष्य

# THE LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

By PROF. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.Litt

THE three-man Committee of the Congress has at last come out with its report, a report which is a running commentary on the various speeches delivered by our Premier and Deputy Prime Minister on various occasions. That the Congress long ago accepted the principle of linguistic redistribution of provinces on grounds of justice and morality, is admitted. That Gandhiji arrived at the sanest conclusion possible when he refused to compare the linguistic distribution with the religious vivisection, this too is a well-known truth. That there is an overwhelming opinion in the country supporting this linguistic reshaping of the land, is recognised by the ~~Don~~-Commission, which did not care a fig for the public demand since it was pre-judiced.

Let us look at the Committee's report in the light of these facts. The report states

"The first consideration must be the security, unity and economic prosperity of India, and every separatist and disruptive tendency should be vigorously discouraged."

There is an evident confusion of thought in the second part of this sweeping statement, for the Committee is equating the linguistic redistribution of the provinces with the religious vivisection like that of Pakistan! This is exactly the thing that was emphatically disapproved by Gandhiji. The demand for these provinces is not based on religion, nor do these provinces want to opt out of the Indian Union. Are not the members of the Constituent Assembly from these linguistic areas, members that supported a strong Centre? When we are going to have a strong Centre, how on earth can these provinces become independent units?

The report reads

"The Congress approval of this principle was partly due to the artificial manner in which existing provinces have been created by the British power in India. It was chiefly due to a desire to have, as far as possible, homogeneous cultural units which would presumably advance more rapidly because of this homogeneity."

This is wisdom enough. Many of the existing provinces are bi-lingual and tri-lingual. Shortly the regional languages are coming into prominence and they will have to be taken up for administrative purposes. In such a case, a province like Madras must have a four-fold staff to meet the requirements of the four prevailing languages. Bombay Government have to triplicate their work. C. P. and Berar are to double their work, presumably ignoring the Andhras in Chanda and Bustar, just as Orissa is strangling the Andhras. But on the contrary, if there were to be one

linguistic area in one province, the work will be facilitated, and there will be no wastage of time, energy, men and material. Otherwise the same thing is to be done over and over again like a piece of translation exercise given to our boys.

Admitting this, the report is apprehensive of "a great many difficulties of a far-reaching character." We are now told of the administrative and economic unity of the present provinces. This is strange enough if we face the facts. Let us look at Madras. There is not a single major irrigation-project in the Andhra districts. The Andhra University and the Medical College are thrown into a corner, and the Andhras are industrially and economically the most exploited. Though the Andhra areas are surplus areas in matters of food, yet their kinsmen in the ceded districts have to go starved! All major schemes of reconstruction are taking place in the area south of Madras. Sometime back there was a move even to put an end to the imparting of instruction in Telugu, in the City of Madras! And the graph of the Madras Ministry will show what an amount of administrative and economic *instability* and *disunity* there exist in that most unfortunate province of India.

A few lines below, we read -

"Anti-social forces grew and assumed serious proportions just at a time when the closest unity was essential. A narrow provincialism became a menace to the progress and development of our great country."

This is damaging and insulting enough. The demand for linguistic provinces is taken to be a case of narrow provincialism, as though the demand for Hindi or Hindusthani is not one such. This is merely abusing some one, so that he may not abuse us for what we are going to do. This is an open condemnation of one, so that his views on other problems may be discredited easily. A narrow provincialism, if at all it exists, would strive after independence for every such province. It will demand permanent breaking up of relations with the Centre. There was the merger of the States, and this merger has been uniformly based on linguistic and cultural homogeneity, which is denied to Andhras and others. This is a strange piece of logic.

Then we are given another danger. The problems in South-East Asia and Eastern Asia do not necessitate a change on the side of the reshaping of our provinces. Every petty thing is to be related to the International problems, and we cannot have these new provinces in India till the great nations of the world promise us probably, that they will maintain peace for a century

or two. And when the merger of the states could be achieved at such a rapid speed and without any difficulty, one fails to understand what strain these linguistic provinces will entail. Another potent objection to this demand comes from the financial and administrative quarters. The Committee is afraid that many of the new provinces cannot be self-sufficient and self-existing financially. The members of this august committee alone must know as to how far Orissa is self-supporting. They alone should know as to how even some of the existing provinces are having deficit budgets and therefore raising the taxes enormously, thereby giving rise to agrarian and economic discontent throughout the land. The Andhra districts of Madras, the Marathi areas of C.P. and Berar, the Kanarese parts of Bombay are very fertile, and therefore they cannot have their own provinces, for they have to work in the spirit of selfless sacrifice and detachment! And God is sure to reward them for their self-effacement and self-debasement *after* they die! These surplus areas are to feed the rest only to be exploited by the rest, only to see that the native talent is undeveloped and frustrated. The present bi-lingual, tri-lingual and multi-lingual areas at present are full of hatred and jealousy towards others. The Andhars feel that they are not getting their due in the administration of their areas, and so they begin hating the others in that province, though they have nothing but love towards others. The Bengalis do not have that hatred to others which they feel towards Bihar. All this is due to competition and jobbery, no doubt. But one can not put it down by ignoring it. The Committee without any inner contradiction states at one place that language is a binding force, and at another place this unfortunate language becomes a separating force; and it is needless to say that the Committee is very much impressed by this second force, more or less like an obsession. The British Government exploited this separating force too well; and when they carved out multi-lingual provinces, it was to hold the key in their hands after setting these in a mighty and endless quarrel. This was in complete harmony with the old dogma of divide and rule. And if this were to continue, then the heritage of the British administrative policy becomes a permanent legacy.

They propose to wait till the people's minds become calm. But what guarantee is there that people will not be once again disturbed when the question is taken up at a unspecified—and therefore never-to-come later date? Then the new provinces will entail a financial burden, we are told. But if these provinces are to come into existence later on, will the financial trouble disappear altogether with the waving of the hand of the magician? We are admonished to follow the example of the States. Then we can have a Radcliffe and a scale too:

"Nevertheless if there is a strong, widespread feeling in the area for a linguistic province, a

democratic Government must ultimately submit to it, unless there is a grave danger to the State and unless this feeling comes into conflict with a rival feeling. If there is general consented willingness, then, of course, the difficulties are much less."

This willingness is to be from all the linguistic components of the province and also from the contiguous states and provinces. The Committee concede the principle, but the conditions stipulated amount to a negation of the principle; for the grave danger to the State and to South-East Asia can be produced on the platform and in the press, as though out of a magician's bag. They would have done better by rejecting this demand once for all.

The Congress President has come out with his Press Conference in Bombay, declaring that they have conceded the principle. It is true, but at the cost of negating the same principle on grounds of social, political, economic and cultural dangers in India and abroad. The Committee have postponed the consideration for a few years. And even then they take up the problem on condition that

- (1) There must be security, unity and economic prosperity of India;
- (2) that people's minds must get calmer, and
- (3) that all the citizens of India, without any exception, support the demand unanimously.

And then they admit

- (4) That the creation of the new provinces entails financial burdens and administrative troubles—and these can never disappear.

This comes to saying in plain English that there should be no linguistic provinces.

- (5) Then the 'progressive integration' of the States is to be our ideal;
- (6) we are asked to note that language is a 'separating' force; and
- (7) we are to note that these new provinces will constitute a threat to the security of the State.

All these seven conditions, resolving to the inadvisability, in the Committee's sacred opinion, of forming linguistic provinces at any time in the future.

The demand for linguistic provinces is horribly confused with the idea of Pakistan. It is mixed up with imaginary troubles and worries. It should be noted that the demand is a purely economic one whatever rubbish one may say about cultural unity and linguistic integrity. The provinces, as they are constituted of two halves; one half exploits the other. The consequence of all this is that in the multi-lingual areas, and these too in the exploited areas, the Communists are daily gaining ground. It is an undeniable fact that there is a seething discontent, a good amount of economic heart-burning, and a profound distrust. It is these that constitute a grave threat to the stability of the State, and the formation of the linguistic provinces will put an end to this threat. It is better to wake up even late, than never.



# POISONOUS SNAKES OF INDIA

By DR. S. M. DAS, D.S.C., F.Z.S.

THERE are approximately two hundred species of poisonous snakes in the world, out of a total of 2,300 species (species or kinds, not numbers), or about eight and a half per cent of the total number of snakes known. Nevertheless, the vast number of snakes in a species, the world-wide distribution of the poisonous varieties, and the aggressive habits of some of them, constitute a first class menace to human life practically all over the world. India and Southern Brazil, with Australia to a less degree, are the regions where the largest number of fatalities occur. Dr. Fayrer, a British physician in India, concluded some years ago after many years of observation that probably 30,000 Indians died of snake-bite each year. This estimation is believed by the author to hold good even at the present time, since snake-bite fatalities in jungle tracts and other inaccessible regions are rarely recorded in the death rolls of the district. If to this were added the list of fatalities in Africa, South America, Australia, the U.S.A. and smaller countries of the orient, the number of deaths due to poisonous snakes would probably swell to about 1,00,000 a year. More than 70 per cent of these deaths occur in Oriental countries as it is here that numerous species of every type of poisonous snake are found. New Zealand is the only country in the world which has no snakes at all; while Madagascar is the only large country which enjoys a total absence of poisonous snakes.

Snakes are the most highly specialised of the reptiles in existence, and poisonous serpents mark the zenith of their specialisation. Not only have the limbs completely disappeared and the bony girdles, which support them, completely lost, but an outrageous modification has taken place in almost all the organs of the body. The lung, liver, etc., are all extremely elongated, and the salivary glands, which in other animals secrete the saliva for digestion of food, get modified in some snakes to secrete a virulent poison that can kill an elephant when injected into its blood-system. Their fatal poison and silent lurking habit, coupled with an agility and alertness surpassed by no other animal, compel us to consider the venomous snakes as the deadliest enemies of mankind.

Many a layman confronts us with the question, "How can live poisonous snakes be told from harmless ones?" The answer is they cannot be. The multiplicity of characters by which a specialist identifies a poisonous snake can hardly be so mastered by a layman as to enable him to recognise it alive in nature. However, some snakes like the Cobra and the Russell's Viper do look very poisonous and these can be easily recognised in the field or forest. Many more, once they have been killed, can be identified by their external characters. But some will defy identification by the un-initiated and these have to be referred to the specialist. On the other hand, there are many common non-poisonous snakes, like the Rat-Snake (Dhman), that can be known at sight. It is

possible, therefore, for any layman, who has learnt the 'A B C' of snakes to tell most poisonous snakes he may come across. To make identification easy, I shall confine myself to common Indian snakes as far as possible.

Poisonous snakes fall naturally into two categories: the *Viperine* snakes or *Vipers* and the *Colubrine* snakes comprising the Cobra, Kraits and Coral snakes. Some colubrine snakes are *rear-fanged*, the grooved fang being situated at the back of the upper jaw-bone; while others, the *fore-fanged* ones are endowed with a canaliculate fang in front of the upper jaw bone. And it is really the fore-fanged colubrines whose bite is fatal to man, the rear-fanged being no doubt poisonous but not usually fatal.

Two poisonous snakes of India, the giant *King Cobra* or *Hamadryad* and the *Hooded Cobra*, have achieved world wide reputation. Combined with the deadliness of its fangs the *King Cobra* has an intelligence that renders it unique among all the snakes of the world. It is confined to Orissa, Bengal and Assam in India, where it is common both in the hills and the low-lying districts. The *Hooded Cobra* is common throughout India and its abundance causes a larger number of deaths than attributable to the *King Cobra*. Both these snakes can be easily recognised when alive, the *King Cobra* by its large size, active habits and erectile fore-half of the body, and the *Hooded Cobra* by its large expansible neck or hood, often with characteristic markings. The other poisonous terrestrial snakes of India are: the Kraits, the Coral snakes, the Pit vipers and the Pitless vipers. The only aquatic poisonous snakes in India are the *Sea Snakes*, which are all venomous. Chances of an average Indian being bitten by a sea-snake are extremely rare, though their venom has been found to be eight times more potent than that of the innoculate (spectacled) cobra. They can at once be told by their flat tails which they use as a swimming organ, all terrestrial snakes having rounded tails.

To most people living in India the recognition of a cobra seems a very simple thing and this is true as a rule. If the snake is seen alive at close quarters with the hood expanded, its identification will hardly admit of a doubt. This holds good for the person bitten by the snake; for the cobra always strikes with its head reared and sometimes the hood expanded. But after death the hood is obliterated and, if the creature is stiff, cannot be easily demonstrated. A cobra without a hood is unimaginable by a layman and many shake their heads when shown one without the expanded hood. Again, some people ingeniously manage to pull out the loose skin about the neck of a harmless snake and claim a hood where none exists. For such misinterpretations there is one constant character, which will dispel all doubt. The third scale, counting after the foremost scale or shield of the head, on each side of the upper jaw (the third supra-labial shield) touches the eye and also the nasal shield



on which the external nasal aperture is situated. As the scales on the head of poisonous colubrine snakes (Cobras, Kraits and Coral snakes) are large, the third supra-labial shield can be easily recognised and if this touches the eye and the nasal shield on the snake, it is poisonous.

Cobras are neither intelligent nor aggressive, yet, it appears, at times they may aggressively attack if disturbed or tampered with. A remarkable case happened in Lucknow. A man while pedalling along on a bicycle met a cobra on the centre of the road. To avoid the snake he swung round the pedals at full speed. After a while he looked back and to his utter surprise and terror saw the cobra racing after him. Not only that, it was rapidly gaining on him. Not knowing what to do, he raised his legs from the pedals and let the bike run along by momentum. The man suddenly fell down with his bicycle and fainted. When he recovered he found the snake cut in two lying beside him. The snake had come along his side and in an attempt to strike, got entangled amongst the spokes and cut in two. It was indeed a miraculous escape.

The *Krait* is the most abundant venomous snake in India. Combined with its virulent poison and deadly fangs, its partiality to human habitations and low vegetation make it a first class menace to human life in some parts of India. It has none of the spectacular warning playfulness of the hooded cobra and the only warning of its presence is its fatal bite. It feeds largely upon smaller snakes, but also hunts for small mammals, frogs and lizards.

There are several species of kraits; the largest among them being the *Banded Krait*, *Bungarus fasciatus*, the Raj Samp or 'Sankni' of Bengal. It is a Krait of unusual size as it may reach a length of six to seven feet. This snake can be recognized at once by the alternate bands of yellow and black throughout the length of the body. Even if the colouring were to be confused with that of some non-poisoning snakes, *Kraits can always be identified by the co-existence of two characters*. Firstly, the scales on the under-side of the tail are all entire and undivided, i.e., the scales are arranged in a single row, each scale extending from side to side on the under-side of the tail; secondly, the scales along the middle line of the back are always much larger than the rest of the scales on the back and form a sort of keel along the whole length of the body. If these two characters are found in the same snake then it is undoubtedly a Krait. Unfortunately, these characters, by which a krait can be recognised even by a school boy, cannot be observed while the snake is alive and free; unless somebody be bold enough to stroke its back and lift the tail up to make sure of its identity. Any snake with dark bands on its body should, therefore, be severely left alone or killed and referred to a specialist. This practice, as I found in the villages of U.P. and Bengal, is so strictly followed by the peasants and cultivators, that any dark-coloured snake is vouched for as extremely poisonous. This is not quite true, as a number of non-poisonous snakes are quite dark-coloured, while the young individuals of even light-

coloured species are at times dark in colour. Nevertheless, I believe, it is both safe and useful to be wary of any dark-coloured snake, specially if rings or circular bands are present across its body.

The banded krait has a wide distribution extending from Southern China and the Malayan Sub-region through Tenasserim to the basins of the Irrawady and the Brahmaputra, south of the Himalayas. It is known from Peninsular India in the north east as far south as the basin of the Mahanadi River.

The common Krait, *Bungarus caeruleus*, is much smaller than the banded krait, four feet being the maximum size it usually attains. It is called 'Chitti' in Bengal, 'Valla pambo' in Malabar, 'Kattu virian' in Madras, and 'Kowriya' or 'Chit-Kowriya' in U.P. and the Punjab. This snake is indeed poisonous-looking in appearance, being a glistening black with narrow white arches thrown in pairs across the back. The black colour contrasted by the white arches or bands gives the common krait a very characteristic appearance. There are two or three more poisonous snakes which resemble the common krait in coloration, but they can be at once distinguished by the fact that whereas in the krait the white crossbars are most evident in the hind part of the body and fade away in the fore-part, in the former they are most evident in the fore-part and gradually fade in the hinder quarter till they are often lost.

This krait is common throughout the Indus Valley, the Ganges Valley, Peninsular India and Ceylon. Though essentially a snake of the plains it is found at times in the hills up to about 5,000 feet. Its extensive distribution and deadliness accounts for the fearful toll of human life caused by the krait in India. A combination of circumstances accounts in some degree for this fearful toll. On the arid plains region the sun beats down fiercely by day, but during January, February and March the drop in temperature at sundown is very considerable. The snakes know that the warmest place then is the deep dust of the sun-baked roads which long retains its heat; moreover the itinerant population knows that it is far cooler walking by night than by day. The majority do not wear shoes, and the result is many cases of snake-bite. The kraits be more quietly, are less active and less inclined to get out of the way.

There are several *Coral snakes* in India and all of them are poisonous; but they are neither so poisonous nor as abundant as the Krait and the Cobra. The common Indian Coral snake, *Hemibungarus nigrescens*, is a small snake never exceeding four feet in length and of variable colour from light brown to blackish or purple, with five more or less distinct black stripes along the back. The stripes may be missing in some varieties, but a median stripe along the middle of the back persists. It is a hill species confined to the hills of Western India from Bombay to Travancore.

By far the most abundant poisonous snakes in India are the Colubrines—the Cobras, Kraits, Coral snakes, etc., and the Vipers, so far as number of species are concerned, are scantily represented. While species are scant,

the Tic Polonga or Russel's Viper, *Vipera russelli*, makes up in broad abundance. India is thus unique in the world's snake-inhabited areas in having almost every known family of venomous serpents. Two types of vipers are found in India, the typical vipers and the pit-vipers.

The *Russel's viper* or Daboia reaches a maximum length of about five feet and ranks with the cobra as one of the dreaded snakes of the Orient. It is a particularly handsome snake with varied colour-patterns, the body having a ground colour of rich brown with three rows of large black rings bordered with white or yellow enclosing darker, brown or even red. In some specimens the rings unite to form a chain. The Daboia or Tic Polonga is a savage creature but usually gives warning of its presence by loud hissing, producing a sound readily heard twenty-five feet. It strikes with such agility that it sometimes slides a foot or more and thus appears to jump. Owing to its large fangs and the amount of venom expended at a bite it may be regarded as almost more dangerous than the common cobra.

The *Russel's viper* can be readily recognised by its colour markings and small scales on the head. To make a fool-proof identification the character of the scales is sufficient. If the scales on the underside of the tail are divided and there are two large shields on the underside of the chin surrounded by four or five other scales, the snake is *Vipera russelli*. It is equally abundant in Ceylon and Peninsular India from Cape Comorin to the Ganges. It is seemingly very rare to the north of the Ganges, though common in the Irrawady Basin. To the west it extends throughout the Indian Basin from North Sind to the Himalayas. It is chiefly an inhabitant of the plains, but is common in some localities from 2,000 to 4,000 feet and has been met at altitudes up to 7,000 feet. It is very common in the Punjab, as many as 471 specimens being brought in for Government rewards from Amritsar alone in one day.

One reason for the widespread abundance of the *Russel's viper* is the large litter of young, usually about two dozen. The little serpents, when born, can immediately take care of themselves. The adults prowl mostly at night, and are lured into the neighbourhood of human habitations by rats and mice which are their favourite food.

Another dangerous pitless viper is *Echis carinata*, the *Saw-sealed viper*, which has an equally wide distribution. It is the 'Khappar' of Sind, 'Phoorsa' of Bombay, 'Afai' about Delhi, 'Kallu havoo' of Mysore and 'Kattu virian' about Madras. It can be readily identified by the small scales on the head co-existent with undivided shields beneath the tail. During life it can be identified by its peculiar habit of throwing its body into a double coil, inflating itself, and then rubbing one coil against the other so as to produce a sound closely resembling hissing. It grows to about three feet in length and varies in colour from sandy to a dark cedar. A more or less distinct pale sinuous flank line is always present.

A viper called the Saw-sealed viper, occurs through-

out a large area of the Indian Peninsula from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, but being a desert form preferring an arid sandy soil, it is distributed chiefly in isolated patches, where it is frequently very common. Some idea of its prodigious numbers can be made from the official report that in the Ratnagiri District alone, during the six years Government rewards were paid, on an average 225,721 phoorsas per annum were brought in. It is an inhabitant of the plains and becomes progressively rarer at higher altitudes, the highest on record being 5,700 feet.

The pit-vipers, in contradistinction to the pit-less ones, possess a pair of pits in the sides of the face between the eyes and the nostrils. Pit-vipers though provided with large poison fangs are rarely fatal. Nevertheless, one should be wary about them as their venom causes a varying amount of local and constitutional disturbance and death is not impossible. They are nearly all confined to hilly regions at altitudes ranging between 1,500 to 10,000 feet.

The common Himalayan viper, *Ancistrodon himalaicus*, is exceedingly common in Central Kashmir and the Western Himalayas. The colour is various shades of brown often mottled or variegated. It is a small snake growing to three feet at the most. The most abundant and widely distributed of our pit-vipers is, however, the common green viper or Bamboo snake. It extends from Burma into the Himalayan region, probably as far west as the Sutlej. It is also abundant in the Eastern Ghats, Western Ghats, Nilgiris and other hills; but it is absent from the plains of India. The colour is usually a vivid foliage green, more rarely olive or brown with a white or yellow flank-line along the body. It rarely grows beyond 3½ feet in length. The Bamboo snake is difficult to discern amongst green foliage and the chances of being bitten unawares are greatly increased.

By the number of deaths caused by them, the main poisonous snakes of India can thus be arranged in order of importance: Kraits, Cobras, Pitless vipers, Coral snakes and Pit vipers. Their abundance, their habits, and the barefoot habit in India, all contribute to a large toll of human life every year. But surely the most potent factor of all is the virulence of their poison. The Viperine venom kills by haemolysis or destruction of blood cells, while the Colubrine (cobra tribe) poison paralyses the nerves and causes death. The days of remedies like suction, potassium permanganate, and *jhar-phoonk* are fortunately over. The Premier Anti-Venine Research Laboratory in India, the Haffkine Institute of Bombay, has succeeded in making one suitable antidote for both Viperine and Colubrine venom. This injectable antidote, which can be kept in good condition for months in the dry form, should be kept in every home where there is possibility of snake-bite. All hospitals in rural areas should be compelled to keep a ready stock of this universal anti-venine. If we cannot have a free India free from snakes, at least let us have as few snake-bite deaths as possible.

# PARTITION AND INDIAN FINANCE

By BHOJOY SEN

THE modern state, we know, is a political institution and every political institution has its economic roots nurtured upon the structure of finance which the state carefully builds up in the course of its actual working. The structure of finance acts, therefore, as the very reflex of the state-activity and any sore in the heart of the state must necessarily be reflected in its structure of finance. The political division of the country is no exception to this general principle.

With the division of the country into two Dominions certain significant problems, seemingly temporary at the first impression, cropped up. For the sake of brevity, these problems may be divided into

1. Division of revenues.
2. Changes in expenditure;
3. Division of certain heads of revenue.
4. Redistribution of provincial share to the divisible pool of Income Tax.
5. Division of assets and liabilities.
6. Division of Railway finances.

## DIVISION OF REVENUES

Regarding Central revenues, it is clear from a comparison between the pre-partition and the post-partition Budgets that the Indian Union possesses greater revenue-resources than Pakistan. Out of a total revenue in the pre-partition Budget amounting to Rs. 265.42 crores, the Dominion of India got as much as Rs. 250 crores after partition according to the "Chetty Budget". The striking disparity has to be accounted for in the fact that Pakistan is more agricultural and rural while the Indian Union has more industries and greater urban population. Expanding sources of revenue are therefore to be found more in India than in Pakistan.

The above disparity is more glaring in the case of provincial revenues. The provincial revenues of the two Dominions are roughly in proportion to their population.

As regards Pakistan, one important possibility has to be taken account of and that is the possibility of dwindling revenues owing to large-scale migration of the non-Muslim business community from both Western and Eastern Pakistan. Pakistan, therefore, would have to devise means of guarding against this contingency.

## CHANGES IN EXPENDITURE

Total expenditure in the pre-partition Budget for 1947-48 amounted to Rs. 327.88 lakhs where in the Dominion Budget (Indian Union) for 7½ months, it amounted to Rs. 197.37 lakhs. Although comparison with Pakistan is difficult in this respect because of unpublished data regarding Pakistan, yet it is clear from above that the pre-partition amount of total deficit was Rs. 29.46 lakhs whereas the post-partition deficit for the Indian Dominion comes to the tune of Rs. 24.50 lakhs. But from this deficit must be deducted

Pakistan's share of the total debt as fixed under the recent Indo-Pakistan financial settlement of December, 1947, which is 17½ per cent.

It is clear, therefore, that the Indian Union has the possibility of a surplus Budget as compared to that of Pakistan. Opinions differ as to the exact amount of possible surplus which ranges between Rs. 13 crores and Rs. 19.81 crores. Nevertheless, such a possibility can by no means be denied.

To sum up:

1. The Dominion of India is left with a wide margin of revenues;
2. The actual deficit for the Dominion of India is far less than was previously anticipated; and
3. There is the possibility of turning whatever deficit there might be into a good surplus.

On the expenditure side, however, partition has thrust 3 important distinct factors and they are (1) rehabilitation cost for refugees, (2) defence expenditure for Kashmir and Hyderabad operations, and (3) expenditure for transfer of officers.

In the Chetty Budget, the total rehabilitation cost in the Indian Dominion amounted to about Rs. 20 crores, Rs. 10 crores being set aside exclusively for the refugees. Expenditure on account of Kashmir and Hyderabad operations is not yet available.

On the other hand, expenditure for transfer of officers cost the West Bengal Provincial Budget for 1947-48 (First Post-Partition Budget) a good sum of Rs. 95 lakhs for two and a half months, the period in which most of the surplus officers could not be absorbed and therefore had to be given leave with pay. Figures, however, for the Central Government officers are not available; but the expenditure on that item too must have been a good sum of rupees.

It is clear therefore that the traditional structure of public expenditure in India has undergone fundamental alterations by the impact of partition and what is more striking is that the Indian Dominion has stood the test of this emergency with honour because of her rich revenue resources while Pakistan with her slender resources of revenue finds it increasingly difficult to meet these problems.

Moreover, if we take into account the principal item, viz., defence services, for which the Indian Union has to pay Rs. 121.08 crores according to the Chetty Budget and even if we estimate that Pakistan will require at least one-third of this amount of defence expenditure for the whole year, almost the entire revenue of the Central Government of Pakistan, Prof. C. N. Vakil points out, would be exhausted on a single item only. Pakistan would do well, therefore, if it tries to economise. This does not leave out the question of economy, as it appears at the first sight, for the Indian Dominion simply on the ground that it has stronger revenue resources. The overriding requirements of

national defence and industrial planning make efforts at economising all the more urgent.

## DIVISION OF CERTAIN HEADS OF REVENUE

Partition has forced mainly two problems in this respect and they are: concerned with (1) Income tax and (2) Customs. The immediate problem which the business community of both the Dominions had to face was the double taxation of income. But an agreement has been reached between the two Governments for the avoidance of double taxation of income with the effect that henceforth each Dominion Government will assess only such part of the income as accrues in its own area. Now how far the place of origin constitutes a satisfactory criterion as opposed to the place of residence in the matter of the avoidance of international double taxation of income remains yet to be settled. Hence, instead of solving the problems, it has merely created newer ones.

With regard to Customs, partition produced the most difficult problem of overlapping. Contrary to the terms of the Indo-Pakistan Financial Agreement, Pakistan imposed a jute duty which meant, some argued, a severe strain on the finances of the Indian Dominion. It means, they say, that Pakistan had to be awarded a certain share of tax-receipts on account of Customs but, as we have already pointed out, the possibility of a surplus for the Indian Dominion would go undoubtedly to serve as a cushion against any loss due on these items. It is clear, therefore, that the adverse effect of partition upon Customs-shares should not be exaggerated.

## DIVISION OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

Partition brought in its trail the problem of the division of assets and liabilities of the respective Dominions. It was a vital problem from the viewpoint of the National Exchequer which was going to be depleted to a considerable extent. It was a recognition on the fact that henceforth we cannot speak of one National Finance with granite-integrity. It is not only that the financial homogeneity of the country is broken but the size of the pre-partition Central Exchequer has also to be considerably diminished. The shape of the Central Exchequer of the two Dominions would be clearly evident in the Indo-Pakistan Financial Settlement of December, 1947, in which some workable ratios have been fixed regarding the division of assets and liabilities. In order to understand where the respective Central Exchequers stand after partition, only a short synopsis of the above agreement would do.

1. Of the total cash balances of undivided India, Pakistan would get Rs 75 crores, i.e., 17½ per cent while the share of the Indian Dominion is Rs. 325 crores ;

2. Of the total liabilities of undivided India, Pakistan is to share the liabilities against cash balances taken plus 17½ per cent of the excess of the old Government of India's liabilities over its assets minus liabilities directly assumed by the Pakistan Govern-

ment plus the liability for the N.-W. strategic railway measured on book-value amounting to Rs. 14.46 crores.

3. The division of pensionary liabilities and past-earned pensions would be in the same manner as the uncovered debt;

4. Of the total military stores, Pakistan would get one-third while the share of the Indian Dominion is two-thirds ; in addition, Pakistan is to receive a loan of Rs. 6 crores to establish ordinance factories and a security press ;

5. Pakistan is to repay the loan within 50 years beginning from 15th August, 1947—the loan being interest-bearing at the average yield of the minimum and long-dated securities of the Government of India during the two years immediately preceding the partition.

6. Only a fraction of the sterling assets in the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank of India on 30th September, 1948 is to be divided on the ratio of 17½ per cent for Pakistan and 82½ per cent for the Dominion of India. The surplus assets of the Banking Department is divided in the same ratio.

The major criticisms against this agreement have been first, that it amounted to writing down the values of an unprofitable Railway line ; second, that 50 years term of repayment is a long period and hence there is no guarantee of repayment considering the British precedent on our sterling balances ; third, that it entails heavy interest charges of about Rs 7 crores a year and this means, as Prof. C. N. Vakil points out, that "the Indian Union will have to export to Pakistan goods and services worth this amount during the coming years without any equivalent" and finally, that the book-value agreement of strategic railways has to be balanced against Indian Dominion agreeing to take over half the capital cost of the strategic railways which constitutes a concession, as the Finance Minister in his Budget speech of 1947-48 pointed out, of Rs 16 crores or a reduction of about Rs. 48 lakhs in Pakistan's annual loss in her strategic railways and in her contribution to the Indian Dominion Treasury on account of interest payable to the common debt.

But whatever may be the nature of criticism, it is clear that the Central Exchequer of the Dominion of India is placed in a better position than its Pakistan-counterpart.

So, it can be stated with considerable force that if the size of the pre-Partition Treasury has diminished, it has undoubtedly diminished in favour of the Indian Dominion.

## DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIVISIBLE POOL OF INCOME-TAX

One of the tangible effects of Partition has been that it has rendered the original provision under the Otto Niemeyer Award regarding the distribution of the divisible pool of Income-tax as between the provinces almost obsolete. For example, Bengal and the Punjab have been halved and hence, the original share of

Bengal which came to the tune of 20 per cent under the Otto Niemeyer Award needs revision. A fierce controversy, therefore, raises its head due to surplus created by Partition. Should West Bengal, for example, be entitled to the original share of 20 per cent? From the viewpoint of Provincial finance, therefore, the problem of apportioning Income-tax after Partition assumes vital importance. Partition has clearly forced the truncated provinces to revise their attitude towards the prospective revenues on account of the divisible pool of Income-tax. Some argue that Bengal and the Punjab should have less share since they have been halved. If this argument is accepted, the future of provincial finance is gravely at stake and the truncated provinces would have to devise ways and means for economy in expenditure because of shrinkage in revenue. But economy in expenditure is not an easy proposition now-a-days, especially in view of the possibility of internal tension. Secondly, the greater part of the contribution to the general pool, as Mr. N. R. Sarkar in his Budget speech for West Bengal, 1947-48, argued was made by Calcutta. Hence, he is of opinion that West Bengal is entitled, if justice rules, to the original share of 20 per cent. It is clear, therefore, that both on grounds of the safety of provincial revenues and on grounds of equity, West Bengal's share of the divisible pool of the Income-tax should be fixed at the original ratio. But here the most important thing to note is that the controversy leaves out one factor, namely, the capacity of the province to raise

taxes and its willingness to exploit its resources. Taking these criteria, a larger allotment of share will depend upon larger revenue raised by the province.

Now whatever be the share of the respective provinces, there is no denying the fact that the original ratio needs modification in the light of the altered situation of the country.

#### DIVISION OF RAILWAY FINANCES

According to the Matthal Budget of 1946-47, out of the total capital charges of united India, the share of the Indian Union constituted Rs. 112.91 crores which means 81.80 per cent after partition. This phenomenal increase of reserves may be directly ascribed to the fact of partition. As it is revealed in the Matthal Budget, this remarkable increase of reserves has been effected to guard against possible contingencies, especially arising out of the political division of the country. It is, therefore, a favourable feature for the Indian Union finances.

From the above brief review of the immediate and short-period effects of partition upon the structure of Indian finance, certain generalisations are now possible. First, the Indian Union has emerged quite unscathed from partition. Second, it has become financially more solid and finally, partition has forced a re-orientation of financial policy. It is upon the last effect that emphasis must be put, more so since economic integrity and mutual good relations have got to be cemented between the two Dominions in no time for the economic prosperity and political stability of both.

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## RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS

By USHA BISWAS M.A., B.T.

There has been a good deal of controversy as to whether provision should be made for religious instruction in our schools. But no definite solution of the problem has been arrived at as yet. Much may be said for and against the inclusion of religious teaching in the school curriculum. So the pros and cons of the matter should be carefully considered. A great many of us do not seem to believe in an entirely secular education for our boys and girls and think that some sort of religious instruction should be imparted in our schools. But in India we profess so many religions that the heterogeneity of our religious beliefs render it really difficult for us to impart religious instruction in the strict sense of the term in non-denominational schools. Even in denominational schools the desirability of preaching the creeds and dogmas of particular religions to the pupils belonging to other religious communities cannot but be called in question. But still some of the eminent educationists of the day are of opinion that the education that is to be imparted to the children of the country should not be

absolutely secular and "godless." They hold that the educational institution of the country should not thus aim at turning out "goless" men and women. The question is really a controversial one, and as such, it should engage the serious attention of the intelligentsia of the country, specially in view of the fact that religious education has actually found a place in the school curriculum at the present time.

Even granting that the education of our boys and girls should not be entirely secular, the question is what sort of religious instruction is to be imparted in our schools and in what form those lessons are to be given. In the opinion of Tagore:

"Teaching of religion can never be imparted in the form of lessons. Religion is not a fractional thing that can be doled out in fixed weekly and daily measures as one among various subjects in the school syllabus."

There is no gain-saying the truth of these statements. Religion is entirely a matter of personal conviction:

"It is the truth of our complete being, the consciousness of our personal relationship with the infinite", as Tagore has put it.

If religion is to constitute a dynamic force in life, it cannot be reduced to a set of cut and dried creeds and dogmas. Besides, in our country, heterogeneous creeds and beliefs present a real difficulty in teaching the dogmas of a particular religious community in a school. This is likely to occasion a good deal of serious opposition and adverse criticism also. There seems to be very little justification for imposing a particular creed or dogma on the children belonging to different religious communities. In my opinion, nobody has the right to thrust his or her religious belief on others. The very idea will be quite out of keeping with the democratic tendencies of the age. So even in denominational schools, boys and girls should be allowed the freedom of thought and religious worship. They should be encouraged to think for themselves and to form their own views, instead of falling back entirely upon the traditional beliefs and customs of old. In our country the virus of communalism seems to have already infected even the minds of the children of tender age. So it will be anything but wise to add to the tense and bitter feelings between the different religious communities of this sub-continent by teaching particular creeds and dogmas in our schools. On the contrary, our children should be taught not to think or judge anything in terms of communalism. So no hard and fast rules can be laid down as how to draw up a syllabus of religious instruction that will be acceptable to all schools. The authorities of the educational institutions of our country should be called upon to prepare their own syllabus, if they consider it to be absolutely necessary to impart some religious instruction to their pupils. It is for the former to decide what is to be taught, and how it is to be taught.

This naturally leads us to the question if religious teaching is to be altogether excluded from the educational programme of the day. The very idea seems to be shocking to some, inasmuch as in India religion forms an integral part of our everyday life. The education that is entirely divorced from the practical interests of our life, and is totally unrelated to our everyday activities is sure to be looked upon with suspicion by a good many people of our country, who are likely to apprehend that our boys and girls will turn out to be "godless", as a result of a purely secular education. So the balance of opinion seems to be in favour of imparting some sort of moral instead of religious instruction in our educational institutions, the fundamental precepts of all religions being essentially the same. Many of the educationists of our country opine that there is no harm in teaching certain fundamental moral principles or rules of conduct to the school children with a view to the formation of their character. In that event there is very little likelihood of any objection being raised by the parents and guardians belonging to other religious communities. The proposition seems to be a sensible one. But to my mind a mere abstract teaching of those moral principles will hardly appeal to the children's minds, and

will fail to make any lasting impression on them. Attempts should be made to make these lessons as concrete as possible. Instead of having recourse to purely didactic teaching, the teachers will do well to encourage their pupils to read the lives of the great men and women of different ages and different countries.

"Lives of great men all remind us  
We can make our lives sublime,  
And, departing, leave behind us  
Foot-prints on the sands of time."

In this way certain noble ideals can be set before the youthful mind which is usually so impressionable.

Some of those lives may also be dramatised by the school children, so that the lessons may be much more impressive. Example is always better than precept. So much depends on the person or persons giving the lessons on moral instruction. The teachers should always be a pattern to their pupils. We know how fond the school children are of imitating their teachers, imitation being one of the inborn instincts of the former. Besides, the home plays an important part in moulding the characters of children. The surroundings in which they "live move and have their being" cannot but exercise a tremendous influence on their characters, and leave indelible impressions on their plastic minds. No amount of moral teaching can counteract the evil influence of a bad home. So the teachers must know the kind of homes their pupils come from. Children unconsciously imbibe some ideas from the other members of their families. That is why the family traditions count for so much in their education.

Comparative religion is found to be taught in some of our schools. The object of teaching it should consist in stimulating independent thinking on the part of the school children in religious matters. The idea underlying this sort of instruction is that the pupils will thus become conversant with the fundamental precepts of all the principal religions of the world. It is incumbent on the teachers to teach their pupils how to appreciate the truth and beauty of every religious faith and to respect the religious feelings of those who profess a different religion. They will thus be made to feel the essential unity of all religions. The need of inculcating religious toleration among our boys and girls cannot be stressed too strongly. But a good deal of caution should be exercised by the teachers, when teaching comparative religion. They should be fully alive to the responsibility of the task entrusted to them. Care should be taken that the religious susceptibilities of the pupils are not wounded. The teachers will be expected to have an entirely unbiased mind, and should not be inclined to thrust their own points of view on those whom they will be teaching. So the right type of teachers should be selected for the purpose of conducting these lessons. Unless this is done, all efforts to achieve the real object are doomed to failure. Such lessons may prove too difficult for the junior pupils of a school. So only the pupils of the four top classes of a school whose powers of judgment and thinking are expected to be fairly developed, may be called upon to participate in these lessons.

At the present moment, the work of many of our educational institutions begins with a short non-denominational prayer, as, in the opinion of many, religious instruction cannot be altogether dispensed with in schools. In the majority of the educational institutions, before the normal routine of the day is begun, the pupils are made to assemble together for the purpose of singing a religious hymn or reciting some Vedic verses or *stotras*. Suitable short passages from the different religious scriptures may also be read out by the teachers on those occasions but those passages need to be well-selected. I think, there cannot be any objection, whatever, from any quarter to the practice. Those occasions are, as a rule, marked by very little solemnity, and the formalities to be observed are looked upon by the pupils as a part and parcel of their daily programme of school work, rather than religious instruction. But

in view of the diversity of our religious beliefs, this seems to be the easiest solution of the problem. The question of maintaining the denominational schools should also be carefully considered. In my opinion these schools do more harm than good, inasmuch as these tend to stifle the "spirit of free enquiry" among the pupils. Bertrand Russell has truly observed:

"Schools conducted by religious bodies have to prevent the young, who are often inquiring by nature from discovering that the definite beliefs are opposed by others, which are no more unreasonable, and that many of the men best qualified to judge think that there is no good evidence in favour of any definite belief."

The aim of education should consist in fostering "the wish for truth, not the conviction that a particular creed is true." O:—

## BEDIA—A DEGRADED CASTE

By A. V. THAKKAR

WHILE touring in Bundelkhand, a number of small States now integrated in the Vindhya Pradesh States Union, in the end of April, 1949 for the purpose of studying the people and specially the backward castes of Harijans, hill tribes and other backward castes, I came to Bijawar, a town of about 10,000 population on the morning of the 1st May. After going round the street inhabited by Sweepers, Basors, Chamars and after inspecting a Harijan Lower Primary School my party was taken to a street inhabited by Bedias exclusively. This caste is not very numerous and is to be found in a few places on this side. The street has about 18 houses and I have got a census taken of all the men, women and children belonging to this caste.

During my visit to the locality of Sweepers, Chamars, Basors, etc. I had no difficulty in getting information about their ways of living, their profession, their wages and their social condition. But in this locality it took some time to gather together the men and the women of the locality. The women were the first to come and the men could be gathered with a little difficulty. The first question put to the 8 or 10 men after they had assembled was about their profession. We were told previously that they were cultivating the lands given to them by the State but this proved to be not correct. They said that they had no land to cultivate and the one field that was given to one of them including a well have passed off from their hands to the Jagirdar of the village. A young woman then brought forward a Government stamped paper which proved to be a Patta of land given to her old father who was present. But this land too was taken away from the family by the Jagirdar.

In reply to my first question about the profession an old man told the party very frankly that besides the ordinary labour "we are living upon the money earned by our sisters and daughters" meaning thereby

by prostitution. The boldness and the want of ordinary modesty common among the women, showed that the women were more forward and advanced than the men. They were the spokesmen of the small gathering and the young lady who was in the possession of the Patta for cultivated land, related to us her story, when we pressed upon the gathering that the profession the caste was following should be left by them in favour of more decent manual work.

She said in a complaining mood that though she had proposed some time back to marry a Bramhin who was willing to take her as spouse, the matter was reported to the Police and the Thanedar or the Sub-Inspector of Police came in her way and would not approve of the marriage and banned it. Then she said, "I was willing to marry and lead an honest domestic life but I was not allowed to do so by the almighty police department." She said, "There are many others like myself who are willing to lead a set life but we are unable to do so for no fault of ours but because we are compelled to lead the life we are traditionally living. If you enable us to get settled in life and give our menfolk some lands to cultivate and to their living from the same, we are ready to live like other people of the Society."

Our local friends, officials and non-officials, said very frankly that this was the first time that "we came across this caste and its degraded social conditions." They said, "We are doing our routine work of courts and offices—of Congress and Praja Mandal and of agitation and holding conferences, but we never knew this problem, though it exists in our very locality and which is no doubt a disgrace to the Society of which the Bedias form a part."

From the details of the census taken, it is found that the 18 families have 21 men and 34 women, 8 boys

and 10 girls, total 73. Out of the 34 women about 26 were found to be prostitutes. Will not social servants take up the work of reforming these women? There is a class of such women in Karnatak, going by the name of Devadasis. Shri Kaka Karkhanis, one of our senior and seasoned Harijan workers, undertook some years

back to educate such Devadasi girls and also admitted them into ordinary Harijan girls hostel in the city of Bijapur, Bombay Province. He has been successful in educating and sending forth in the world as honourable women 10 girls since 1938 and some of them are school teachers.

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## THE INDIAN BANKING COMPANIES ACT OF 1949

By PROF. NALINI R. CHAUDHURI, M.A.

THE development of banking in a country can never proceed on sound lines and the banks can hardly reach a high level of usefulness, unless the laws regulating banks and banking are up-to-date, adequate and appropriate to the conditions prevailing in the country. The fundamental factors giving an impetus to banking legislation, however, have not been the same at all times of banking history. During the 19th century, banking legislation mainly aimed at regulating the issue of rates and securing the convertibility of the paper currency. In the post-World-War I-era, much of the banking legislation dealt with the powers and functions of the Central Banks. The great depression and the widespread banking crises of the thirties of the present century enormously enlarged the scope of banking legislation; and we witness today the opening of a new chapter with regard to such legislation. As Dr. S. K. Basu in his new book on *Recent Banking Developments* rightly observes:

"Special legislation aiming at the regulation of commercial banking activities, which was exceptional and unusual before World War II, or even in the years immediately after it, became the rule after the depression."

Today, therefore, banking legislation stands for the regulation by statute of the activities of the commercial banks of a country.

### HISTORY OF BANKING LEGISLATION IN INDIA

The history of banking legislation in our country may be briefly told. The desire for some law to regulate the functioning of banks in India may be traced to the first major banking crises which the country faced in 1913-14. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee in 1931 strongly urged the enactment of a special Bank Act, which should include the provisions of the Indian Companies Act of 1913 relating to banks with suitable alterations and amendments—the Act to whose general requirements banks like other joint-stock companies had to conform. The Foreign Experts associated with the committee, however, advised the Government to suitably amend the Indian Companies Act as it applied to banks, and this, they observed, would meet all requirements. The Government of India accepted their advice, and the Act of 1913 was accordingly amended in 1936 to give 'a special treatment to banks.' In 1939, the Reserve Banks of India took the initiative in the matter and submitted

a draft bill to the Government of India, for its being placed on the statute book, in order that the various maladies and defects regarding the organisation, management and functioning of banks in our country—ills and defects which were sapping the very backbone of our banking structure—could be removed and remedied. The Government of India, however, was reluctant to undertake any comprehensive banking legislation in haste in war-time. They tried to meet the situation by further amending the Companies Act in 1942 and 1944. A further deterioration in the banking situation, however, at last compelled the Government in November, 1944, to introduce in the Central Legislature a bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to banks owing to the dissolution of the Assembly, a revised bill was introduced in March, 1946. It was again withdrawn in January, 1948, and a fresh bill was introduced in the Indian Parliament in March, 1948. A Select Committee considered the bill and the Parliament ultimately adopted the Indian Banking Companies Act of 1949 in February of this year.

### DEFINITION OF BANKING COMPANY

The fundamental provisions of the Indian Banking Companies Act of 1949 may be considered under a number of convenient heads. The Act applies to Companies conducting banking business. The definition of banks, banking and banking business, therefore, comes first. Now, it has everywhere been found difficult to suggest a satisfactory and clear-cut definition of banks and banking. The problem is even more complicated in our country, where the terms 'bank' and 'banker' are used indiscriminately even by those who have little to do with banking, and, where many individuals and firms carrying on business do a large volume of financing of trade and industry. The Act has attempted to meet this difficult situation in a practical fashion. Banking has been so defined that all companies which accept, for purpose of banking or investment, demand or time deposits come within its scope. To make the matter more clear, the Act has given a long list of the forms of business in which banking companies may engage and they are expressly prohibited from doing any trading or other sorts of business. Under the new Act, all companies carrying on banking business must use the words 'bank', 'banker' or 'banking' in its name and no non-banking company shall use any of these terms as part of its name.



## CAPITAL STANDARDS FOR BANKS

Inadequate capital structure of banks in our country has been a patent cause of bank failure. An analysis of such failures demonstrates the plain fact that the 'incidence of mortality' has been the heaviest among banks with small capital. Hence the demand for some kind of regulation regarding the capital-structure of banks has been one of the most prominent feature of all proposals for banking legislation.

To secure adequate capitalisation of banks, the Act has divided the banking companies into two main categories—(a) banking companies incorporated elsewhere than in a province of India and (b) banking companies incorporated in a province of India. The first category includes mainly the foreign banks operating in our country. In order that they may be deemed to have complied with the requirements of the Act as to minimum paid-up capital and reserves, each such banking company is to deposit with the Reserve Bank of India in cash or approved securities or both a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs *plus* Rs. 5 lakhs, if it has a place of business in the city of Bombay or Calcutta or both. To further safeguard the interests of Indian creditors of such banks, it has been laid down that, in the event of such a bank ceasing to carry on business in India, the claims of the Indian creditors shall be a first charge on the assets thus deposited with the Reserve Bank.

In the case of the second category of banks, the capital standard has been laid down on the basis of (i) the importance of the big industrial and commercial cities of Bombay and Calcutta and (ii) the territorial range of the activities of the banks. Thus a bank must have larger paid-up capital and reserves according to its number of places of business. The aggregate value of the paid-up capital and reserves of a banking company shall not be less than (a) Rs. 5 lakhs if it has its places of business in more than one province of India *plus* another Rs. 5 lakhs if any such place of business is in Calcutta or Bombay or both. A banking company shall not be required to have paid-up capital and reserves exceeding an aggregate value of Rs. 5 lakhs, if its places of business are in one province, none of which is in Calcutta or Bombay; but such a bank must have a capital and reserves of one lakh of rupees in respect of its principal place of business *plus* Rs. 10,000 in respect of each of the other places of business situated in the same district *plus* Rs. 25,000 in respect of each place of business situated elsewhere in the province otherwise than in the same district, and Rs. 50,000, if it has only one place of business in a province but it is not in the city of Bombay or Calcutta and at Rs. 10 lakhs if it has all its places of business in one province, one or more of which is in Calcutta or Bombay; but such bank must have capital and reserves of 5 lakhs of rupees *plus* Rs. 25,000 in respect of each place of business situated outside Calcutta or Bombay. These provisions seem to secure a satisfactory and appropriate capitalisation of banks in our country. In particular, the exception made in favour of small

banks, by requiring them to maintain capital and reserves subject to a maximum of Rs. 50,000 has met with general approval. They occupy an important place in our national economy; 'cover two-thirds of the banking map of India' and finance to a large extent the small businessmen and the merchants. They do not thus go out of the picture but get the opportunity to reorganise themselves on sound lines.

Another satisfactory feature of the Act in this matter has been the laying down of specific regulations about the paid-up, subscribed and authorised capital of the banking companies. The undesirable practice of organising banks with large authorised capital and commencing business and conveying on banking operations irrespective of the amount of capital subscribed and paid-up has to be effectively stopped. The Act provides that the subscribed capital of every bank must not be less than one-half of its authorised capital and the paid-up capital must not be less than one-half of the subscribed capital.

## RESERVE FUND, CASH RESERVE AND LIQUIDITY RATIO

But the experience of banking legislation abroad shows that the legal requirements as to the minimum paid-up capital are not sufficient to protect the interests of the depositors and to secure the liquidity of the banks. Hence banking laws in other countries give equal importance to the vital need of the building up of adequate Reserve Fund, maintenance of proper cash reserve and of a fairly high liquidity ratio. Our Act has rightly followed similar legislation elsewhere in these respects. The need of such regulation can be appreciated, if we recall how our banks have mainly come to grief, by utilising their profits in paying high dividends to the shareholders, instead of building up adequate reserve funds and paying scant regard to the vital necessity of having good cash reserves and high liquidity ratios.

The Act provides that no banking company shall pay any dividend on its shares until all its capitalised expenses have been completely written off. Every banking company incorporated in India before declaring any dividend shall credit to the Reserve Fund 20 per cent of its annual profits until the Reserve Fund equals its paid-up capital. The Act has left the question of limitation of dividends to be considered with reference to companies generally. It was felt undesirable to make any separate provision for banking companies alone. In the matter of the Reserve Fund requirements, Dr. S. K. Basu considers that the value and significance of the same as also the liquidity position of the banks generally would have been enhanced if banks were required to invest the Reserve Fund in Government or trustee securities or to keep it deposited with scheduled banks or the Reserve Bank.

According to the Act, "all banking companies shall maintain, by way of cash reserve, cash with itself or in account with the Reserve Bank or both, a sum equivalent to at least 2 per cent of its time and

5 per cent of its demand liabilities. The scheduled banks have to do it under the Reserve Bank of India Act of 1934. Further, to ensure the maintenance of a percentage of a bank's total deposits in liquid assets or what is called the maintenance of a good liquidity ratio, the Act lays down that every banking company shall maintain cash, gold or unencumbered approved securities, which shall not be less than 20 per cent of the total of its time and demand liabilities in India. This welcome feature of the Act will prevent many small banks from carrying an over-trading at the expense of liquidity."

#### RESTRICTIONS ON LOANS AND ADVANCES

Many undesirable features and unsound practices have come to be associated with the policies pursued by banks—and especially the small banks—in regard to loans and advances. It is well known that unsound loan-policy ultimately leads to disaster. A bank's liquidity also can never be satisfactory, unless the assets it has acquired through loans, advances and investments, can be quickly and easily converted into cash and without loss. Hence banking laws everywhere include provisions relating to the types of assets banks can acquire and the kinds of loans and advances they can make.

Our Act has also most appropriately laid down some valuable regulations in these matters. They may be considered under three heads. (a) In many cases bank failures have been caused by indiscriminate loans and advances made to the banks' own directors or conceptors in which it is interested. Hence the Act lays down that no bank shall make loans and advances on the security of its own shares or grant unsecured loans to its own directors or firms or companies in which it or any of its directors may be interested as partners or managing agents or directors. Every banking company shall submit every month a return to the Reserve Bank, showing all unsecured loans and advances granted by it and, on examination of such return, the Reserve Bank may prohibit the bank from granting any such further loan and may direct the bank to secure the repayment of any such loan or advance within such time as the Reserve Bank may specify. (b) Banks in our country have also often come to grief for attempting to carry on trading activities by acquiring a controlling interest in non-banking companies. To prevent it, the Act provides that no bank shall form any subsidiary company and shall hold shares in any company of an amount exceeding 30 per cent of the paid-up capital of that company or 30 per cent of its under paid-up share capital and reserves, whichever is less.

Finally, considerable powers have been given to the Reserve Bank to control the advances made by banking companies. The Reserve Bank, like the Bank of England under the Nationalisation Act of 1946, will be able to exercise such powers in order that the resources of the banks may be devoted to such lines of investment which, in the opinion of the Reserve

Bank, are necessary in the interests of national economy and liquidity of the banks. According to the Act, the Reserve Bank may determine the policy in relation to advances to be followed by the banking companies generally or by any banking company in particular, and when the policy has been so determined, the banks or bank concerned shall be bound to follow that policy. Again the Reserve Bank may give directions to banks generally or to any bank or group of banks in particular, as to the purposes for which advances may or may not be made, the margins to be maintained in respect of secured advances and the rates of interest to be charged on advances, and each banking company shall be bound to comply with any directions so given.

#### LICENSING OF BANKS

To protect the interests of the depositors and to give a further dose of control over the banks to the Reserve Bank, a system of licensing for banks in India had been recommended by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee. In particular, the demand for a licensing system for foreign banks operating in India has been insistent for a pretty long time. The Act has introduced a comprehensive system of licensing for banks by the Reserve Bank. No banking company shall carry on banking business in India, unless it holds a licence granted by the Reserve Bank. Before granting any licence, the Reserve Bank may require to be satisfied that all or anyone of the following conditions are fulfilled: (a) It is in a position to pay its depositors in full as their claims accrue; (b) its affairs are not being conducted to the detriment of the interests of its depositors; and (c) in the case of foreign banks, the laws of the countries in which such banks are incorporated do not discriminate in any way against Indian banking companies operating in those foreign countries, and such foreign banks comply with all the provisions of the Act specially applicable to the foreign banks. The Reserve Bank may cancel the licence if a bank ceases to fulfil these conditions.

The tendency of banks in our country to 'branchify' needlessly and indiscriminately has also been sought to be prevented by the Act. Without the prior permission of the Reserve Bank, no bank shall open new branches or transfer existing places of business. And such permission will be given, only if the Reserve Bank is satisfied as to the financial condition of the bank, the general character of its management, the adequacy of its capital structure and earning prospects, and the public interest to be served by such branches. To prevent a bank from keeping the greater portion of its assets outside the province from which it has obtained the bulk of its deposits, the Act provides that at the close of each quarter the assets of each bank in a province shall not be less than 75 per cent of its demand and time liabilities there.

#### INSPECTION AND MANAGEMENT

Unless the Reserve Bank possesses the powers of inspection and is empowered to have full information from the banks, it cannot exercise adequate control

over the banking companies and render timely and appropriate help to them in times of real need. It may even be contended that if the Reserve Bank had such powers, some of the minor banking troubles of recent times could have been more effectively dealt with.

The Act has made suitable arrangements regarding the inspection of the affairs of the banking companies by the Reserve Bank. Every bank is now required to submit to the Reserve Bank a monthly return regarding its assets and liabilities. The Reserve Bank is also empowered to call for any information from a bank regarding its business and the classification of advances and investments of banking companies in respect of industry, commerce and agriculture. Again, the Reserve Bank at any time may, and on being directed by the Central Government shall, inspect the books and accounts of any banking company. If the Reserve Bank considers that the affairs of the banking company are being conducted to the detriment of the interests of the depositors, the Central Government may prohibit the banking company from receiving fresh deposits or direct the Reserve Bank to apply to the relevant Court for winding up of the company. It may be observed here, that it would have been best if the Reserve Bank could have regular and periodical inspection of all banking companies. Owing to paucity of staff, the Reserve Bank has pleaded its inability in this matter. If the Reserve Bank takes early steps to create and have a separate department for this purpose, its inspection of the affairs of the banks would be adequate and effective. The Act has wisely provided that the Reserve Bank may inspect a bank *at any time* and not, only when the affairs of the bank are unsound. This will prevent people from arriving at any adverse conclusion about the bank, from the mere fact of inspection.

The Act also empowers the Reserve Bank (a) to caution or prohibit banking companies against entering into any particular transaction and give them advice ; (b) to assist their amalgamation ; (c) to assist them with loans and advances and (d) to require the banking company, after inspection, to call a meeting of its directors to consider the results of the inspection and to make such changes in its management as the Reserve Bank may consider necessary.

It is well known that no bank can survive and prosper without sound and honest management. The Act has accordingly laid down provisions to improve the pattern of management of the banking companies. No bank shall be managed by a person who is a director of any other company or engaged in any other business. This will enable the managing agent and members of the staff to devote their whole time to the service of the bank. Some banking companies are functioning without the preference shareholders enjoying full voting rights. The Act lays down that the capital of a banking company shall consist of ordinary shares only, and the voting rights of all categories of shareholders are to be strictly proportional to the contribution made by him to the paid-up capital of the

company. Further, in order that a small group may not acquire a controlling voice in the affairs of the bank, the voting rights of any shareholder shall not exceed 10 per cent of the voting rights of all the shareholders. Finally, the Act prohibits the management of a bank by a managing agent, whose remuneration takes the form of a share in the profits of the company, or is on a disproportionate scale, or who has a contract with the banking company for its management for a period exceeding five years at any time. These provisions are expected to eliminate some of the organisational and managerial defects which are found in the case of many small banks.

#### CONCLUSION

The Bill came to be criticised from both the right and left wings of the Legislature. Prof. K. T. Shah felt that the Act did not go far enough and that 'no clause has been inserted to secure an eventual socialisation' of the banking companies. Others felt that too much powers had been given to the Reserve Bank, and that so much interference by it with all facets of a bank's activities would unduly fetter the discretion of banks and arrest sound and healthy development of banking companies. In view of this danger, Dr. S. G. Panandikar suggests that an Advisory Committee of competent bankers should be appointed. The Reserve Bank should consult it from time to time. Frequent consultations with such a body, having more intimate knowledge than the Reserve Bank about the real position and the needs of the banking companies, should reduce considerably the "dangers of hasty or inappropriate decisions on the part of the Reserve Bank," in the exercise of its very wide powers bestowed upon it by the Act. Both theory and foreign precedent seem to support this very valuable suggestion of Dr. Panandikar.

The omission of the indigenous bankers from the purview of the Act has also been a point of criticism against the new statute. It is argued that the Act has left a vital sector of our banking unregulated. But the indigenous bankers are not willing to confine their activities to banking business only, accept deposits and give publicity to their accounts. If a practical scheme emerges as a result of further endeavours of the part of the Reserve Bank, the indigenous bankers can be easily fitted into the framework of the Act.

There is, however, no two opinion on the point that the banking companies in our country suffer from grave defects. The present Act, by laying down "minimum standards of efficiency and integrity," will go a long way in curing many of the present ills of the banks of our country. But it is also well-known that good laws only cannot create good bankers ; nor can advanced banking legislation completely remove unsound management, losses and failures. Much undoubtedly depends on improved business standards, sound and well-developed banking habits and growth of a moral outlook among business communities and banking companies.

# THE KASHMIR SHAWL

By MOHANKRISHNEN DHAR

Placed among beautiful surroundings, the people of Kashmir have been endowed with a marvellous artistic taste and a keen aptitude for the representation of the beauties of nature around them. Kashmir, indeed, has been noted for its arts and crafts from ancient times; the Kashmir shawls are said to have been admired, even in the days when Krishna went to the court of Kauravas as a delegate from the Pandavas, whilst they were also the most cherished treasures of the beauties of Caesar's court. The Kashmir shawl is the finest woollen texture in India and is also exquisite in workmanship. In uniting richness of design with freshness of colour, it has no rival in the world.

There is a traditional mention of the revival of the shawl industry by Mir Syeed Ali Hamdan Shah of Kashmir in 1378 A.D., and Mirza Haidar, Wazir of Sultan Nazuk Shah in 1540 A.D. In addition to this, there are authentic records of development of this industry during the time of the Great Mughal Emperors. Kashmir shawls formed the most precious and conspicuous part of the presents sent by Afghan and Mughal kings to foreign courts. These graceful and exquisitely worked articles of vesture, decorated with a profusion of floral detail and a wonderful harmony of the softest colours, are manufactured from the very fine, soft, flossy under-wool of the shawl goat which inhabits the high regions of Tibet and Eastern Ladakh. The *pashmina* of the shawl goat is sorted with care, and spun into delicate and finely uniform thread, mostly by Kashmiri women. The quality of the shawl depends greatly on the adroitness and skill of the women who spin it.

Before the cheap aniline colours were put into the market, this delicately spun thread was dyed in various soft hues, solely with vegetable dyes. It was then passed on to the dexterous hand and the artistic eye of the shawl-weaver to weave out a pattern which was, and still is, the envy of the textile manufacturers of the world. The finished piece is then washed in the water of the Dal Lake, which helps to render the *pashmina* soft, makes the colours fast and bright and thus makes it easier to pick out the discoloured bits of yarn in case of white and natural coloured shawls.

There are two kinds of shawls—one, the "Kani" or the loom-woven kind, which is woven in small pieces which are then joined together with an almost imperceptible stitch. The other is the "Ami" in which a plain piece of *pashmina* is covered over by a beautiful and elaborate pattern in needle-work.

The Kani shawl manufacture is a surprising process. The finished shawl is made in bits of an inch to a foot square. Two or three weavers work at each loom, instructed by the "key reader," who calls out the required number of threads and the special colours to be used from the ciphered scroll. One might be astonished if one happens to watch the dexterous hand of the weaver manipulating the required number of threads according to the directions of the "key reader." Each small bit is then carefully pieced together to form

a uniform pleasing design. Finally, the whole piece is washed in the water of the Dal Lake, and the shawl—"a poem of real art and exquisite design and colour"—is ready to form the most conspicuous part of a princess's *toshakhana* or the wardrobe of the most particular of beautiful maidens. One of these pieces takes a shawl-weaver over ten years of patient labour and hard work to finish, and each of these square shawls, so highly prized, consumes the best portion of a poor Kashmiri weaver's life.

On the other hand, the fine uniformity of stitch, the blending of colours, and the artistic development of the designs of the Ami shawls have no equal. One is astonished not only at the exquisiteness of the designs, but also at the fine quality of needle-work, and one wonders if the keen artistic eyes and the dexterous fingers that produced them retained their sight and suppleness till the completion of the shawl. Prof. Somnath Dhar writes in his article entitled "Arts and Crafts of Kashmir":

"The long beautiful curves, very common to the shawl design, are the artist's reproduction of the famous Jhelum, as viewed from the temple-topped hill of Sankaracharya in Srinagar."

The origin of these curves has been the cause of much speculation and dogmatic attribution by critics. It has been called the Jhelum pattern; it has also been arbitrarily attributed to the side impression of the closed fist, but it may perhaps with more reason be traced to the Persian symbol of the sacred flame which is worked in the head dress of the rulers of Persia or the ancient Egyptian *coccus*.

Asoka and Ashoka encouraged the shawl industry. The art of shawl-weaving, however, attained to great excellence during the Mughal reign. The famous ring shawls—a yard-and-a-half square shawl that can be passed through an ordinary finger ring—were produced during this period. The Afghans (1752 A.D. and after) extended the trade to Persia, Turkestan, Afghanistan and Russia. The "Jamwar"—a loom shawl manufactured specially to form a long coat, "choga" or cloak—was first manufactured in this time. The trade flourished till the year 1834 A.D., when a terrible famine in the country hit the trade very hard. The Franco-German War of 1870, and the change in the fashions of wearing shawls, dealt a severe blow to this prosperous industry, and it began to lose favour in foreign markets. The disuse of Kashmir shawls by the nobility, and the substitution by foreign importers of cheap and glaringly inartistic designs, almost sounded the death-knell of this industry of Kashmir.

The art of shawl-weaving is not quite dead yet; it only needs proper encouragement and treatment for its revival, and this it is now receiving at the hands of the authorities.

Adapted to the needs of modern fashion, and rich in its wealth of true ancient artistic perfection, the shawl industry will yet regain its lost position in the markets of the world, and be a source of inspiration to all true students of the beautiful and the sublime.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**THE GUPTA EMPIRE :** By Radhakumud Mookerji. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. 1947. Pp. 174. Price not mentioned.

In the Preface to this work the author modestly declares it to be his aim "to bring together in a concise and condensed form all the facts and data" relating to Imperial Gupta history. One should naturally expect in such a case, if not any degree of originality, at least the qualities of complete and accurate presentation of facts. This expectation is fulfilled unhappily only in part. The author takes us (though unfortunately in the form of a series of disjointed notes), through all the successive reigns of the Gupta emperors, starting, aptly enough, with a sketch of the beginnings and ending with a survey of material and moral progress. The series of line-drawings of coins and select illustrations of architecture and sculpture form a novel and attractive feature of the work. And yet it must be admitted that it lends itself to a good deal of criticism on the score of omissions as well as commissions. The list of sources (p. 1) should have included a reference to I-tsing and the pilgrims commemorated by him in his work translated by Chavannes. The picture of the condition of India at the rise of the Guptas (pp. 2-8) should have included some mention of the Yaudheyas and the Malavas. The very meagre account of Greater India (pp. 133-34) makes no reference to the very important archaeological discoveries in Eastern Turkestan and is silent about the Indian colonies in Indo-China and Indonesia. The description of the state or religion (pp. 134-38) is based exclusively upon archaeological evidence and makes no use of the important data furnished by the contemporary literature. The account of the state of learning (pp. 139-44), which is similarly derived from the exclusive evidence of inscriptions and the testimony of Fa-Hien, is silent about the poets and dramatists as well as mathematicians and astronomers adorning the Gupta period. No reference to the state of painting and terracotta occurs in the description of the art and architecture of the Gupta period (pp. 144-51). The allegation about the legal age for kingship (p. 15) is without foundation. The discussion of the Kaucha and Ramagupta problems (pp. 18, 66-67) is inconclusive. The rendering of *arnasthanika* as superintendent of silk factories (pp. 130, 158), of *drangika* as 'city magistrate' and *dhantadhikaranika* as officer-in-charge of land-revenue (p. 158), of *haranya* as 'gold' and *daseparadha* as compounding offences of the mind along with those of the body and speech (p. 159) is inaccurate. The identification of the figure illustrated in pl. xviii with God *Surya* is uncertain. The complete want of maps is regrettable.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**PUBLIC FINANCE AND OUR POVERTY :** By J. C. Kumarappa. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1948. Pp. xii+112. Price Re. 1-8.

**THE ECONOMY OF PERMANENCE :** By J. C. Kumarappa. All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha, C. P. 1946. Pp. viii+91. Price Rs. 2.

**WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT ?** By J. C. Kumarappa. The Hindustan Publishing Co. Ltd., Rajahmundry. Pp. v+168+u. Price Re. 1-8.

**SWARAJ FOR THE MASSES :** By J. C. Kumarappa. Hind Kitabs Publishers Ltd., Bombay. 1948. Pp. 104. Price not mentioned.

**GANDHIAN PLAN RE-AFFIRMED :** By S. N. Agnawal. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1948. Pp. 88. Price Rs. 2-8.

After having obtained political independence, India is today at the cross-roads, so far as her economic future is concerned. The poor have to be fed, clothed, housed and educated, and set upon their feet so that they can grow to the full stature of their manhood.

One school of thinkers is of opinion that we should take full advantage of modern productive methods, create an abundance of consumption goods, not only here, but also in other countries. For, it is only in that environment of satisfied needs that man will be able to shed the jealousy and cruelty which comes from shortage of supplies, and then he will be free to devote himself to the pursuit of the nobler elements in his being. This school of thinkers also feels that, for this purpose, the means of production should be socially owned, so that proprietary rights may not interfere with anyone in sharing the benefits of science. The means through which this end can be achieved, is, according to many, totalitarian control of the State in the interest of the proletariat; and this control can only come through violent methods.

There is a second school which shudders at the results of totalitarianism through violence; for they have seen its bitter fruits during the last war, as well as inside countries like Germany or Japan, and also Russia. And they have tried seriously to devise other means so that democracy can be established by democratic methods.

Gandhiji's experiment in India was a great and brave attempt in that direction. Gandhiji felt clearly that, if for the sake of national defence, a people resorted to violent means, then, under prevailing world-conditions, no one could stand alone but would have to depend upon others for support. And this choice of helpmates would be guided not so much by ideological considerations as by military necessity. Under such conditions, a people would, most probably, have to barter away much of their economic and political

liberty. He therefore felt that, unless the means of defence could be democratized, i.e., brought within the capacity of even the smallest social unit, the needs of war would inevitably lead to totalitarianism. And totalitarianism in defence would lead to the regimentation of economic life, to the subordination of the individual to the group even in peace time; for today 'peace' is only the interval when nations prepare for war. The group which rules may be true to its representative character for the time being; but, if it is not, then where would the power of the people be to undo any wrong, except through another violent revolution?

It was in order to break this apparently unending chain of violence that Gandhiji invented the social weapon of Satyagraha, as well as its economic counterpart in the shape of decentralized economy. It is necessary to point out here that a sort of decentralization has come into being due to the exigencies of defence from air-attack during the last World War. But Gandhiji dreamt, not merely of mechanical decentralization but also of the dispersal of authority among as large a number of people as possible, which is absent in the present case.

Undoubtedly, such a war-level economy as Gandhiji's economy undoubtedly is, even when it is designed to safeguard the interests of Democracy—will tend to be uneconomical so far as the labour involved in production is concerned. What was the way to avoid that? Gandhiji's answer was that for the purpose of satisfying the primary needs of life, the producing units should be as small as possible. Then, for purposes other than that, we should build up circles of co-operation, and these may reach world-wide, i.e., international proportions. Today a high standard of life is purchased by the surrender of many things which are more precious. It rests upon, not voluntary but forced co-operation. When men have learnt to be free and are able to maintain that freedom intact through socialization of the means of production of the elementary necessities of life (the units of production remaining at the smallest practicable level), then they can co-operate with one another for the sake of mutual benefit. Another important point in such a scheme of life is that no one can defend by non-violence anything which is also not gained by non-violence. Anything gained through violence must be surrendered. No nation can hold anything as its private property; for non-violence recognises no national boundaries; it refuses to cut up the integrity of the human family into either nations or classes. It seeks to restore the working man alone to power through *Satyagraha*.

The four books under review give us a clear picture of Gandhiji's decentralized economy by men who are fully qualified for the task. Shri Kumarappa's book on Public Finance prepares the case against centralized control in economic or political life. He has shown us how the life of India was strangled by political and financial manoeuvres in the past. In his booklets *Economy of Permanence*, and *Why the Village Movement?*, he has elaborated the philosophy which lies behind Gandhian economic thought. He has shown how he rescue from the present bondage of the world lies in the insistence on human values, and not in merely creating an abundance of goods through the service of science. Unless human beings are right, science is likely to lead us wrong. His *Swaraj and the Masses* is however partly an indictment against the present Government in India, and partly a series of practical suggestions, through which he believes the interests of the exploited millions can be properly safeguarded. He has some very hard things to say against the present administrators. Thus, he says in one place, "The

Government seems to be drifting without any well-defined policy, leaving the initiative in the hands of unscrupulous vested interests who are feathering their nests while they can." One remedy, according to him, lies in the hands of the people. "A good fighter is not necessarily a good administrator, nor is a capable politician always an able social builder. The people too have their duty by their leaders. They owe it to their leaders that they do not place them in a false position." (Pp. 14, 15).

Principal Agarwal's book is a sequel to his earlier *Gandhian Plan*. In the present book, he has taken stock of some of the criticism levelled against the earlier publication. He has dealt with the theoretical considerations from another, and a more practical point of view. He has also come forward with helpful, constructive suggestions, which, according to him, should guide the nation and Governments if democratic freedom as envisaged by Gandhiji, is going to be established in India. Principal Agarwal's practical suggestions for the reform of land tenure and creating a balance between agriculture and industry through the development of co-operatives would be appreciated by many. Those who want to learn more about the Gandhian approach to economics will find the books under review to be of great value.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

PROVINCIAL TAXATION UNDER AUTONOMY. By B. Das Gupta. Published by Oxford University Press 1948. Pp. viii + 486. Price Rs. 40.

The book is a study of the taxes and taxation policy of our provinces under popular control confined roughly to the first five years of provincial autonomy. The general principles that should mould the taxation policy of a government, and the limits that the constitution or political expediency places on the selection of taxes on the part of a provincial government are pointed out in Part I of the book. Taxes are analysed and their effect are traced in Parts II, III and IV under the three heads of taxes on things, taxes on land and tax on persons respectively. Different problems of taxation are presented by the author in Part V. This part will be found instructive to the general readers for these problems are more important and urgent today under the federal form of our constitution than they were in the period of the writer's special study. The author rightly pleads for co-ordination of taxation. This is necessary not only to avoid conflicts between the Centre and Provinces or between one province and another, but also to prevent double or multiple taxes from oppressing people or hampering their business.

The author's analysis is elaborate and discourses are learned. But the general reader, even though he be an "intelligent voter," may not find the book easy or interesting. It should however, prove useful to economists and administrators, for whom the book is mainly intended.

P. C. GHOSH

POEMS. By Swami Vivekananda. Advaita Ashram, Mayabati, Almora 1947. Pp. 67. Price Re. 1-6.

Swami Vivekananda's poems have been collected together in this volume, and placed in two sections: the first consisting of the poems written by him directly in English, the second, of the English versions of the poems originally composed by him in Bengali, Sanskrit and Hindi.

Even if poetry is admitted to be primarily concerned with its form and an appeal to the emotions, rather than with reasoned thought, Swami's poems should deserve warm and wide recognition. From the

insufficient records we get about him, we find that he wrote under direct poetical impulse, that these have been inspired poems. 'The song of the Sannyasin' and 'Kali the Mother' of the first section have been well known to all lovers of poetry, and they have been rightly given the pride of place. Naturally, the translated pieces do not carry the appeal of the original to readers who have known them in their 'native hue'; but that was to be but expected.

These poems should be known to a wider circle of readers than now.

P. R. SEN

### SANSKRIT

**PRAMANA VARTIKAM-SVARTHANUMANA PARIC'CHEDA** Edited by *Rahula Sankritayana* *Kātib Mahal, Allahabad. Price Rs. 30.*

The Sanskrit text of Dharmakirti's famous work, *Pramana-Vartika* on Dignaga's *Pramana-Samuccaya* was so long unknown to the Sanskritists along with its commentaries. They were only imperfectly known through Tibetan translations and stray references in later works. But thanks to the untiring efforts and devotion of Mahapandita Rahula Sankritayana MSS of not only this work but of many other rare Buddhist philosophical texts have been collected from far-off Tibet. Now he has presented to the world of scholars some of these valuable Buddhist Sanskrit works including the present one.

The importance of the *Pramana-Vartika* can be guessed from the fact that Indian philosophers of other schools had to reshape their systems in their effort to refute its views.

Tibetan sources show that there were many commentaries on this work. The author himself commented on the third of the four chapters in it. In the volume under review, the original *Karikas* (Chapter III) and the *Vitti* by the author have been edited with the elaborate subcommentary of Kanugommi on the latter. The learned pundit has done everything that could be expected of him with the imperfect materials at his disposal. He had even to restore some portion from Tibetan translations where his manuscripts failed.

This work, along with the full text of the *Pramanavartika* with Manorathanandin's commentary edited by the Mahapandita in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* has opened a new vista of study to the lovers of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

### BENGALI

**SAHEED (MARTYR) KHUDIRAM** By *Ishan Chandra Mahapatra, R.L. Vidyaashri Publications, 61/4 Bhawanipur Road, Calcutta. Pp. 201. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This Bengali book written by a leader of the Midnapur Bar shows further light on the literature on the life and times of Khudiram Basu, the boy-hero who was the first offering of the Bengal terrorist movement that burst out in the wake of the awakening of the Swadeshi anti-Partition agitation. The recent ceremony at Muzaffarpur where a memorial has been raised to Khudiram is the proper occasion on which the book can be reviewed, recalling as it did how an erratic boy developed into a serious revolutionary worker and ended his life on the gallows before he had completed his 20th year. The author has collected all the facts of the life of this orphan whom the most adverse conditions could not depress and demoralize and who found in the Swadeshi awakening an instrument of self-fulfilment and service. These help to recapture something of the spirit of the times when the people first awoke to the

shame and ignominy of alien rule and how our women-kind could from behind the *purdah* contribute to the success of the revolutionary movement. For, it would not have reached maturity without their silent ministrations.

The book has been very appropriately dedicated to Shri Hem Chandra Das Kanango, one of the pioneers of the terrorist movement in Bengal.

There is one mistake in page 35 where appears the information that in 1902 Aurobindo's disciple Jatindranath Mukherjee of Balasore battle fame came with a message to Midnapore; the reference could be to Jatindra Nath Banerji who played a pioneer part along with Barin Ghosh in initiating terrorism in Bengal; he became a Sannyasi and was known as Swami Niralamba who in 1907 became, after Upadhyaya's death, editor of the *Sandhya* for about a month.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

### HINDI

**JAI PRAKASH KI VICHAR DHARA** Edited by *Rambhiksha Pustak-Jagat, Patna. Pp. 326. Price Rs. 4.*

**CONGRESS SAMAJVADI KYON** By *Jai Prakash Narayan and B. P. Sinha* Available from *B. P. Sinha, Kashi Vidya-pith, Kashi* Pamphlet Pp. 34 price not mentioned.

**SAMAJVADA** By *Sampurnananda Kishi Vidya-pith, Kashi. Pp. 322. Price Rs. 2.*

The first is a well-edited anthology of the thoughts of the well-known Socialist leader, Sri Jai Prakash Narayan. It covers in four sections, respectively, his views on Socialism, his letters to the soldiers of freedom, American soldiers and students, sent out by him during 1942 Revolution, letters from and his life behind the bars, and a vigorous plea for a Socialist State in the post-Freedom period. There is a freshness, as there is fire, in the great leader's idealism and outlook, which fills the reader with hope for the future of his country. This is further borne out by the pamphlet which is a rationale in favour of the Congress turning Socialist. The third is the fourth edition of the author's classic on Socialism in his proverbially profound strain and powerful style. Even non-Socialists will find in these three publications a tonic for their minds.

G. M.

### GUJARATI

**SURVAKANT** (Jnanyoga) By the late *Mauli Lal Jamnadas Malharji. The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad 1947. Pp. 27. Price Rs. 2.*

The beauties and technicalities of Jnanyoga are given here in their most correct form, for guidance of those who follow that path.

**UTTAR GITA** Translated by *Shastri, Gopin Shankar Mayoshankar 1945. Pp. 64. Price six annas.*

Shri Adya Shankaracharya's Guru Shri Candpad has written a commentary on Uttar Gita, i.e., the Sermon given by Krishna to Arjuna after the battle of Kurukshetra. It is translated in this book with the original Sanskrit text.

**JIVAN SANGRAM** Edited by *Nandlal Bhambhani Lal Shah 1948. Pp. 80. Price eight annas.*

Mahatma Gandhiji has compared the whole life of man to a battle, a battle with life. The practised hand of the writer has pointed out the way in which the battle of life could be fought and the various evils towards which humanity drifts can be successfully tackled.

K. M. J.





# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Hinduism in the Modern Context : Swami Vivekananda

In the course of an article in the *Vedanta Kesari* Prof. K. Sdbrahmanyam makes the following observations :

It is not an accident that Gandhiji's favourite Upanishad is the *Isavasya*. For in this Upanishad more clearly and insistently than in others, has been asserted the true relationship between the temporal and the eternal. The temporal and manifold world is to be enjoyed through renunciation. It is to be enjoyed, that is to be made the path along which lasting bliss may be sought: it is therefore not to be discarded or ignored. But it is also to be renounced, that is to be transcended. To work through the world, but not to be limited by it; to see beyond the world but not to be oblivious of it—this is the two fold task set for us by this Upanishad Swami Vivekananda, the founder of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission had by the whole of his life, his sayings and his doings best expounded the essential oneness of the twofold task and called upon us in the context of modern life to be true to the age-old teachings of our religion.

The modern period differs from the earlier stages of human history in the determination which it displays to conquer the environment, to make man the master of the physical world.

This is on the material and scientific plane. On the social plane, it strives for an increasing integration of the individual with the community. Whatever the form of the State under which the modern man lives, he has to seek his fulfilment through co-operative effort and by sharing in the life of the body politic, not in isolation working for some mode of personal perfection. He has by his own manner of functioning to contribute to the health of the organism of which he is one living cell, the community; and he has to find in the health of the community the condition in which alone he can realize his own highest potentialities. Is Hinduism capable of providing the motive power for the effort which the modern age demands on both the planes?

Before the advent of Swami Vivekananda we had lost our grip on the world around us, proved ineffective in controlling its forces. We luxuriated in verbose metaphysical speculations on the Absolute and exploited the doctrine of Maya to explain our ineffectiveness in the world around us.

By way of reaction against this state of affairs, others, more sincere with themselves allowed the affairs of the world to engross their attention and spurned religion as an insidiously emasculating force. They persuaded themselves that it was the other-worldliness of the Hindus that had made them ciphers in this world.

The *Isavasya* Upanishad supplies the antidote to both these maladies because it asserts that when *Vidya* and *avidya*, *sambhutam* and *asambhutam* are seen as things apart or as things opposed to each other, the Reality remains unseen. The third dimension underlies the other two at every point; one does not have to travel outside the two dimensions to come into contact with the third. So does the Divine underlie the Universe.

## Sister Nivedita

One of the finest and rarest gifts that England ever bestowed on India was the beautiful personality of Margaret Elizabeth Noble, affectionately remembered in India as Sister Nivedita. Najoo Bilimoria writes in *Triveni* :

Sister Nivedita was the precursor of other-like Annie Besant and Miraben, women of exceptional stature and outstanding character, who although just a few drops in the mighty ocean of ignoramuses and narrow biased 'memasahibs' that 'came out' to India have left deeper footprints on the Indian's memory page.

Margaret Noble was born on the 28th October, 1867 of Irish parentage. She inherited her powers of eloquence—her voice like a 'trumpet with a silver sound'—from her father, who was a very fine preacher. To him religion meant service and this lesson also he taught his daughter. The Nobles were well acquainted with India and the Indian way of life and anyone from India was a welcome guest in their household. Mr. Noble had always had an inner feeling that his daughter was born to do something great one day. The parents had resolved that they would not stand in her way if she made up her mind to do anything however unconventional a calling it may be.

Miss Noble was extremely intelligent and even Thomas Huxley was struck by the brilliance of her mind.

There was not a sharp analytic intelligence which is only at home in the realm of the theoretical; she combined theory and practice; she was a 'practical idealist,' to quote a phrase of Mahatma Gandhi's. She was deeply religious but religion to her meant no particular creed or dogma, but simple selfless service of 'the poor, the lowly and the lost.' She opened a school for those who did not have means to afford a good education in London; especially did she encourage women to come to her school. Her ideas of education were also not conventional; to her the main aim of education was to train up people who would be the servants of the society they lived in.

It was at this time that she came in contact with Swami Vivekananda who, after his triumphal tour of the United States, was giving a few lectures on Hinduism and Vedantism in London. Miss Noble attended these lectures regularly and although at first she was not impressed gradually she was drawn to the personality of the Swami, whose deep spiritual powers and desire for selfless service were so outstanding. The Swami, in turn, at once recognised that here he had found not only a 'disciple' but also a colleague. No one would be better able to put into practice his various ideals for the amelioration of Indian womanhood than Miss Noble. Accordingly he invited her to India and she accepted. He wrote to her at this time: "I will stand by you unto death whether you work for India or not, whether you give up Vedanta or remain in it. The tusks of the elephant come out, but they never go back. Even so are the words of a man."

Miss Noble came to India in 1898 and stayed at Belur—the headquarters of the Ramakrishna Mission near Calcutta.



Here she tried to accustom herself to the austere mode of life lived in the Ashram. She also travelled a great deal all over the country with Swami Vivekananda and many of her observations are recorded in her books, especially in the *Footfalls of Indian History*. Here is what she says of Banaras: "Banaras is an epitome of the whole Indian synthesis of nationality. As the new-comer is rowed down the river past the long lines of temples and bathing ghats while the history of each is told to him in turn, he feels, catching his breath at each fresh revelation of builded beauty that all roads in India always must have led to Banaras. In the caves of Elephanta she found 'the synthesis of Hinduism' whereas in the paintings of Ajanta, she saw a 'nobility and pity that stand alone in human history'. She was thrilled by the quiet beauty of the ancient cities of Buddhism and by the unsophisticated grace of Rajasthani—'an ancient Babylon'. She also visited Punjab and Kashmir right up to Amarnath. Travel, to Sister Nivedita was not 'sight seeing' but a study of the history and people of a place—an experience in living. 'I have had spiritual experiences that can never be forgotten. I have sometimes listened towards that I will always remember have at least once seen the supreme beauty of God'."

Miss Noble soon accepted Hinduism and then joined the Order of Sri Ramakrishna Paramhansa. She changed her name to Nivedita—one who is dedicated to the service of God.

During the bubonic plague that raged in Calcutta, Sister Nivedita organised a band of volunteers and rendered woman service in relief work. At this time Swami Vivekananda who was ailing, was advised a sea voyage and both he and Sister Nivedita set out for England. It was on this voyage that Sister Nivedita started a close and accurate study of the Swami's works which she expounded so nobly to the world thereafter in *The Master as I Saw Him*.

From England Sister Nivedita went on a lecture tour of the United States where she spoke to large audiences on the spirit of India as embodied in her women. On her return to London Sister Nivedita collected money for the school that she wanted to start for Indian women. Soon after her return, the Swami died and although Sister Nivedita was grief-stricken, it only strengthened her resolve to follow in her Master's footsteps and carry on his mission.

She rented a house in the most orthodox quarter of Calcutta and completely identifying herself with the people among whom she lived she became one of them. Not only did she teach the women who came to her school to read and write, but also the elementary rules of hygiene and how to nurse the sick and suffering. She gave shelter to widows and orphans in her home and her house began to be known as the House of the Sisters.

Side by side with her teaching she gave public lectures and wrote books on Indian subjects which showed a keen and penetrating insight into Indian life. Although she had imbibed Indian ways and modes of life, she was objective enough in her estimate of things Indian. She neither condemned nor praised uncritically but always went to the root of the matter and saw the good and evil equally well. She loved and appreciated the beauty in Indian life, art and literature and expounded it to the world in some of her books especially in *The Web of Indian Life* which is almost the only book in England which presents such a correct and at the same time philosophical interpretation of Indian life. In tender and beautiful words she describes the Indian Mother: "For what thought is it that speaks supremely to India in the great word 'Mother'? Is it not the vision of a love that never seeks to possess, that is, con-

tent simply to be—a giving that could not wish return: a radiance that we do not even dream of grasping, but in which we are content to bask, letting the eternal sunshine play around and through us?"

Sister Nivedita perhaps understood and loved India more than many Indians of her generation or even of today.

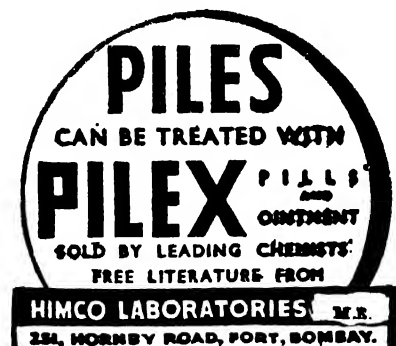
She preached the love of India with as much fervour as some people preach a particular religion. Although she lived in Bengal, she had a clear vision of the synthetic unity that is India. Again in *The Web of Indian Life* she says: "Another feature of the Indian synthesis is its completely organic character in a territorial sense. Every province within the vast boundaries fulfils some necessary part in the completing of a nationality. No one place repeats the specialised function of another. And what is true of the districts holds equally good of the people as a whole, and the women in particular. In a national character we always find a summary of the national history. Of no country is this more true than of India."

During the terrible famine that overtook Bengal in 1906, Sister Nivedita at the cost of her own health, went visiting the distressed villages of Barisal on foot, sometimes wading for miles through swamps and malarial water. She was attacked by malarial fever, but in spite of it she worked and toiled unceasingly till she breathed her last in Darjeeling on the 13th of October 1911.

Sister Nivedita's was a three-fold task of service:

Not only did she interpret India's culture and heritage to the Western world, but she also gave the best that is in Western life and thought to India. And above all she made Indians ignorant of their own great heritage and seeking their salvation in the superficialities of the West aware and conscious of themselves. Perhaps this last was her greatest service of helping the lost soul of India to find and reassert itself.

A distinguished son of India—Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy—has paid her the following tribute: "Sister Nivedita brought to the study of Indian life and literature a sound knowledge of Western educational and social science, and an unsurpassed enthusiasm of devotion to the peoples and ideals of her adopted country. . . . Sister Nivedita was not merely an interpreter of India to Europe, but even more, the inspiration of a new race of Indian students no longer anxious to be Anglicized, but convinced that all real progress, as distinct from mere political controversy, must be based on national ideals upon intentions already clearly expressed in religion and art."



## The Future of English in India

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Diwan Chand Sharma gives the *pros* and *cons* of India's retention of English. Prof. Sharma presents the opposition fairly but finds the arguments in favour of retention more compelling :

India today is a veritable Tower of Babel, so far as the future of languages is concerned. Mr. H. N. Brailsford asked in a recent article in *The New Statesman and Nation* whether South Indians would have to learn three languages such as Tamil, Hindi and English.

The Indian publicist complains of the denationalising influence of this addiction to English. He feels that the study of English has been fostered at the expense of our own languages and that English has been like a dead weight round the necks of Indians.

Against these arguments some sober, well-meaning persons raise their indignant voice of protest and point to the several advantages we have derived from the study of English. In fact, they counter each one of these arguments by pointing to some such material and invisible advantages. They ask: Has English not been a kind of *lingua franca* for the whole of India? Has it not stimulated the production of literature in the various languages of India?

English has not been a millstone round our necks, but a source of inspiration in many directions.

Now that we are free, we are driven by the force of circumstances to deny that primacy to English which it has enjoyed so many years. That English cannot be our *lingua franca* in the old sense of the word is conceded by everyone. The question, however, remains what place we shall accord to it. There are some who think that we shall be committing intellectual suicide if we jettison English in the name of freedom.

Not a few, however, urge that bilingualism or trilingualism is not a phenomenon peculiar to India.

Welsh children are bilingual and in Sweden and Denmark children take a second language, English, in the first year of secondary school, when they are eleven or twelve; at fourteen they take French and Latin, matriculating at fifteen.

We must cling to English for the fact is that neither Hindi nor Urdu, nor indeed the richer languages of Tamil, Telugu, Bengali, Marathi or Oriya will ever be able to compete with the English language which, after 50 years of British rule, has taken deep root in India and has eventually become the *lingua franca* of the country. This is an extreme position but several Indians take up this attitude.

We have to accept the fact that the average Indian cannot be content with mastering only one language.

Circumstanced as we are, we must be ready to learn more than one. We should not be frightened by this prospect but should reconcile ourselves to it. Reconciliation may imply resignation and passive acquiescence but in this matter our attitude should be more positive. We should cheerfully accept this situation and make the best of it. After all, it has been conceded by linguists that our capacity to absorb and master languages is almost unique and that it is only the Russians who come up to us in this respect. Taking this for granted, we should come to terms with the study of English. While doing so, we should remember not only our past affiliations with



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this language, and our present mood, but also our future needs.

In this connection we should remember the wise words uttered by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his convocation address at the University of Patna. He warned us against the dangers of narrowness of spirit. He believed that if at one time it was wrong to be enslaved by Western learning and civilisation, it was equally wrong today "to put yourself in a cage so that no ray of the light of Western learning and civilisation may enter it."

Now the best way of keeping ourselves open to the wholesome influences of the West is not to discard English, because this language is great not only on account of its original productions but also because it has proved to be such an effective medium for translation of the literatures and the technical books of the world. There may come a day when one of our own languages may become as rich as English, but a work of this kind cannot be done in years, but in decades. At the same time we should remember that Free India is not going to take to its bosom the King Emperor's English, but the other kind of English to which Dr. Mulk Raj Anand has referred in a very illuminating brochure on the subject.

The King Emperor's English may have been the badge of our servility, but the other kind of noble English can be a mine of inspiration, a fountainhead of stimulus and a treasurehouse of all the riches of the world.

The twofold approach to this problem already adopted by some Universities should be clearly understood and boldly applied. We should rightly understand

the distinction between English as the language of utility and English as means of inspiration or pleasure. It is the old distinction, as enunciated by De Quincey, between the literature of knowledge and the literature of power. We should make this twofold approach to the acquisition of the knowledge of this language. So far as the study of English as language is concerned, it should be made available to the widest commonalty. But the knowledge of English as literature should be pursued only by those who have a special aptitude for it. The first should be compulsory after a student has finished his elementary schooling and the second should begin in our high schools and continue right up to the degree classes.

This means that we should now take to the study of English as a language which is an insurance against geographical isolation, territorial exclusiveness, mental stagnation and spiritual narrowness. It should now serve as a bridge between us and the outside world. It is only this which can expand our horizon and open out before us new vistas of endeavour. We may agree with Mr. H. N. Brailsford that the King's English is doomed in India but we are going to adopt English, accepting its call to adventure in the realm of ideas and in the domain of human sympathies. It is going to make us an effective partner in the building of a New World. Since we do not want this privilege reserved for a privileged minority, we will diffuse the knowledge of English as widely as our means permit. Free India must throw open this opportunity to the largest possible number of its citizens.



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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS



## Hyderabad as UN Issue

*The writer of the following letter, Clyde Eagleton, professor of international law at New York University, served as legal expert in the State Department and to the United States delegation at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference.*

To the Editor of the *New York Times*,

There remains on the list of matters of which the Security Council is seized the item of Hyderabad. Nothing has been done for some months concerning this item, though the situation should command the attention of those who are interested in maintaining the prestige and authority of the United Nations. It represents the most clear-cut defiance which the Security Council has yet faced and, if left untouched, it will be the United Nations' most humiliating defeat, a precedent very dangerous for the future.

By the Indian Independence Act, the suzerainty of the British Crown over the Indian States (of which Hyderabad was one) lapsed on Aug. 15, 1947. Hyderabad was free to join in with either Pakistan or India, and no legal duty was placed upon it to join either.

At the 357th meeting of the Security Council, Sir Alexander Cadogan stated that "none of the powers previously exercised by the Crown was transferred to the Government of the two new Dominions—that is, India and Pakistan." Many difficult questions arose and, to allow time for their solution, a "standstill" agreement was made between India and Hyderabad, dated November 29, 1947. It was to continue in force for a year, and disputes arising under it were to be submitted to arbitration.

Friction increased steadily, and on August 21, 1948, Hyderabad brought the situation before the Security Council under Article 35, Paragraph 2, of the Charter, asking for "swift authoritative and determined" action by the Council. Such swift action was manifestly needed, for when the Council met next on this matter it was confronted with press reports that Indian armed forces had overwhelmed Hyderabad and that the Nizam had ordered his representatives to withdraw the case from the Council. This withdrawal was confirmed by telegram from the Nizam to the Secretary General.

• It would have been surprising, under these circumstances, if various delegates had not raised a question as to whether the Nizam was acting under duress. Professor Jessup, speaking for the United States, remarked that "the use of force does not alter legal rights" and that, therefore, "the situation had not been materially affected by the events of the last hours nor has it been substantially changed from what it was when the Security Council took it under consideration at our last meeting." Other delegates asserted that the matter should be kept upon the agenda, and demanded that investigators should be sent to Hyderabad to ascertain the facts in the situation.

The discussion was not completed, nor was any action taken, at the 360th meeting. On October 6, and again on November 21 and December 6, Pakistan requested that discussion be resumed and that she be allowed to participate. The delegation of India announced that it had no person authorized to discuss the question, and did not intend to send a represen-

tative for this purpose (S/1115). At the 384th meeting it was agreed to postpone discussion until the Council returned to Lake Success.

It is difficult to believe that the Security Council would submit passively to such a challenge to its authority. A case actually in consideration by it was interrupted by a use of force which was itself contrary to the Charter, and nothing was done as to this illegality or as to the defiance of Security Council jurisdiction. When a few voices were raised in inquiry, India refused to discuss the matter further. The Council was confronted with a fait accompli; and if disputes can be settled in this fashion, the very purposes for which the United Nations was created are undermined.

I am not here concerned with the fate of Hyderabad itself—though the fate of 17,000,000 persons is perhaps a matter of concern to humanity. Hyderabad may or may not be a state; it may or may not be entitled to independence; it may or may not be able to exist except as part of India. Such questions are separate ones; what I am concerned with is the jurisdiction and authority of the Security Council, which has never been so openly flouted as in this case.

As to this, India asserted that Hyderabad is not a state and therefore not entitled to appear before the Security Council. It is a strange claim coming from a government which is vigorously leading a fight for the Indonesian Republic, an entity which has much less claim to statehood. The Security Council has heard the Indonesian representatives, and representatives of other non-sovereign entities—e.g., of the Jews in Palestine before Israel became a state.

India also claimed that Hyderabad was a domestic question over which the United Nations had no jurisdiction—an amazingly inconsistent position for a government which refused to admit that Indians in South Africa, or a Dutch colony in Indonesia, were domestic questions. These instances were much more clearly domestic matters, for, whatever may be the legal status of Hyderabad it could not have been a part of India. There was no India of which it could have been a part until the Indian Independence Act, and this act gave to Hyderabad the option of refusing to join India.

Finally, it should be recalled that the "standstill" agreement was to last for a year, and that it denied to India the right to have armed forces in Hyderabad, but Indian forces invaded Hyderabad before the year was up, and that the same agreement contained an obligation to arbitrate questions arising under it, which obligation was completely disregarded.

Severe criticism has been directed against South Africa and the Netherlands, but each of these governments has some legal ground under the Charter upon which to stand and argue. There is no legal foundation whatever for the attitude of India toward Hyderabad; it is a clear case of conquest, illegal under the Charter. It is not at all a dead case, and should be reopened by the Security Council.

One reason, perhaps, for the lack of interest shown is the feeling that the incorporation of Hyderabad into India is inevitable. What could the Security Council do if it took up the case? It could, at least, investigate to find out what is the real situation of

the Nizam, and what is the fate of thousands of Moslems imprisoned or mistreated by the present Indian administration. It could and should assert its own authority by requiring a settlement of the legal status of Hyderabad based upon agreement rather than upon conquest.



**Dr. Tarak Nath Das**  
Watumull Professor of Public Affairs, New York University and Lecturer in History, Columbia University. A valiant fighter for India's freedom outside India (June 15, 1884--).

And if there is any question as to its authority, it would be difficult for India to disprove the charge that she has committed a breach of the peace which, if so determined by the Security Council gives to the Council the authority to issue binding orders.

CLYDE EAGLETON

New York, May 6, 1949.

### Status of Hyderabad

Dr. Taraknath Das defends India's stand regarding Hyderabad. In the editorial page of *The New York Times* of May 19, 1949, the following reply to Prof. Eagleton by Prof. Taraknath Das of Columbia and New York Universities was published :

To the Editor of *The New York Times*,

I read with interest the letter of my colleague, Prof. Clyde Eagleton, on "Hyderabad as a U. N. Issue," published in your issue of May 15. As Professor Eagleton's letter is an attack on India, I feel compelled to take issue with him.

First of all, it is gratifying that Professor Eagleton does not contend that Hyderabad has had the status of a "state." If Hyderabad did not have the status of a state, the contention of the Government of India that the Hyderabad question was India's private affair and should not have been brought up before the Security Council is valid and beyond any argument.

Secondly, Professor Eagleton reaches his conclusion after the recital of what he considers the facts regarding the Hyderabad case. Unfortunately, however, the facts of the case seem to me, and to many other students and observers, to be utterly at variance with Professor Eagleton's version. They may be summarized as follows:

It is true that the Independence of India Act, passed by the British Parliament, encouraged Balkanization of India by decreeing that Indian Princes might act as independent states. Yet, by what authority, human or divine, is the British Independence of India Act to be considered perpetually binding upon India? The British Government cannot perpetually dictate to India in a matter involving India's own interests and national security. This fact was tacitly recognized by the British Governor-General of India, Lord Mountbatten, who negotiated the so-called standstill agreement, by which Hyderabad was given various concessions by the Government of India, while it was definitely agreed that India would enjoy the position of virtual suzerainty over Hyderabad in matters of defense, foreign affairs, communications and even international financial issues.

This standstill agreement between India and Hyderabad was to last for a year. But before the expiration of the date the Hyderabad Government, supposedly without the approval of the Nizam, violated the agreement by plotting with Pakistan and some groups in Britain, Canada and Australia against the national security and territorial integrity of India by systematic gunrunning even by air transport. Vast sums of money were sent to Pakistan to purchase arms and ammunition.

The Hyderabad Government was a party in aiding financing and virtually organizing the Razakars, a fanatical Pan-Islamist armed band which violated Indian territories on various occasions and killed Indian citizens and destroyed their property.

It was also found that Hyderabad Government officials were parties (secretly) to a movement to incite Moslems in the Indian Union against the Government of India.

The Government of India became convinced that Pakistan's violation of Indian territories by aggression in Kashmir, Hyderabad's plottings with Pakistan and anti-Indian activities among the Moslems of India by Pakistan and Hyderabad were parts of a gigantic plot. The Indian Government had to take precautionary measures to check any possible outbreak among Moslem plotters in India; and at the same time gave repeated warnings to the Government of Hyderabad to use its

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power to check the activities against India carried on by Razakars and others. These warnings were of no avail.

Under such provocative circumstances, the Government of India, for the security of the State of India, which could not be guaranteed by the U. N. or any other body, had to take punitive action against Hyderabad. No one should expect the Government of India under Mr. Nehru to sit idle and take measures less effective than the British Government in India would undoubtedly have taken in its time.

It may be pointed out that no Government, including that of the United States, has given up its inherent rights of national security to the U. N. The Government of India solved the Hyderabad issue according to its indisputable rights; and it was a mistake, if not illegal, on the part of the U. N. Security Council to put the Hyderabad issue on its agenda.

The reopening of the Hyderabad question by the U. N. Security Council will serve no good purpose. The Government of India cannot be forced either by U. N. debate or by Pakistan's anti-Indian activity to abandon its course of action in Hyderabad. What it is doing in Hyderabad is an integral part of a larger program of aiding the cause of democracy by ending autocratic, irresponsible purely rule and archaic forms of feudalism in India.

Professor Eagleton's far-fetched comparison of the Hyderabad case with the issue of Israel and Indonesia needs no comment. The actions of the U. N. on these issues speak for themselves.

Lastly, it may be pointed out that the final solution of the status of Hyderabad within the India Union will be determined by the people of the territory. I am sure that the solution will be satisfactory to all who believe in democracy.

TARAKNATH DAS

New York, May 16 1949

### Science Vs. Starvation

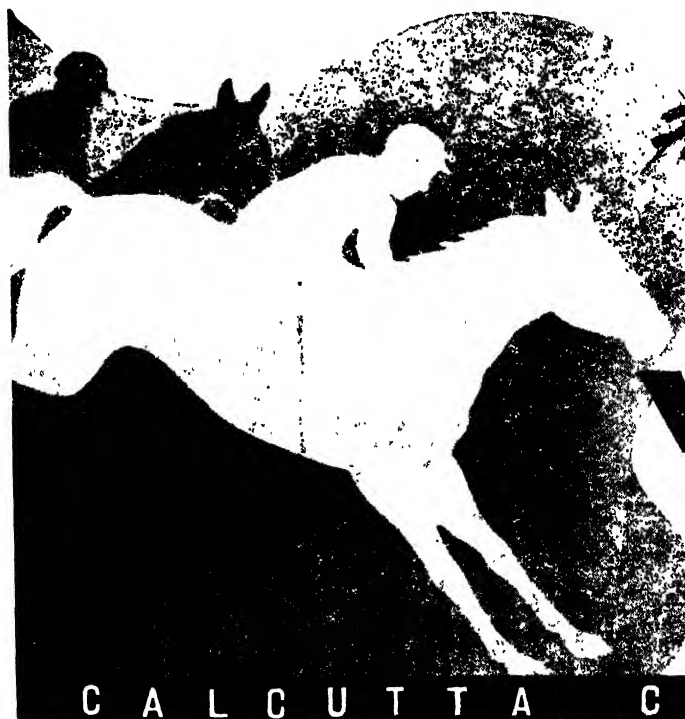
The following article has appeared in the May issue of the American Journal *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*. It is from the pen of Carl S. Miner, who won the Perkin Medal for outstanding achievement in applied chemistry. It carries such a message of hope for countries faced with starvation and is likewise so vitally important to all who look to Science for aid in the problems of malnutrition, that we reproduce it fully with all due acknowledgements to the journal and the author :

We seem to have entered an era of extreme pessimism regarding the future of the human race. Our democratic way of life is to be revised revolutionarily. Our lives are to be snuffed out to the last man by radioactive dust from multiple atom bomb explosions and it is not really worth while to postpone that catastrophe because we have so mistreated our soil that the only alternative to quick dissolution is slow starvation.

The last of these listed forms of disaster appears to be somewhat better documented than the other two. Many of you undoubtedly have read Osborn's "Our Plundered Planet" (2) Vogt's "Road to Survival" (6), or both. Certainly there is nothing essentially cheerful about either one of them.

With respect to the specific theses presented so ably by these two authors, your speaker does not lay claim to any expert knowledge whatsoever, and has no intention of attempting to controvert their depressing array of facts and figures.

It seems worth while, however, to list and summarize some of the scientific developments which may tend to postpone the famine or alleviate its severity. Let



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us start with what may appear at first to be a somewhat flippant dictum. We do not eat soil.

The foods we eat are composed in largest percentage of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen. All these elements are available in what appear to be ample quantities from air and water. The additional essential food elements of the inorganic class do not seem likely to become exhausted as such a rate as to affect the starvation problem importantly.

Probably the simplest and perhaps least practical helpful hint from science is inherent in hydroponics which suggests that under completely soilless conditions, foods can be produced of good quality so long as fertilizers, sun, and water are available. At present this procedure does not appear to be practical and it is merely mentioned in order to have it in our list.

The first grade aid of science to food production is in the development of methods for producing or selecting new strains of food plants. To cite what is probably the most outstanding single instance of such a scientific achievement, we can call attention to the introduction of hybrid corn which even now, though its use is by no means universal, has added 20 per cent to the corn crop of the nation. When we realize that on this country's 1948 corn crop that means almost 700,000,000 bushels—sufficient corn to provide the caloric requirement (at 3000 calories per day) of approximately 60,000,000 people for 1 year—we must in justice admit that the possibilities of such developments for the alleviation of our doleful food prospects are very great. It is for the specialists in the crop production field to say what actually can be done in the way of yield improvement and whether or not it can be obtained within the limits of our expected soil conditions, but certainly there is some basis for optimism in these figures.

Perhaps one of the useful ways of evaluating the assistance that science can offer to agriculture is to itemize the savings which can be made by applying available scientific techniques to the prevention of destruction or degradation of food crops during growth, after harvesting and before utilization as food.

The first technique that comes to mind in this connection is the use of insecticides, fungicides, rodenticides and herbicides for the control of plant pests. Enormous quantities of potential food materials are lost or rendered useless for food by the activities of plant pests, which, theoretically at least, might be controlled by the use of pesticides.

The advance in the production of insecticides and fungicides has been especially rapid and important recently. It is primarily during the past 20 years that chemists have shown ability to synthesize valuable products of these classes. Prior to that period the principal compounds of these types were based on natural plant material such as pyrethrum and rotenone and the inorganic toxicants such as lead, mercury, copper, fluorine, and arsenic.

Especially during the recent score of years, a flood of synthetic insecticides has been pouring out of the

laboratories and of these a considerable number have been widely and effectively used. One need only mention DDT to convince even the layman that science has contributed importantly to agriculture in that case at least, and the award of a Nobel Prize to Dr. Mueller only emphasizes what was previously common knowledge.

The list of new synthetic insecticides already includes benzene hexachloride, chlordan, the organic phosphates, the organic thiocyanates, and many others.

One essential fact which has become clear as the result of modern insecticidal research is that no panacea is to be expected, but it has become increasingly apparent that we are justified in hoping that the combined efforts of the synthesists producing compounds tailored to destroy specific pests, and the entomologists studying the life process of the insects, will eventually result in the almost complete elimination of this extremely serious source of food loss.

What is true in respect to the value of synthetic insecticides is also true with respect to fungicides where the control of fungus infestations beginning with seed treatment and continuing with the life cycle of the plant has made and is making tremendous advances.

Vogt writes that rats destroy \$200,000,000 worth of foodstuffs annually in the United States. It probably is reasonable to assume that the destruction due to this pest is proportionately greater in other parts of the world where the rat population is less effectively controlled. The pest problem also has been attacked by the scientists and we are no longer dependent on red squill and the simple fluorides but have the tremendously effective ANTU [1-(1-naphthyl)-2-thiourea] as well as 1080 (sodium fluoroacetate).

Other pests that reduce food crop production by misuse of soil and of fertilizer ingredients are the weeds which, when they grow with crop plants, may lessen yields seriously.

Probably the greatest advance that ever has been made in the production of herbicides is the development of 2,4-dichlorophenoxyacetic acid (2,4-D) which has proved to be a most efficient and useful agent for this purpose. While probably not a major cause of crop reduction, weeds have importance because of their adverse effect on crop plants, and consequently the development of scientifically based herbicides present and potential cannot fail to lessen the damage done by weeds. Not only are chemical herbicides available but weeds are now destroyed effectively by weed-burning machines developed in recent years.

The statement has been made recently that less than one eighth of the total agricultural acreage of the United States receives any sort of chemical treatment against fungi, weeds, insects, or other pests. This fact indicates that the chances for improvement along these lines are very great.

It is impossible to estimate accurately the proportion if our 3,500,000,000-bushel corn crop that will eventually be made unfit for human or even animal food by spoilage after harvesting before or after marketing, and prior to actual use as food. The Department of Agricul-





ture reports that insects destroy stored grains to the value of \$350,000,000 annually.

I recently had the opportunity of spending a half day with the manager of several thousand acres of farm land in the section of Illinois reputed to raise more corn than any area of the same size in the world. I accompanied this manager on a tour he was making to inspect his cribs as a basis for planning to store as much as possible of the bumper crop. It was obvious that the crib capacity was inadequate, and that much of the corn must either go to the market at once or be stored uncovered on the ground. If it is marketed immediately, much of it must be kiln-dried before it can with any degree of safety go into bin storage, and the artificial grain-drying capacity of the country is wholly inadequate for this purpose.

If corn contains more than a certain maximum content of moisture, it cannot be stored in bins, the only really large-scale storage available for shelled corn without undergoing heating. This heating can completely destroy its value for human use in a very short time. The heating occurs gradually, but if not checked—and checking it is very difficult once the action has started—the heating may proceed spontaneously and rapidly, to the point where there remains only a charred mass which is likely to be valuable merely for fuel. Various theories have been advanced in the past to explain this phenomenon but seemingly the controlling factor is the growth of microorganisms whose metabolic processes are exothermic; the result is that in the well-insulated mass of many bushels of corn the temperature builds up to the thermal death point of the organism and seems to proceed from there by chemical reaction, although the mechanism of such reaction is not well established.

The work of investigators at the University of Minnesota, and of other groups seems to have provided strong substantiation for the theory that molds are the most important heat-producing agency in the heating of stored grains.

Work on this problem of the control of heating in stored grain is proceeding actively, not only in the universities and experiment stations, but also in the research departments of the great corn-using industries. Numerous methods of control have been suggested. Some of these have shown encouraging results in practice and it does not seem rash to prophesy that this problem will ultimately be successfully solved.

The corn problem is an especially impressive example of the importance of conditions of food storage, but it is obvious that the problem is even more exigent in the case of the many food products which have much poorer keeping qualities than corn. Even some products we think of as extremely stable can heat spontaneously to the point of being reduced to the fuel level.

Recently in Illinois when a cement tank containing 100,000 bushels of soybeans was opened, it was found impossible to get them to run out in the ordinary fashion. On investigation it was found that heating had occurred and as a result great sections of the mass of beans were just charred chunks completely worthless for any food or feed purpose.

It may be astonishing to learn that the storage of the peanut crop is an extremely serious problem and that especially severe losses occurred in stored peanuts during 1948.

Among the vegetables and fruits, serious losses occur through improper handling after harvesting. Many procedures are now used for preventing such losses. Fruits are coated with waxes and the like, either with or without fungicides. Drying is used, though new dehydration processes have not made much progress in the food industry.

Cold storage has long been used effectively and now quick freezing is becoming an important factor in preserving the nutritive values in the more perishable types of food crops. Quick freezing seems destined to become one of the most valuable processes for food preservation.

It is worth while to remember Armsby's classical essay on the "High Cost of Roast Pork"—it was in the form of a paraphrase of Lamb's "Dissertation on Roast Pig" which set forth very cogently the fact that while Lamb's hero burned down a house to roast a pig, we just as extravagantly feed 5 pounds of human food in the form of corn to produce 1 pound of pork. The argument is similar though not quantitatively the same, with respect to all the forms of animal food—milk, eggs, poultry, lamb and beef. If we are really going to pull our belts in to the last notch, we will radically reduce our intake of animal foods and increase our intake of cereals. Such a procedure entails the necessity of re-balancing our ration and perhaps of including new dietary essentials, such as the currently exciting animal protein factor, which occurs naturally in fish meal, and has been proved to be a necessary addition to the feed of some of our livestock when their diets are low in animal protein.

Whatever can be done to utilize plant materials as direct substitutes for animal materials in the human diet is important in economizing our foodstuffs. Obviously the details of such a program must be worked out by experts in the science of nutrition, but a chemist may at least suggest the value of an adequate solution of the problem. Any change which transfers a food material from the animal's feed box to the human table is a move in the right direction.

Important among current developments to this end is the use of ion exchange resins in the beet and cane sugar industries. It appears highly probable that as the result of the availability of these relatively new agents, cane and beet molasses in their present forms will be

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disappearing commodities. Theoretically, these resins can be used to treat the cane and beet juices to remove the melassigenic factors as an early step in the process, thus making it possible to obtain all the sugars either in crystallized form or as sirups suitable for human consumption.

On the other hand it may prove more economical at least in some instances to follow the current sugar-making practices and then refine the molasses by ion exchange resins to a palatable sirup.

It is perhaps reasonable to assume that if a substantial amount of carbohydrate is thus removed from the animal diet by salvaging the sugars of blackstrap molasses for humans, this must be replaced in the animal ration from some other source. This can be accomplished by transforming some of the enormous quantities of wood waste to sugar by acid hydrolysis. A great deal of work has been done on this process beginning with experimentation with a German process about 1906. This process involved the use of sulfuric acid under pressure, but never was commercially successful.

Later, about the time of World War I, Bergius developed a process in Germany in which concentrated hydrochloric acid was used as the hydrolytic agent but for a number of reasons this process never came into general use.

It is reported that during World War II, the Germans made sugars for animal feeding and for the production of food yeast by treating sawdust with sulfuric acid.

A similar process was experimented with in this country during the same period under the auspices of the War Production Board, and with the active cooperation of the Forest Products Laboratory whose scientists supervised the pilot plant operations. Eventually a plant was built to utilize the process developed at the pilot plant. The plan was to use the sugars so produced for

the manufacture of alcohol, but they could have been used for animal feeding. So far as I am aware the plant has never been operated sufficiently to prove the commercial value of the process. Certainly such a plant offers promise of utility as a means of adding to our food supply sugars for animal feed or yeast from these sugars and ammonia supply to increase the available protein.

Incidentally, it was amusing to hear from the head of one of the Swedish Government's research institutions that their experiments designed to determine the utility of chemically treated straw as feed indicated that in that climate the straw was more valuable to the cattle in the form of insulation to keep the barn warm than when used in the ration.

Recent work at the Northern Regional Research Laboratory has developed a process on a pilot plant scale for transforming the pentosans of corn cobs into furfural and its cellulose into sugar, whereas current furfural processes utilize only the pentosan portion. In view of the 3.5 billion bushels of corn raised this year, the 14 pounds per bushel of cobs represent an enormous supply of raw material. At first thought it does not appear that the furfural which can be produced from these corn cobs has any value as an anti-starvation item. Yet actually, in a roundabout way, it has. Within a very short time one of the largest uses of furfural will be in the production of nylon. Nylon like other strictly synthetic fibers competes with cotton and to whatever extent they replace cotton they release land from cotton growing and make it available for a food crop such as the soybean, which is an excellent producer of both fat and protein and in addition needs substantially no nitrogenous fertilizer.

Since we have come naturally to the subject of fertilizers, we should note that science has now completely mastered the art of substituting ammonia and nitrates made from air and hydro-carbons for the previously used natural nitrates and guano.

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As an example of the unexplored fields ahead of the science of fertilizer utilization, it is important to note that in recent years the practice of using necessary small amounts of seldom used fertilizer elements such as copper, manganese, and zinc is reported to have increased the total utilizable vegetable acreage in Palm Beach County, Fla., by 30,000 acres or over 60 per cent of the previous vegetable acreage. This is an indication of what may result from scientific use of those elements in the growing of food crops.

A recent startling development in the use of nitrogenous fertilizer is the direct application of anhydrous ammonia to the soil. The loss of ammonia to the air is said to be practically negligible and the fertilizing action extremely efficient. So important has this process become that farmers in the Mississippi cotton belt are reported to be seriously considering the building of a \$13,000,000 synthetic ammonia plant to supply their needs.

But it is not only by feeding ammonia to the soil that ammonia can contribute to the fight to maintain the level of our food supply. Scientists in this country and abroad have shown that ammonia salts or urea can be fed to ruminants in quantities equivalent to approximately one third of their normal protein rations, and the bacterial flora of the animals' digestive systems is capable of transforming such nitrogen compounds into protein which the animal can use in the production of meat or milk.

And there we come to the most exciting phase of this whole subject, the contribution which micro-organisms can make to the anti-starvation activities.

This use of ammonia and its derivatives as a substitute for part of the protein requirements of farm animals is no longer a laboratory experiment. Within recent months the Du Pont Company has begun to offer to the feed industry a urea product for use as a partial substitute for the ordinary plant proteins such as those of cottonseed meal, soybeans, and alfalfa and that company's house organ reports in this connection that more than 2,000,000 tons of urea-containing feeds have already been fed to farm animals.

When we realize that one of the serious world shortages is of protein, that here is a potential substitute for one third of the protein now fed to ruminants, and that in the last analysis it can be made from the constituents of air and water, the tremendous potentialities become apparent.

Research along this line is in its infancy. There is reason to suppose that, for example, by selection of proper strains of micro-organisms to be ingested along with the nonprotein nitrogen compounds it may be possible to make feasible the use of a still larger quantity of the animal's protein requirements in this form or even to utilize such protein substitutes in the diet of domestic animals other than ruminants.

If this type of substitution is made in the diet it will be necessary to introduce in some other form the other essential factors that go into the animal's diet as natural concomitants of the vegetable proteins for which these synthetic compounds will be substituted.

That gives us an opportunity to call attention to another function which the microbes can perform. They can produce vitamins from relatively low grade organic material supplemented perhaps by inorganic nitrogen and other organics.

The most familiar example of the production of vitamins by micro-organisms is probably the growing of yeast, and since this can be done without the use of human food materials it may become an important source of these vitamins needed for animals as well as of protein.

Here is a less well known example of vitamin production by a micro-organism. About 10 years ago a manufacturer of fermentation butyl alcohol was faced the necessity of disposing of residue from this fermentation by some means other than running it directly into a near-by river. Plans had been made and were about to be put into operation, for building a special sewage treatment plant at a cost of \$500,000. It was suggested that some research should be directed to determining the present and potential constituents of the residue. As a result of that investigation it was found possible to produce from this heretofore useless material, 20 tons per day of a riboflavin-containing feed supplement which could be sold at a very substantial price per ton and which has found a large market as a substitute for liver meal and milk. The expense of that plant was not much over half what would have been spent for the activated sludge plant which would merely have made the residue fit to run into the river.

Very recently there has been an announcement of the successful production of the animal protein factor, a vitamin or vitaminlike compound necessary in connection with rations high in plant protein. It has been reported that this material will be offered to the feed industry in near future and that it is produced by a bacterial fermentation.

The problem of keeping waste products out of streams is becoming increasingly exigent as one state authority after another imposes more stringent controls and the recent federal enactment on this subject makes it evident that the day when this problem could be solved by the simple expedient of paying an occasional fine is past. One would not naturally expect this to result in an increase in the food supply, but actually that is what frequently happens. For example, in the case of the wet corn milling industry, the "bottling up" of the process which originally was undertaken on the insistence of the health authorities has resulted in the addition of

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several hundred thousands of pounds of high protein daily to the animal feed supply.

Currently the paper industry is financing a full-scale plant to determine the feasibility of utilizing the waste liquors from their factories for the production of yeast for food or feed. These wastes constitute another potential source not only of protein but of other food factors as well.

One recent publication that has excited some interest in the food industry is the report in *Science* (1) of work at the Western Regional Research Laboratory resulting in the successful growing of mushroom mycelium, having the edibility of whole mushrooms, in deep liquid culture in the laboratory. In another recent issue of *Science* (4) it is reported that mutants of the common mushroom, *Agaricus campestris*, produced by treatment with uranium nitrate have greatly improved rates of growth.

Here is another lead for those who would use science to fend off starvation. If a satisfactory culture medium can be produced from materials not normally used for human food, perhaps we have a new food source.

A most unusual new development in the use of micro-organisms has recently been reported (5). In the laboratories of the Upjohn Company it has been found that a substance produced along with the antibiotic streptomycin has the ability to protect growing plants against powdery mildew. Certainly here is a new use for microbes—the production of fungicides—and it may become increasingly important as the field is investigated further.

Perhaps the most astounding possibilities of increasing the food supply are involved in the various suggestions for the use of water instead of soil as a medium for food production. Hydroponics, which does not seem a too helpful subject for exploitation, was mentioned earlier.

During the war and since, investigations have been made of the potentialities of the plankton, the microscopic organisms of the sea, as food but without too encouraging results. However, the quantities are enormous and the study of methods of collection and purification is only in its infancy. To one who had a firsthand experience with the so-called red tide in Florida—it was really yellow, not red—the possibilities of the minute organisms of the sea for both good and evil need not be argued. Those organisms were present in the infested water in unbelievable numbers and the infestation extended over many miles of sea-coast. Their activities resulted in the destruction of thousands of tons of fish and other edible marine animals.

It is easy to believe that if methods for culturing marine organisms useful for food could be developed, the possibilities are limitless.

A more immediately feasible approach to the production of food by using water instead of soil is the growing of fish in ponds or lakes, the crop as has latterly been discovered, being vastly increased by the use of fertilizer materials of the types heretofore used to grow plants on soil. The fish crop is said to be enormously increased by this means and the amount of labor involved in growing and harvesting this crop to be relatively small.

One of the most startling of all these scientific aids to food production is the project at the University of California for the growing of algae under laboratory conditions. This indicates the possibility that here is a hitherto unsuspected source of human food. In any event the possibilities suggested by the results of the early stages of the investigation are sufficient to justify great expectations.

One item I have not discussed is the contribution which the nutritionists will unquestionably make by show-

ing us how to utilize in more efficient fashion the foods we have. As is usual, the first data on such questions are obtained by animal experiments and applied earliest in practical fashion to the feeding of farm animals, for already there is evidence that specific feed materials are more valuable to the animals in certain combinations than in other combinations.

An interesting approach to this problem is the work at Johns Hopkins. An illuminating example is the recent report on the value of feeding galactose in combination with fat (3). This report presented experimental evidence showing the highly favorable effect on fat utilization resulting from the feeding to rats of diets of galactose and fat as compared with feeding either alone.

Fat is one of the most important and expensive items in the human dietary, yet the losses of this valuable food constituent due to its becoming rancid (either in cereals or other naturally occurring forms or in isolated fats such as butter, lard, or food oils, are tremendous.

In his efforts to prevent such losses, the scientist lately has made great strides by developing powerful and nontoxic antioxidants. Gum guaiac, nordihydroguaric acid, known in the trade as NDGA, and propyl gallate have come into use, and antioxidants developed by a petroleum research organization have been found suitable and useful for the protection of food fats.

Many efforts have been made to produce from petroleum hydrocarbons, fatty materials suitable for human food. During World War II, the Germans succeeded in this attempt but confirmation of this on the basis of adequate nutritional evidence does not seem to be available.

There is, however, one successful commercial development involving the production of a human foodstuff from petroleum. The Shell synthetic glycerol plant is now delivering glycerol in tank car lots to its customers. While the layman perhaps does not ordinarily think of this compound as a food, since it has so many uses which are quantitatively more important, its food value is well known to the scientist.

The manufacture of glycerol from petroleum might be considered by some as the production of a synthetic food but since the petroleum is the result of biological processes it cannot be the basis of a truly synthetic foodstuff if we define such a food as one produced by a strictly laboratory process. We can say that certain vitamins are made synthetically and while there may be some argument as to whether or not vitamins are really foods they are at least dietary essentials. The chemist today is not willing to accept much in the way of limitations to his ability to synthesize, and eventually the synthetic foods of the "man in the street's" dream may become realities, but today we offer no firm foundation for faith in such an outcome.

This subject of the contribution of science to the maintenance of adequate food supplies is extensive and not to be exhausted by any single speaker. There are many items, some of them possibly important, which have been left out of this discussion.

It is hoped, however, that sufficient evidence has been offered to justify the conclusion that science can and will contribute importantly and effectively to the fight against starvation.

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Mrs. Ch'ambwa, C. R. D.  
Soul for - K. C. Roy



Two lady teachers practise dictating and receiving of wireless messages. They belong to the first batch of trainees selected by the National Cadet Corps for their Girls' Division from amongst the lady professors from the various Women's Colleges of India.



## ORDEAL

By Sudhan-shu Ghosh

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## NOTES

### *Congress in West Bengal and Madras*

The Working Committee of the Congress has sat in deliberation over the affairs in West Bengal and Madras. The results have been set forth in a resolution the text of which is given elsewhere in the Editorials of this issue. The Congress cause has been rendered precarious in both these provinces. The problem before the Working Committee was to find ways and means for restoring the Congress to its former prestige and status in those areas.

The problem in reality is nation-wide and vital to the welfare of the State. As such the scope of the resolution should have been far wider and its recommendations far more precise, so as to impress upon all Congressmen the gravity of the situation and to leave no loopholes for the recrudescence of the mischief already done. Pandit Nehru's speech in Calcutta was clear and unambiguous and showed that the nation's Chief Executive at least was well aware of the dangers ahead. We cannot gather any such impression from the reports of the Working Committee's deliberations, as released to the press. The case in Madras has been postponed for further investigation and as it is sub-judice, so to say, comments are not called for at this stage. But the Committee could have been more precise in its declaration as to why it thought it undesirable and impossible to direct enquiry in charges of a political nature. Corruption and subversive acts are the fruits of the actions of politicians, and politics is the shield behind which the perpetrators of all anti-social acts are taking shelter, and in the final verdict the nation will accuse the politician as the Master criminal.

In the case of West Bengal, the Resolution is apparently much more precise. But this clarity is illusory if the terms be analysed. Pandit Nehru's attention in placing his report before the Working Committee can be clearly interpreted in the light of his public utterances in Calcutta. Panditji wanted to restore the confidence of the public of West Bengal in the Congress. He wanted to prove, adequately and at

the earliest possible period, the sincerity of himself and his colleagues in the Ministry and the Congress, in their desire to rectify the wrongs under which the people's suffering has been intensified during the Congress regime. The question now is whether his desires will be fulfilled merely if the Working Committee's recommendations are implemented to just as far as the printed word goes in the text of the Resolution.

The unchallengeable truth in the West Bengal situation today is that no Ministry on God's earth will be able to better the lot of the West Bengal people, if the administration remains what it is, effete, inefficient and corrupt. What is needed is team-work by a group of strong men who sincerely have the welfare of West Bengal at their hearts. Bold and drastic action is needed in clearing those Augean Stables of iniquity, which took shape during the British regime and festered into a veritable plague under the League. What can an interim Ministry accomplish unless it be drawn from material of a purer and stauncher type than that of the political adventurers, grouped and led by professional patriots?

In the matter of the election, the Working Committee has given a sop to the refugee politicians by recommending the giving of the franchise to those voters in East Bengal who have definitely settled in West Bengal. This is as it should be, but how to establish the genuineness of such claims of settling in West Bengal, and who are to be the judges?

The election directive should have been made applicable to the members for West Bengal in the Central Assembly. With perhaps one or two exceptions, they have failed miserably in maintaining contact with their constituents and keeping the Centre a *courant* with the affairs of their home province. Almost all of them are devoid of any attachment to West Bengal and have no contacts with the people of the soil. In effect the province of West Bengal has hardly any representation at the Central Assembly.

### *Working Committee Resolution on West Bengal and Madras*

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made a report to the Working Committee about the situation in West Bengal and informed them of the impressions he had gathered during the three-day stay in Calcutta and the many people he had met there. The Committee having considered the matter fully and met representative Congressmen from West Bengal were of opinion that it was desirable to have fresh elections, both for the West Bengal Legislative Assembly and the West Bengal Congress organisation so that the people of West Bengal could have an early opportunity to elect people of their choice.

"It was pointed out that elections under the new Constitution and with adult franchise would in all likelihood be held at the end of 1950 or the beginning of 1951. It was not possible to hold them earlier as the new voters' rolls could not be prepared, nor could other necessary arrangements be made before the end of 1950. Any election for the Legislative Assembly, that was held before these new electoral rolls were ready, must therefore necessarily be on the basis of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the existing electoral rolls.

"Full elections for the Congress from the primary committees upwards also appear to be difficult to organise till the new electoral rolls have been prepared. The old rolls are completely out of date and are sometimes not available.

"The Working Committee, therefore, recommend (a) that fresh elections to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly be held within six months from now on the basis of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that the West Bengal Legislative Assembly be dissolved at a suitable time for this purpose.

"(b) If it is possible, these elections should provide for joint electorates with reservation of seats. If, however, this is not feasible or involves delay, then the existing system should be followed during these elections. Existing electoral rolls should be revised as far as possible so as to provide for the enrolment of refugees from East Pakistan who were voters in East Bengal and who have definitely settled in West Bengal and can show a residence qualification of at least six months.

"(c) During the period preceding the general elections for the Assembly in the province, it is necessary that an Interim Ministry be formed. Such a Ministry should consist of the best available talents and may include persons who are not at present members of the West Bengal Assembly. The Congress Party in the West Bengal Assembly should refer to the Central Parliamentary Board for their consideration any proposals in this behalf.

"In view of the proposed general elections in the province for the Assembly, pending bye-elections need not take place.

"Further, the Committee resolve: (1) That the Executive Committee of the West Bengal P.C.C. should be reconstituted. It should represent adequately the different elements in the P.C.C. This Executive Committee should have a small Working Committee also representing these different elements.

"(2) In the event of a satisfactory reconstitution of the Executive Committee not being effected the present members of the All-India Congress Committee from West Bengal should form the Executive of the P.C.C.

"(3) In case any difficulties arise in the co-operative functioning of the Congress organisation in West Bengal, the Working Committee will take such other steps as they may deem fit.

"(4) In the selection of candidates for the general elections for the Provincial Assembly, the Central Parliamentary Board will be finally responsible.

"(5) With reference to the complaint that certain co-opted members to the P.C.C. from East Bengal do not conform to the conditions laid down for such co-option, the Committee direct that a thorough scrutiny be held forthwith and those who do not clearly establish that they fulfilled the prescribed conditions or who have subsequently contravened them, should cease to be members of the P.C.C."

The Working Committee adopted the following resolution on Madras:

"The Working Committee have considered the charges made last year by a number of members of the Congress Party of the Madras Legislature against the conduct of certain persons who were Ministers of the Provincial Government at the time. The Committee have also had before them the report of Shri Shankarrao Deo who was sent by the Congress President to conduct an enquiry into these charges. Shri T. Prakasam, Shri Viswanatham and some others represented the complaints before the Working Committee. The Committee had also the advantage of conferring with the Premier of Madras, Shri Kumaraswami Raja.

"These charges relate to the previous Ministry and to events that occurred over a year ago. The present Premier of Madras is in no way concerned with them. One of those against whom charges have been preferred has died since that date and another, who was then a Minister, is no longer a Minister.

"Shri Shankarrao Deo stated in his report, as a result of his enquiry, that some of the charges have no foundation, while some others deserve a further enquiry. Unfortunately Shri Shankarrao Deo did not have the co-operation of the complainants at the time of his enquiry.

"The Working Committee are anxious that any charge made against a person holding the high office of a Minister should be enquired into, if it is made by any responsible person and has any substance. The proper course to be adopted in regard to a charge against a Minister or a member of a Legislative Party is to refer the matter to the Leader of the Party, who is primarily responsible for the discipline of the Party."



The Leader should enquire into it and if necessary, at a later stage, a committee of the Party may deal with the matter. If satisfaction is not obtained by this procedure, then the matter may, if necessary, be referred to the Working Committee with the report of the Leader of the Party.

"In regard to the charges against certain Ministers of the previous Madras Government, the Working Committee are of opinion, in view of Shri Shankarrao Deo's report and in order to deal adequately with complaints and charges that further enquiry into certain matters is necessary. The Committee therefore propose to nominate one or more persons of repute and judgment to conduct such an enquiry.

"Certain steps have, however, to be taken as a preliminary to this further enquiry and in consonance with the rule laid down above. Shri Kumaraswami Raja, Premier of Madras, is requested to investigate from official files and papers as well as, if necessary, from reference to any member of the Legislature, into charges referred to above. In doing so, he will give full opportunity to the complainants to draw his attention to any matter in relation to these charges. He should inform them of the real facts as discovered from official or other records and should draw up a report giving the facts in each case. In the event of there being a difference of opinion between him and the complainants as to the facts, that difference is to be noted.

"Among the charges made there are some which are of a political nature and in regard to which an enquiry is neither possible nor desirable such, for instance, as supersession of municipalities. The Working Committee do not interfere in the normal working of Provincial Governments which must have discretion in the matter of their day-to-day administration. The Committee are only interested in the basic principles of the Congress being followed and in the integrity of the administration being maintained. Therefore, all such charges as relate to political issues of this kind need not be enquired into by the Premier. These are indicated in the list of charges provided by Shri T. Prakasham. This list includes also some new charges which had not previously been made. These should also be enquired into.

"The Premier will supply to Shri T. Prakasham or any other person nominated by him on behalf of the complainants, all necessary papers which will help in elucidating the facts and which are not of secret or confidential nature. After this enquiry and investigation, the Premier will present a factual report to the Working Committee.

"As a result of this factual report, the Working Committee will determine which of the charges preferred should be referred for further investigation or opinion of the person or persons they intend nominating for this purpose.

"The Committee are desirous that this long-pending matter should be disposed of effectively and

as speedily as possible. They trust that the Premier will send this report by the 15th of August.

"The Working Committee appoint a sub-committee consisting of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Babu Rajendra Prasad to take any further steps that may be necessary, including the appointment of persons who may be charged with the work of enquiring and making their recommendations into this matter."

### *Pandit Nehru's Public Speech in Calcutta*

In his speech, Pandit Nehru made it clear at the outset that he had not come here to give his Government any "clearance certificate" or sing praise of the Congress. Bengal and Calcutta in particular had contributed so much to India's national history and had a prominent place in it. In spite of his many engagements he had taken the first opportunity to visit Calcutta because he thought Bengal was suffering from acute frustration. This was, to some extent due to post-war problems and post-partition difficulties, and a great increase in the population. All these had brought about difficult problems at this critical juncture. If they choose a wrong step then they would continue to go wrong in future as well and suffer. For 35 years he had been in politics. Normally he and Dr. Katju should now enjoy a pension. But the question was who should take the responsibility after them. He was anxious to find out and looking round to see as to how the youth of the country was fashioning itself and preparing itself for the tasks of tomorrow.

In the ordinary course of solving many problems, the Prime Minister said they might have committed mistakes. But they must judge the results not from the interest of an individual but the broader perspective of the country.

The problems, which beset the country today were by no means peculiar to India. They were present all over the world. "We had to face", he said, "many and difficult problems soon after we attained independence. You must at least give us this much of credit that we have not shirked the job and run away. We have tried to solve these problems as well."

Now coming to the question of Bengal, they had the defeat of the Congress candidate in the recent South Calcutta bye-election. By itself it was not a big thing, but in the context of other developments in the country it had some importance. He wanted to come earlier, but had to go to Ladakh a part of India, which lay across the snow ranges of Karakorum and was surrounded by three countries, Tibet, China and Russia. Indian troops were doing excellent work there and people here must think of Ladakh as well.

During his three-day stay in Calcutta he had met over 500 persons, individually and collectively. He must at once emphasise that he had not come to Calcutta to say so much or anything at all, but to learn and understand the situation. He would of course



have something to say after he had met his colleagues in the Congress Working Committee and in the Central Cabinet. Then would be the time to make a public approach. He had met here Congressmen, their opponents, representatives of labour, women, students and refugees. He had heard many complaints against the Congress. With regret he had to admit divisions in the Congress ranks today. For years now, the Congress had served and sacrificed and found a place in the hearts of men. It secured independence for the country. *The Congress could continue to hold that position only so long as it continued to serve the people and the moment it deviated from service it was bound to lose the hearts of the people. In a democratic set-up they must maintain the closest contact with the people.*

He had heard complaints about the present Provincial Government and its alleged misdeeds. He had heard that corruption was rampant. He had heard of police firing on women. He had heard of the difficulties of the refugees and that the Centre had not sufficiently come to their aid. To these people he could only say that having known him as a public worker for 35 years now if they had not understood him, there was no chance of his being able to explain himself before them today.

Undoubtedly there was corruption. It was not confined to Government. It was present elsewhere too. This was a war and post-war symptom. When many died of famine, black-marketers made money. When he and his colleagues were in jails and thousands of other brave patriots suffered, the Communist Party of India made great headway. With the active help of the British they had made good progress during the war. Unfortunately, people had short memory and they were apt to forget it.

Soon after his release from Ahmednagar prison, he had read the report of Bengal famine. While lakhs perished, blackmarketers minted money. He had said then that those who gained by the lives and hunger of others, deserved greater punishment than hanging. Death sentence was not enough for them. Now he was told that he had become a friend of the blackmarketer and had forgotten his past. He avowed it was not so. Moral standards now seemed to be on the downgrade everywhere. The guilty must be punished. People had come to him with charges of corruption, nepotism and the like, against the administration. But, when closely questioned, they were unable to substantiate the charges. It must be the duty of all not to indulge in irresponsible talks. If everybody started shouting 'thief,' it would not be possible to catch the real thief. Exaggeration always made difficult the solution of any problem.

"I may, however, assert that corruption is definitely in the decrease during the last two months and positive harm will be done if blame is laid at the door of everybody indiscriminately. On behalf of the Government I can say we shall not spare any effort to punish

the guilty whoever he may be. I welcome the cooperation of the people," Pandit Nehru said.

Referring to the police firings in Calcutta, the Prime Minister said that there could be no two opinions about them. They were unfortunate especially when they recalled a recent incident in which some women were killed. He could not, at the same time, say that there should be no firing at any cost. After all, law and order must be maintained in the interests of the vast majority of the people. Let them for a moment pause to think the conditions in Calcutta now. There were some who thought in terms of bombs and acid bulbs. Government had evidence that this was being done at the instance of the Communist Party of India and was not confined to a few misguided young men and women. It was an organised attempt to create chaos and they should not be tolerated.

"What I feel, however, is" Pandit Nehru said, "that it is strange that the people accept this hoodliganism. If the people here tolerate the continuance of such misdeeds, life in Calcutta will be paralysed. It will infect the rest of the country and spread. A group of miscreants may take it to their heads that they can carry on this mischief with impunity and nobody's life or property will be safe. The question is, what the fifty or sixty lakhs of people in Calcutta think about this. The problem is aggravated by their indifference. I must tell you that it is not with the help of police and military alone that peace in the country can be maintained. It is maintained principally because of the co-operation of the people. No police or army can maintain law and order without public co-operation."

The Prime Minister said that he had read and tried to understand Communist doctrines and claimed to have understood at least some of them. He had nowhere come across such sort of things as happened in Calcutta in the name of Communism. They must at once recognise that no progress whatever could be made by violence. They had before them the great example as to how freedom was won through peaceful means. He had no hesitation in declaring that the greatest enemy of Communism was the Communist Party of India. If the present state of affairs continued to persist, it would end up in violence where the slogan would be "agree or die." They all strove for an increased standard of living and this could be achieved by greater production. But the Communist Party was against this. They wanted more misery and less production because then the workers would revolt. . . .

The Prime Minister asked whether it was not strange that those who shouted in the name of civil liberties were the real enemies of liberties. He would not be deterred by such interruptions and it was true the meeting would conclude successfully. He did not want the police to interfere and tackle a handful of mischief-makers. The vast number of people who had gathered to listen to him would tackle them.

The Prime Minister again referred to police firings and said that he was extremely pained. He was sure they would all be inquired into.

Speaking on the demand for a re-drawing of the boundaries of West Bengal with particular reference to Bihar and Cooch Behar and the complaint that the Centre had neglected Bengal, Pandit Nehru said that they had every right to make such demands and be critical of the Centre. He would, however, refer to his previous declaration on the readjustment of boundaries. The question, if taken up now, would lead to unseemly quarrels. He could assure them that this problem would be solved at the proper time and for the next three or four years they must concentrate on other and more important problems. Since the attainment of freedom the map of India had been considerably changed and might have to undergo more changes. A large number of States had merged or integrated and otherwise ceased to exist. He was sure if the problem of Bengal's boundaries was taken up at a more opportune time and discussed in a calmer atmosphere it would be solved. This approach was far better than plunging the whole country in inter-provincial rivalries. He realised that the density of population in Bengal was great and the pressure on land had increased. But this was not a problem for Bengal alone to solve. This was an all-India problem.

In so far as Cooch Behar was concerned, the question could be solved only by the will of the people of that territory, and for the time being he felt Cooch Behar should be administered centrally.

The Prime Minister reaffirmed that he had not come here because the Congress had lost the South Calcutta bye-election. He had come here to know as to why so many in Bengal were bitter today. If the Congress forgot its duty then the people would give up the Congress. But, he would, however, like to know apart from the Congress, what was the other force in the country today which could have kept India together. He was positive that when the British left, but for the Congress, the country would have gone to pieces. If the Congress deteriorated and disintegrated, then small fissiparous forces would come and no strong Government would be possible. Enemies of the country would take advantage of it. There would be danger from within and without. As the Prime Minister of India he must be impartial and if the Congress went wrong he must rebuke Congressmen.

He had come to the province, the Prime Minister said, to hear and understand the viewpoints of Congressmen and others. He felt ashamed to say that the Congressmen in the province, who were for long associated with that great organisation, were not working unitedly. What could he say?—Panditji asked. Did he possess any magic power that could bring them together? But he had not given up hope. He did not want to impose anything, he was never in favour of any imposition, because nothing could be achieved through imposition. *But he would request all*

*of them to remember that when the question of West Bengal would come up, the answer, the solution to all its problems should come from the people of this province and the Centre could only help them in this task.*

In thinking about the problem in West Bengal and the frustration to which he had earlier referred the Prime Minister reminded them that general elections under adult suffrage would come within eighteen months. After the election people would have a Government of their own choice. They should never think of a change in the Government with the aid and assistance of acid bulbs and bombs. His own feeling was that the issues must be placed before the province and elections should be held here as early as possible, because they could have a Government of their choice. *Here was a great task before Congressmen. They must reorientate their outlook and serve the people.*

Pandit Nehru next referred to the refugees from East Bengal. He assured them there was no question of any discrimination in the help given to the refugees, from West Pakistan and from East Bengal. The fact, was, that while there was a total uprooting of people in Western Pakistan, fortunately millions chose to live in East Pakistan itself. They must appreciate the difficulties of the Government which was called upon to rehabilitate 70,00,000 people and with no external assistance. Besides what Government was doing, all they could advise refugees to embark on co-operative enterprises.

The Prime Minister expressed a fervent hope that the troubles here would be ended soon and he would leave the place on Friday morning with the full confidence that the local people would be able to manage their own affairs. The people must co-operate with the police and the police must work in a spirit of service.

They had great problems ahead. They had to execute great projects which would raise the standard of living considerably. In this connection he referred to the work of the National Planning Committee, which was first formed by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Unfortunately, they were not able to take up the work soon after freedom because they were faced with so much of turmoil. *The first duty of all Provincial Governments today was to fight corruption and to conduct the administration with honesty and integrity.*

### *Pandit Nehru's Address to West Bengal Congressmen*

Pandit Nehru, addressing Congress workers during his recent fact-finding mission to Calcutta, said: "I want men and women of gift, who can bravely dare and face the situation. I want people who can rise to the occasion, rise above petty things. I do not attach the slightest importance to the result of the South Calcutta election, but what I do mind is the fact that, after the breaking up of the first Congress election meeting to this day, Con-

gressmen have not dared to hold public meetings in Calcutta. They have failed to face the crowd and have advised me also not to do so. Go and risk death if necessary in facing and solving the problems of the day.

"More than any other part of India, Bengal has special problems, but you cannot offer a solution to a problem unless you understand the problem itself. Today I am interested only in finding out men and women of grit who can resist the hooliganism and terrorism of a few.

"In this great city, even on its highways, a handful of goondas can stop a tram, ask the passengers to get down and then set fire to it. This, to me, is a fantastic state of affairs. How can this be tolerated? I can only conclude that the brave people of Bengal have either become meek and docile or are in sympathy with the hooligans."

He wanted to know what the reactions were of those who had gathered there. "Why has it not spurred you to action? In public life there are basic things which can never be lost sight of by us. What did Mahatmaji do? He introduced a tradition of reality in the public life of India and asked us to go to the man in the street. He gave us the mantra 'shed fear.' At that time the fear complex was due to an alien Government and its police.

"His approach built up our resistance movement and gave us strength. Even though conditions have changed, our need for strength and courage, our need to work among the people are the same today. But what do I see? Instead of continuing Gandhiji's tradition which is easier to do today, because power is vested in your party, Congressmen are retreating—are losing the strength they have acquired."

At this stage, a few colleagues tried to remind him of their difficulties. Pandit Nehru lost patience with them. *He asked them whether they were so frightened that they could not realize that what they were faced with was a life and death problem for the nation. He said that compared to the problem they were facing, even corruption, nepotism and bribery were insignificant.*

"Am I facing a frightened group of people or an audience of the brave is the question I ask when I am faced with an audience. This basic problem cannot be solved by political manoeuvring. To achieve great results in life, substantial things have to be done. You cannot solve a problem unless you are prepared to take the consequences."

In solving this terribly vital problem, they should be prepared to face the gravest dangers he said. "While most problems are common to all parts of India, Calcutta has certain peculiarities. It provides a favourable atmosphere to the Communist Party to try out their experiments of creating chaos which, they hope, will spread over the province and the country.

"We are faced with a situation which no nationalist or patriot can tolerate. Even real Communism cannot come through violence. Ultimately, whichever system can deliver the goods will be the order that will prevail in

the world. If the order in Russia demonstrates this moral, physical and material power, then the world will go that way. If America, India or any other country can, through their system, achieve better results, the world will adopt that path.

*"The Communist Party of India does not want Communism in India. They have adopted a degrading policy which no country or individual can accept. If it is proper Communism, I would not object to it, but their Communism has nothing to do with India or the Indian people, their objective is to have a weak India. According to their own arguments, they aim at chaos, increasing unemployment and want, which will bring in complete misery for a generation or so.*

"Today we are short of everything. Through their present methods only large-scale famine and frustration can come in. This breakdown, they hope, will lead people to a desperate act of revolution. That is what they are hoping, but then history has recorded that such condition may not mean revolution. Hitlerism, Fascism and such totalitarian forces can take its place. A bomb-thrower is not necessarily a revolutionary. In certain circumstances, his act may bring in a counter-revolution. The bomb-thrower who imagines he is a revolutionary may fail, while a man of love like Gandhiji may bring in a mightier revolution through changing the people's outlook. A real revolutionary must take note of the circumstances and the human material on which his actions are to be based.

"India's political freedom can now be taken for granted, yet anything can happen, not so much due to danger from foreign countries as from internal forces of disruption. If we are not alert, reactionary forces may sweep away all other progressive forces—even though ultimately they themselves may also perish.

"It is said that Congressmen at present are out to get benefits for themselves. Their outlook is foolish and suicidal. *In this changing world past sacrifices count for nothing.* The new generation does not even remember the past. If you expect a pension from the nation, you will not get it. Only further work—fulfilment of duty to the nation—can assist you, but that also will not be available if you will not wake up to reality.

"I am not going to discuss your group politics. The events of the last two years have brought in a new state of affairs and have released numerous forces in India. Unfortunately, on the eve of independence started a storm of communalism, widespread massacre, uprooting and migration of populations, immense mass misery and ruination. This was followed by the release of new economic and political forces. One has to give priority to and understand these new questions, the way the problems and the balance of forces have developed.

"I am not considered a successful politician and may not be able to solve your internal party problems. Someone else may have to come here to help you for that.

"What I am concerned with is the larger issue that directs and influences the policy and conduct of the

Congress and Congressmen. I find the Congress in Calcutta in a frightened and hesitant mood. If this continues, it is time to write its memoir and let it retire. I have never functioned in this way. If one meeting is broken up, I would hold hundreds of meetings."

Some in the audience interrupted: "The authorities and the police ruled out that suggestion and were obstructive."

Pandit Nehru replied that the police were supposed to be under the Congress Government. "If what you say is a fact, then it betrays sheer funk and small-mindedness. You are functioning in small groups and you do everything on the personal plan. This must end."

Explaining the Government's economic policy, he told those present that the Government had followed a path which would not worsen the situation. "No person in the Government can take risks with millions of people. Much depends on the productive capacity of the nation and on proper distribution. Any policy that endangers the existing productive capacity without replacing it is dangerous. We want to concentrate on building up our objective to replace the present. So we have had to go slow. By merely passing a resolution on nationalization, the thing is not achieved. For proper and effective nationalization, you require a high quality of human and other resources. How are we going to achieve that? By pure expropriation or with compensation? Congress decided on the latter on purely practical considerations. It is cheaper and causes the least delay to nationalize through compensation. Resistance, tactics of delaying ultimately cost more.

"If priority is given to the nationalization of all existing big industries and all resources are thrown into it, then no addition is made to the existing productive apparatus. This seemed to us foolish, therefore categories were made. Certain essential industries were immediately nationalized, while some others were brought under State control and fresh resources were put in to create new plant which would add to the wealth of the country. Do you want us to acquire an existing steel plant or put in a new State steel plant and thus increase the State's productive power?

"In such a situation, what is one to do? Even though I am interested in the Congress, I am more interested in the future of India and of Bengal. You do not mind if the Congress is defeated in an election. It might save the soul of the Congress. I do not want to be defeated, but then it is better to be in that position than the present. A great deal of discontent prevails against those in the Provincial Government and in the Congress also against the Centre, which is far off from the scene. Most of this is based on vague charges, but the basic feeling is one of frustration that the executive is irremovable. It was the same feeling against the British, for which Gandhiji showed us the way. General elections will be held within 1½ years, but even that seems to me a rather long time. It takes time to prepare electoral rolls on the basis of adult franchise.

"Meanwhile, a way has to be found to remove this

sense of frustration and to bring about a sense of responsibility in the masses. That will serve as a training to them for the responsible working of democracy. Why should I impose my will on the people? Let them decide—either to have us or to throw us out. No one can take away the right to serve the country. Elections are not the only means."

### *Evacuee Property Conference*

A two-day conference of representatives of displaced persons from West Pakistan Provinces and States, convened by the Central Rehabilitation Ministry, has recently concluded its meeting at New Delhi. The Conference had been held against a critical background—critical of Pakistan's unhelpful attitude and of India's fruitless attempts at an amicable settlement *re* evacuee property. The representatives at the conference, almost without exception, advised the Government to cease thinking in terms of negotiations and take unilateral action in acquiring and administering all evacuee property in the Dominion. They wanted to speed up payments of compensation, if possible in full, to evacuees for their losses. Funds for the purpose, some delegates suggested, could be obtained by levying a special tax or by setting apart portions of Central, Provincial and State revenues.

Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, leader of the Indian delegation at the last Inter-Dominion Conference at Karachi, in his presidential speech said that the Indian Government's policy regarding evacuee property was embodied in the Ordinances issued during the last two months, both by the Centre and by the Provinces. He announced the Government's intention to replace these Ordinances by an all-India law to be passed by the Dominion Parliament at its next session. This law would apply to all evacuee property. Referring to Pakistan's charge that India had violated the Karachi Agreement, Mr. Ayyangar said that India had not bound herself to apply the evacuee property law only to certain specific areas. Laws relating to evacuee property had been passed in certain places not defined in the January Agreement. The Minister emphasised that neither party had repudiated the January Agreement and that India was prepared to implement its provisions and, in addition, those laid down by the Ordinances.

Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, the Rehabilitation Minister, was highly critical of the Pakistan Government and was very much nearer the truth than Mr. Ayyangar. He said that the real purpose of the Pakistan Government in forcing a stalemate at the last conference seemed to have been to continue to enjoy the evacuee property available to them without any payment whatsoever.

It is regrettable that this aspect of the reality has escaped the notice of the Government spokesman, Mr. Ayyangar, who, in his eagerness to please Pakistan, has turned a deaf ear to the unsavoury facts reported by the evacuees. His concluding speech, given below, is timid enough to encourage Pakistan to strengthen its unhelp-

ful attitude in respect to the evacuee property. After expelling the Hindus and Sikhs from Western Pakistan almost to a man and seizing the large property left by them, Pakistan has now started talking of minority rights and similar things. Pakistan has created conditions which make any return of Hindus and Sikhs to Pakistan impossible which is a fact admitted by the India Government and have started placing all sorts of obstacles to the sale and exchange of evacuee property in Pakistan.

Mr. Saksena said that, as Pakistan opposed a Government agency, India tried to work out a scheme for a private agency sponsored by the Government to effect sales and exchanges. It soon became clear, however, that the Karachi Agreement was going to be a one-sided affair. While India started allowing sales and exchanges, the Pakistan Government stopped them. This, the Minister contended, was a major breach of the Karachi Agreement.

Many others followed. The Pakistan Government proceeded to throw obstacles in the way of the working of the Agreement. The functions of the Custodian in West Punjab were split into two without any consultation with the Indian Government, and an official known as the Additional Rehabilitation Commissioner was entrusted with many of the duties of the Custodian. His one aim seemed to have been to stop restoration of all property to displaced persons.

Further, the Custodian, who was to give a "clearance certificate" before a sale or exchange could take place, refused to give this certificate on the plea that he was not yet ready with his accounts and could not, therefore, certify about third party liability. The Pakistan Government also issued an Ordinance immediately after the Karachi Agreement which made it compulsory for every one leaving Pakistan to obtain an income-tax clearance certificate. This was a clear breach of the Agreement.

The most serious of the breaches was an effort to devalue non-Muslim property completely by unilateral action. The Pakistan Government expressed its inability to recover anything more than the land revenue as rent in the case of agricultural property, although it was agreed by both parties that rent equivalent to six times the land revenue should be recovered.

In regard to urban immovable property, Pakistan proceeded to write off 80 per cent of the rents due before August 15, 1948. For a subsequent period they reduced rent by 33½ per cent, even in cases where the property was in the occupation of Government servants who could afford to pay.

In the face of this it was somewhat amusing, Mr. Saksena remarked, that Pakistan should accuse India of committing a breach of the Agreement. Aggression was said to be the best form of defence; and Pakistan evidently was resorting to accusations to cover up its acts of omission and commission.

At the conclusion of the conference, in a watered down speech, Mr. Ayyangar ruled out any suggestion

for unilateral solution of the evacuee property problem knowing full well that any bilateral solution with Pakistan, for whom the deal meant an adverse balance of some 1500 crores of rupees, might be considered unpracticable. He has expressed hope of compromise with the same set of people, who, as Muslim League leaders of India, refused to come to a settlement and carved out a portion of the Indian territory for them. Mr. Ayyangar has given enough indication that the already over-burdened tax-payers of India may be called upon to pay another tax to compensate for the loss of property grabbed by Pakistan. He has expressed sympathy for the pilferer by "discouraging the idea of calling upon Pakistan to foot a bill of the magnitude of Rs. 1,500 crores or Rs. 2,000 crores for the evacuee property lying there," and has been kind enough to propose that "compensation would be paid partly in land, partly in house property, partly in cash and very probably partly in the shape of some kind of bonds," evidently this bill will be footed by the people of the Indian Union. We fail to understand why strong action should not be taken against a set of people who had recently been described by a sober man like Acharyya Kripalani as "the menace to Asia." How long are we going to keep up our "reputation in international conduct" by surrendering to the cult of force and falsehood? Mr. Ayyangar has said that as followers of Gandhian principles, it was not possible for them to solve the problem by the mere strong right arm. So far as we understood Gandhian principles, the great teacher never meant his *ahimsa* to be invoked in support of cowardice.

Mr. Ayyangar declared that India could not extinguish the titles of Pakistan citizens in India unilaterally, if they were to maintain a reputation in international conduct. Nor could Pakistan, he believed, do the same. Therefore, they must keep the titles of evacuee property going until they were able to arrive at a settlement of this vast and intricate problem by negotiation.

Mr. Ayyangar said that India would not insist upon a very meticulous calculation of the compensation. They would be prepared, he said, even to make some sacrifice in order to relieve the mounting tension created by the issue and to give people a permanent interest in the property allotted to them so that they might improve and develop it.

He discouraged the idea of calling upon Pakistan to foot a bill of the magnitude of Rs. 1,500 crores or Rs. 2,000 crores for the evacuee property lying there. Pakistan, perhaps, he thought, did not want to consider the question at all because of such a big claim being thrown on them.

Refugee leaders, who received Mr. Ayyangar's speech so far with mixed feelings, rejoiced at the Minister's unambiguous statement that there should be no doubt about the evacuees being compensated for the loss of their property in the other Dominion.

Referring to the reported misunderstanding about

the Prime Minister's attitude towards the question, he said he did not think that Pandit Nehru meant at any time that no compensation was due to refugees who had lost property on the other side. The principle of paying compensation to evacuees was at the bottom of all inter-Dominion agreements.

Compensation would be paid, he said. It might be partly in land, partly in house property, partly in cash and very probably partly in the shape of some kind of bonds. Such compensation might be given to mitigate the present hardship of evacuees pending realization of compensation from Pakistan.

He regretted that it had not been possible so far to persuade Pakistan to see the right viewpoint in regard to the settlement of compensation. What swayed Pakistan in this hesitation was, he said, the huge discrepancy that might crop up between the values of property in that Dominion and those of property in India. Being a new State, Pakistan thought it might be difficult for it even to look at the possibility of its meeting the difference out of its own resources.

Whether it was right or wrong was a different matter. That would be settled in the course of the negotiations which would be conducted very soon. If this particular thing had not been at the back of its mind, he (Mr. Ayyangar) did not believe that India's new evacuee property ordinances would have stood in the way of a fruitful discussion of the issues at stake.

The Indian Government he pointed out, was bound to get as adequate compensation as possible for the land that had been left behind. It was a question of time. Meanwhile, of course, the hardship of evacuees continued. Was it possible, he asked, to devise any scheme by which this could be mitigated. The question was whether it was possible to make some kind of part payment of compensation out of the resources which were either in their possession or which they could acquire.

Because refugees were fed up with the unfortunate life they had had in the past several months, they should not throw out their hands in despair and say, "Damn it; let Pakistan keep what it has, and we what we have." Unfortunately it was not easy for them to say that, following as they did the Gandhian principles. It was not possible for them to solve the problem by the mere strong right arm. They had got to continue the patience which they had exercised for all these months and he was sure that, sooner or later, the issues could be solved.

A Press communique issued by the Ministry of Rehabilitation says: "Strong criticism of the Government of India's mild policy towards Pakistan was again a feature of about a dozen or so speeches made today. The speakers generally laid stress on the displaced persons' demand for compensation. Some new suggestions for tackling this problem were made.

"One speaker gave details of the flight of capital from India to Pakistan on account of the alleged activities of certain Muslims who, while claiming to be

citizens of India, were transferring their assets to Pakistan.

"A speaker emphasized the importance of proper publicity for India's case on the evacuee property question. It was stated that it had become crystal clear from the facts given by the Ministry of Rehabilitation that the Pakistan Government had throughout committed numerous breaches of the Karachi Agreement. Nevertheless, through sheer propaganda, Pakistan was trying to make out that the Government of India was responsible for committing a breach of the Karachi Agreement.

"Another point brought out was that compensation should first be given to the poorer men, and if necessary, a graded cut should be imposed."

### *Rehabilitation in West Bengal*

Rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees in West Bengal, still remains practically at the same place where it had been two years ago when the first influx from East Bengal had begun. Over three crores have so far been spent on refugee relief and rehabilitation, but little has been done besides the maintenance of some government camps. The Rehabilitation Department had been placed under a Minister, who, besides being incompetent was unsympathetic. Secretaries attached to this department were changed with undue frequency so that none of them did anything beyond casting some money to the four winds. Money was wasted and social cultures were not slow to reap the harvest out of the misfortune of those who had been turned into strangers in their own homes. Nobody was responsible, nobody was serious.

The Rehabilitation schemes were full of holes through which unaccounted money could flow like water. The beneficiaries under the schemes are mostly people who need official help only for adding to their existing income or for making up their imaginary losses. Really needy people go floating about. The first influx from East Bengal consisted of people who fled to save their skins and fortunes on the one hand and to trade on the miseries of their fellow men in the exodus. They were not slow in joining bands of land speculators to get hold of land to be "distributed" to refugees at 10 or 20 times the purchase price. Just as pickpockets are the first to arrive in a *melu* or a fair, these were the men who came first, set up their organisations and being the most resourceful and vociferous have succeeded in keeping their finger on the official purse string. Dr. B. C. Roy had to take over this portfolio himself out of a desire to have something done in a concrete form but unfortunately, before he left for Europe, he handed over the portfolio to an young and inexperienced member of the Cabinet, with no clear ideas as to what should be done and who were the men to do it.

In the matter of refugee rehabilitation, Bengal is following the medieval politics of ruling through court-acquaintances. A set of people, who have influence

and acquaintance with the Ministers and Officials, are the only persons who are able to arrange some help for the refugees and therefore the refugees are obliged to run to them for relief. Under these circumstances, these people have set up a lucrative trade in refugee relief. For the poor displaced person faced with utter annihilation, bare subsistence is the net gain. If West Bengal is serious about eliminating this scandal of refugee relief, these land-speculating and pick-pocket gangs as they may be called must first be crushed out of existence and well-knit organisations should be set up where political considerations would not prevail. Rehabilitation done on a planned basis by an organisation guided by men of unimpeachable reputation of competence and integrity can go a very long way forward in not only eliminating a first-rate national problem but in strengthening the foundations of disrupt and divided Bengal to a very great extent. But nothing can be done unless the existing "Cabal" in the Refugee Department is completely broken down.

### *E. P. High Court on Liberty of Press*

The Full Bench of the East Punjab High Court, in allowing the appeal preferred by the daily newspaper *Pratap* against an order of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, forfeiting its security deposit of Rs. 5,000 for having published certain newsitems and articles, observed, "The proceedings in the case would appear to show that even innocent and harmless utterances of the press are looked upon with disfavour by the Executive authorities. The press must be allowed more liberty of expression." The proceedings consisted of five items.

The first item referred to in the case was the report of the removal of a large quantity of military stores from the Agra Central Ordnance Depot. It was alleged that Pakistani officials were responsible for this removal and that some Englishmen helped them.

"The newsitem read as a whole," observed Mr. Justice Khosla, "does not even contain a strong criticism of the Government. It only advocates that British officers should no longer be retained in the service of India."

"The matter," his lordship added, "was dealt with in the affidavit which stated that the allegations contained in the newsitem were investigated by the military authorities and found to be false. We have not been supplied with information received from the Government of India or its exact nature and I may say that this form of denial is wholly unsatisfactory and I am unable to take the view that this kind of vague and nebulous denial by the Chief Commissioner, in what purports to be an affidavit, is sufficient to disprove the truth of the newsitem or to rebut a definite statement contained in the petitioner's affidavit that the news was in fact sent from Agra and published *bona fide*.

"I cannot hold, that the news, false or true, is anything more than somewhat restrained criticism of the policy of the Government in continuing to retain British officials in its service.

"The same remarks applied to the second newsitem published in the morning issue of September 9, 1948, relating to the recovery of an armament factory from Qadian. No one on reading this news could hate the whole class of Muslims or feel contempt or disaffection towards the Government."

Referring to the third item relating to the report of a statement made by Nathuram Godse at his trial, the Judge said: "Godse's trial attracted a great deal of public attention and the newspapers naturally gave as much publicity to it as they could.

"This they could do legitimately in order to further their sales. The interest was mainly due to the personality of the individual who had been murdered and also because of the somewhat unusual attitude taken up by the accused. It cannot be said by any stretch of imagination that the headlines quoted have amounted to an approval of Godse's crime."

The fourth item related to the arrest of the RSS chief, Mr. Golwalkar, its purport being that "Golwalkar and Master Tara Singh are both communal leaders and while Golwalkar is in jail Master Tara Singh is at large."

"The writer has suggested," his lordship observed, "that the Government were not dealing with the Hindus in the same way as with the Sikhs. But this amounts to nothing more than legitimate criticism of the Government's policy. It could not have been intended to excite disaffection towards the Government or to bring the Government into contempt."

Referring to the fifth item—report of a speech made by Master Tara Singh at Hissar—his lordship said: "Master Tara Singh himself does not appear to have been prosecuted for making this speech at Hissar. It is not alleged the speech was incorrectly reported. I cannot take the view that the publication was intended to promote feelings of enmity between Hindus and Sikhs or that it tended to bring into contempt His Majesty's Government."

### *Civil Liberty Conference*

Mr. P. R. Das, presiding over the Indian Civil Liberties Conference held at Madras said that those who valued freedom should come together without delay and organise a truly democratic party in India. He added, "I have no doubt that this party will constitute an effective Opposition in the different legislatures." The need for an effective Opposition within the Legislatures cannot be overemphasised when India has chosen the democratic way of government. Functioning of democracy is hampered at every step when there is one party rule and specially when that single party contains either a number of factions with it as in Madras or two sharply and closely divided factions as in U.P. and West Bengal. Each vote in a



ruling faction counts, and corrupt practices by members have to be swallowed for fear of losing a valuable vote. Mr. P. R. Das has made a correct diagnosis of the disease as many others also have done but it is difficult to accept the remedy that he has suggested. Mr. Das disapproved of the decision of the Congress to fight the elections as a party. He said, "The Indian National Congress as its name implies is a national organisation and not a party organisation in any sense. It won independence for India, not as a party but as representing the people of India. The object of the Congress, according to its written constitution was the attainment of independence by the people of India. That object has been attained ; and the constitution of the Congress does not provide for its existence after the attainment of independence. That, at any rate, was the opinion of the present Prime Minister of India at one time."

The Congress today can neither retain its former character of a platform nor can it degenerate into a *Charkha* party or a Lokesevak party having nothing to do with the administration of the country. It is beneficial for the country to have it as the strongest progressive well-knit political party of India. Where the Congress has failed in its reluctance to import intellect from outside and absorb it into its own organisation and its willingness to let its workers cash their past sufferings rising to positions where they are thorough misfits.

Two party democracies have proved to be the strongest in the modern world. A multi-party system either leads to weak coalitions or to chaos as we see in France. A uni-party system inevitably leads to Fascism. It is new for the Congress to foster and encourage the growth of an effective opposition within the Dominion and Provincial Legislatures. The present tendency to view any criticism of the Congress Party in power as "anti-national" and the consequent overzealousness to suppress the press and the platform by means of special press laws and Sec. 144 Cr.P.C. are the most dangerous trends in our national life. Even our Prime Minister had to take cognisance of this serious trend in the present one-party administration in the provinces and he warned the Provincial Premiers, assembled at Delhi against the risk of suppressing civil liberties too far.

Mr. P. R. Das, said :

"The National Government has passed many ordinances. In fact, one ordinance follows another with bewildering rapidity, but it has not passed a self-denying ordinance such as that which was in the contemplation of Mahatmaji.

"Instead of doing that, the Congress has constituted itself into the State, and, like any other one-party State, it must ultimately aim at dictatorship. The one-party State is wholly irreconcilable with democracy."

Referring to Pandit Nehru, Mr. Das said : "We have at the head of the Government a man whose life history constitutes an epic poem ; a prince by birth, who deliberately chose the path of suffering and

austerity ; a man of imagination, foresight, courage and determination ; an idealist tempered by prudence ; an uncompromising hater of tyranny and oppression in every form ; and, if that priceless book which he has given to this world, his autobiography, is speaking the truth, an upholder of the rule of law.

"We have also Sardar Patel, the second in command ; a stern and unbending realist who carries his heart in his head, and who, in the course of days rather than of months, gave a death-blow to feudalism in this country by methods which for want of a better expression, I should like to describe as non-violent.

"With these two men at the helm of affairs, I should have thought that the future of India as a democratic republic was safe, but actually the Draft Constitution leaves it open to the Executive Government to suppress political parties, to interfere with the freedom of the Press, freedom of speech and association, to put people behind prison-bars without bringing them up before courts of law and thus to pave the way for dictatorship."

He contended that the Draft Constitution already accepted by the Constituent Assembly "wholly denies the claim made in the preamble that there is anything like democracy in the proposed Constitution of India, but that, on the other hand, care has been taken to provide for dictatorship, if in the opinion of the Executive Government, the situation in the country so demands.

"I also contend that there is no security either for political justice or for liberty of thought, expression and belief in the Constitution as already accepted."

"We have no protection against tyrannical laws ; we have no protection against the arbitrariness of the Executive Government. The Constitution has deliberately provided for 'executive justice' and not for the rule of law."

### *Railway Committee Report*

The Government of India have so far accepted nearly fifty per cent of the 175 recommendations made by the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee presided over by Pandit H. M. Kunzru to effect economy and efficient running of the Railways. Other recommendations are at present under consideration of Government. A total saving of Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 crores in the Rs. 200 crore Railway Budget is expected when all the recommendations are implemented.

Action on the recommendations so far accepted mainly relates to the stepping up of the working efficiency of the Railway consistently with reasonable economy. Direct or spectacular economy is considered out of the question, as the ratio of expenditure on new scale of salaries and allowances of Railway employees and other incidental items is larger than the income from passenger and goods traffic, although compared to pre-war position, passenger traffic is understood to have gone up by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times and goods traffic by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times.



The first report on the Railway Board's action on the Kunzru Committee's recommendations show that decisions have so far been taken on 86 items of the Committee's report. Some of the matters on which individual Railway administrations have to take action, have been referred to the administrations concerned. Steps have also been taken to secure prompt disposal of these subjects by individual Railways.

Interesting recommendations, such as pursuing of schemes of literacy in order to increase the intelligence and literacy of Railway workmen, establishment of a machinery of dealing with industrial relations on Railways, and setting up of joint production committees have been accepted.

The Central Government have also accepted the recommendation that the Railway staff should be selected with great care and it should be properly remunerated, and its advancement assured. Another recommendation accepted delegates power to the supervisory staff to inflict punishment subject to appeal on the staff for minor offences. The effect of these decisions on the two suggestions, it is felt, would improve the tone of the Railway administration greatly.

Investigation has been undertaken, it is gathered, to implement the suggestion made by the Enquiry Committee for evolving lighter and modified sections of rails as the standard for the Indian Railways. The density of sleepers as well as the types of rails required under different conditions of traffic are also being enquired into. Results of such research would enable impressive economy being made. It is stated that experiments in countries like the U.S.A. have established that lighter rolling stocks and lighter rails can carry a lot of traffic without risk or danger.

Recommendations deprecating the tendency of employing increasing number of temporary gangmen on the Railways, asking for experiment with mobile gangs and increasing the gang length gradually to four miles have been accepted by the Railway Board.

Railways have already been asked to exercise careful scrutiny and control over the gang strength.

The Committee's recommendations relating to overcrowding and ticketless travelling have been accepted. Both the evils could largely be traced to inadequate number of coaches which, according to the Committee, needed augmentation by 25 per cent on Broad-gauge and 50 per cent on the Metre-gauge system. The Committee made several suggestions to meet the shortage including one to set up a central workshop.

Recommendations relating to quick supply of spare parts, investigation into the most economical method of loading coal into the tenders of locomotives, import of steel, standardisation of locomotives, extension of electrification, further experiments with the use of oil-engines in those parts which are far away from coal-fields, degree of control necessary for the Union Government on the provincial road transport system in which the Railways are being offered shares, control

of the inland water transport in and out of Calcutta, establishment of a staff college for training of officers have been accepted.

### *Industrial Research in India*

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has proposed the formation of a National Research Development Corporation in India on the lines of similar corporations in Britain, U.S.A. and Canada for commercial exploitation of results of research by Indian Scientists. It has been recommended that the Corporation should be started with a capital of Rs. 50 lakhs and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 5 lakhs to start with. A committee with Sir Ardeshr Dalal as chairman, Sir J. C. Ghosh, Mr. Kusturbhai Lalbhai, Sir Sri Ram and Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar as members has been set up to work out the details. Some of the other research schemes proposed by the Council were the setting-up of a Board of Engineering Research, pilot-plant investigations into the manufacture of synthetic petrol, botanical research on indigenous drugs, establishment of a salt research station and a model farm at Wadala, Bombay. The Governing Body of the Council has approved the setting-up of pilot-plants in the National Research laboratories to make the Council's researches of immediate practical benefit to industry. The Council proposed that pilot-plant investigation on the synthesis of petrol from coal should be done in India. Of the Council's recommendations the Government of India are enquiring into the possibility of producing synthetic petrol. Two projects, one costing Rs. 23 crores and the other Rs. 40 crores, are under their consideration.

Another important proposal of the Council to conserve high-class metallurgical coal resources and enable utilization of high-ash, low-grade coals, is that coal in pulverized form should be used for firing boilers, stationary and locomotive.

It also proposed large-scale research on pulverized coal burning gas turbine locomotives, if the Government decided to introduce such locomotives on India's railways. A complete change-over to these locomotives, it felt, would reduce the railways' coal consumption by 50 per cent, resulting in an annual saving of over Rs. 10 crores.

The Council recommended that the Government institute a comprehensive inquiry into electrification of India's railways in areas of high traffic density, particularly in the vicinity of coal fields.

Following two important investigations carried out by the Council on the washability of Indian coals and the blending of coals for coking purposes, the Government of India recently set up a coal Conservation Committee to advise on utilization of the results of those researches.

The Fuel Research Institute is also conducting a countrywide survey of coal resources, and for the purpose five regional stations are being erected in the chief coal mining areas. A fuel economy and combustion section is also being established at the Institute

18 and 30. Home-guards have a special part to play in this troublous border province.

The United Provinces has a more ambitious plan. It has a force of 22,000 Home Guards, but the Government's target is a "citizens' militia" of 1,200,000 men. Volunteers will be enlisted in every village and the Government has earmarked Rs. 5,000,000 for the purpose.

*Manbhum*

The following appearing in the Calcutta daily press indicates the position as it has developed up-to-date with regard to the problem of Manbhurn.

*United Press* learns that one of the recommendations made by the Ghosh-Misra joint report provides for teaching Bengali as it was in the pre-Satyagraha period, in Manbhum District School ; it is further learnt, Bengali will be allowed to be the medium of instruction.

A joint report on Manbhūm Satyagraha and other matters relating thereto which has been prepared by Sri Prajapati Misra and Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh is now under consideration of the Sub-Committee on Manbhūm appointed at the Delhi Dur sitting of the Congress Working Committee. At its meeting here, the Sub-Committee considered an interim report that was submitted by Dr. Ghosh and Sri Misra.

The final report on Manbhum situation is being drafted and will be placed before the Congress Working Committee. After discussing this report, it is understood, the Working Committee is likely to pass a resolution clarifying the Manbhum situation, and declaring that the present time is not opportune for a final decision on the demand of the people of West Bengal about adjustment of the boundaries of West Bengal by incorporating some parts of Sonthal Parganas and Chota Nagpur areas in West Bengal.

The Manbhum Sub-Committee consists of four members of the Congress Working Committee, namely, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, S. Jagannath Ram and Smt. Sucheta Kripalani.

"I think we shall be able to come to a peaceful solution of the Manbhumi affairs, specially the grievances about language of the people there," said S. Prapatani Misra, President, Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, in course of an interview today.

During his Calcutta visit the Prime Minister of India appeared to have accepted the justice of the Bengali demand that Manbhum be restored to her cultural and social habitat, which is West Bengal, from which she had been taken out in 1912 to make the "baby" province of Bihar function. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru pleaded for time as the solution of the Manbhum problem on the lines pressed forward by Bengali opinion would have wider repercussions, and angry feelings would be roused in Bihar specially as this province has come to regard this unassimilable area as her very own. During the last 37 years Bihar has developed a fondness for it for reasons that need not be analysed. But in 1912, the leaders of Bihar were not so grasping. The following extract from a letter published in the *Behar Herald* of July 9 last would throw light on the matter.

In Bombay, the provincial Home Guards at present number about 17,000. Recruitment will be extended to the districts and more training centres will be opened shortly. Besides regular Home Guards, who include women members, Bombay will also start a boys' wing of the Home Guards for preliminary training for the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Special detachments of the Bombay Home Guards are given training in fire-fighting, tramcar-driving, sorting and delivery of mail, air patrol and coastal patrol.

The Central Provinces now maintains a force of 15,000 Home Guards, who did commendable work on the Hyderabad border during the Razakar "terrorist" campaign prior to the Indian "police action" The force is being expanded speedily.

The West Bengal Government has a programme of recruiting and training 6,000 Home Guards annually. The Bengal Home Guards will be between the age of

"... five eminent patriotic sons of Bihar, Deepnarayan Singh, Muhammad Fakhruddin, Parmeswar Lal, Nandikishore Lal, and last, but not the least, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha who is still happily in our midst, wrote to the Editor of the *Bengalee* (Calcutta) a letter which was published on the 4th January, 1912, declaring that "the whole district of Manbhum and pargana Dhalbhum of Singbhum district are Bengali-speaking and they should go to Bengal, the rest of the Division which is Hindi-speaking remaining in Bihar." This statement should be conclusive evidence that, up to 1912, there was the clearest recognition from all sides that Manbhum, etc., were outside the homeland of Biharees and within the Bengalee homeland..."

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha is the only surviving signatory to this letter. He has thought it fit to repudiate his past in order to fall into line with the chauvinism of his provincial leaders.

### "Provincialism"

But this is not the end of the story. The following reproduced from the same Bankpur weekly of July 16 last throws lurid light on what has come to be known as "Provincialism":

Kumar Brojendra Narayan Singh, *Yuvaraj* of Seraikella, issued the following statement to the Press on June 22:

"Neither the Raj family nor the unfortunate people of Seraikella are happy under the linguistic and cultural imperialism of Bihar.

"The girls' school named after the Rani Sahela was one hundred per cent Oriya only a year ago, before the integration of the State with Bihar. Now there is not a single Oriya school mistress though the students there are all Oriyas as before.

"All non-language subjects are taught in Hindi from the very bottom class in spite of the Bihar Government's paper announcements that one's mother-tongue will be the medium of instruction in the primary stage.

"There are 438 Oriya boys out of a total of 470 in the local High English School, but there is not a single Oriya graduate or any trained graduate in the school. The last of them was withdrawn from the school six months back.

"All religious festivals have also been interfered with in Seraikella as well as Kharsawan. Only last month the Bihar police and officials first dissuaded and then threatened and obstructed the people from joining the age-old "Jesth Jantal" in Seraikella, because these festivals are Oriya festivals. One at least expected more toleration from the Government in the land of Buddha and Asoka whose religious toleration the whole of India is proud of up to the present day."

Bihar, however, alone is not guilty of "linguism". Orissa is not quite lily-white in this respect. Dr. Lanka Sundaram made the following statement to the Calcutta Press on June 28:

"The recent anti-Andhra demonstrations at Berhampur (Orissa) to deal with which the police intervention was proved to be useless, are a fore-taste of what is in store for linguistic minorities, with existing provincial boundaries crying out for revision and re-adjustment.

"On June 28 last, a procession was taken out by the Andhras which came into clash with a rival group of Oriyas. Three persons including an

advocate were seriously injured. Later the processionists assembled in a hall and held a meeting. But here again counter-demonstrators attempted to gate-crash the meeting and it is alleged stones and crude bombs were thrown into the hall. The police was not able to control the situation.

"The procession had been taken out as a protest against the decision of the Orissa Government making Oriya the sole medium of instruction, prescribing a language test for permanent residents in the province and printing voters' lists only in Oriya, even in the bilingual districts of Ganjam and Koraput."

These two statements point to a seat of the disease that should be sterilized as soon as possible. But unfortunately for all concerned, the ruling authorities of the Indian Union have in their wisdom decided to mark time. They forget that justice delayed is apt to be regarded as justice denied. We have never been able to understand the workings of their mind in this respect. Since the beginning of this century hopes have been raised that cultural units will have chance to contribute to the richness of Indian life. Gandhiji admitted the validity of this ambition by advocating the re-distribution of administrative provinces into "Congress Provinces" based on language. The leaders of the State, however, plead for delay, thereby allowing vested interests to stabilize themselves as the case of Manbhum proves.

### West Bengal Deficit in Food-grains?

The "City Editor" of the *Hindusthan Standard* of Calcutta by his contribution entitled "Where Goes the Missing Crop?" published in its issue of July 7 last throws a challenge to West Bengal's Civil Supplies Minister and his advisers who have built up their whole portfolio around the thesis that their province is and has been deficit in food-grains. The writer thinks that as "the administration has been wont to look at the food problem in terms of deficit, and not in terms of actual production and consumption," the solution has been approached from a wrong angle; and it is no wonder that it has eluded their understanding.

The problem is so important that we reproduce his argument in its entirety. If there be any substance in it, two issues emerge: the Civil Supplies Department has at present been acting on a false basis; the cultivators have been helping to create the "economics of scarcity" driven thereto by their greed as also their need to meet the growing prices of their other essential necessities. The duty of the State is clear. But our State has failed to tackle it betimes, and has been helping to heap up discontent that threatens to disrupt it.

It is these considerations that has led us to give importance to the article published by our contemporary. The relevant portions are quoted below:

"So far as West Bengal is concerned let us first examine the facts of the situation. We have at the moment in West Bengal some fourteen districts. One of the districts namely, Calcutta, is a non-producing one, and Darjeeling may also be regarded as an insignificant one on this score. The rest of the twelve districts produced in 1946-47 some 108,583,300 maunds

of clean rice as officially estimated. The total population of West Bengal inclusive of that of Calcutta and Darjeeling was 21,196,453 in 1941. But the population is growing. And on the assumption that only five lakh poor creatures died during the holocaust of 1943, our Civil Supplies Minister for West Bengal told us in a radio talk a few days back that in his estimate the present population of West Bengal is 25 millions. Now, the question is how much cereal is needed to feed this entire population of West Bengal numbering some 25 million heads in a year? Now, if we take it for granted that an adult, a child and a babe would consume on an average half-a-seer of rice per head per diem, we presume we shall not be very wrong on this score. On this basis, the average annual consumption of cereals per head would come to about 4.5 maunds. West Bengal's total requirements of cereals would, therefore, on the basis of a population of 25 millions come to 112,500,000 maunds. As all the people of West Bengal are not rice eaters, and a substantial portion of them particularly in the urban areas (who constitute over 25 per cent of the total population) as well take wheat, the total supply of wheat to West Bengal may, with legitimate justification, be added to West Bengal's total output of rice. From current allotments, it would appear that West Bengal receives from the Centre some 6,020,000 maunds of wheat per annum. The net position may thus be tabulated as follows:

Total rice output	108,583,300 mds.
Supply of wheat	6,020,000 "

Total supply of cereals	114,603,300 mds.
Deduct total consumption	112,500,000 "

Net surplus	2,103,300 mds.
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Thus on the basis of an annual consumption of 4.5 maunds of cereals per head per annum we should have a surplus of some 2,103,300 maunds. But as in the urban areas which contain over 25 per cent of the population, the people under a regime of rationing clamped on them do not get for consumption on an average half-a-seer of cereals per head per diem, the actual figure of consumption would be much less. On the other hand, the supply position is further augmented by West Bengal's own production of wheat as grown on an acreage of 113,209 acres and also a supply of rice to the tune of 1,54,000 maunds from the Government of India. In other words, the surplus as shown above is really an under-estimate. It is in truth much more than 2 million maunds. Now, the irresistible question in this connection is where does this surplus go? Have we indeed ever cared to make a frantic search for this missing crop?

Thus West Bengal under the present austerity of rationing is really a surplus province. It would have been as well a surplus province even if the austerity of rationing had not been there."

### *Pakistanis in Hyderabad*

We are being assured now and then that all is quiet in the Hyderabad front. The following news sent on the 14th July last by the *Press Trust of India* from Hyderabad presents a proof that this impression is premature.

The special branch of the Hyderabad City Police took into custody Mr. Akhtar Hassan, Editor of the Hyderabad Urdu daily *Payam*, under the Defence of Hyderabad Rules.

The publication of the *Payam* itself was banned

by the Government on June 19 last for alleged publication of articles prejudicial to public safety.

The police also arrested Razia Begum, sister of Mr. Akhtar Hassan, his three brothers Qamar Hassan, Mazhar Hassan, and Anwar Hassan, and his brother-in-law Nasrullah Khan.

Simultaneously two more arrests were made by the police of Zanath Sajida Begum, lecturer in Osmania Women's College and Syed Alam Khundmari, lecturer in Nizam's College.

Police conducted house searches after cordoning off the respective areas.

Any body with even a nodding acquaintance with affairs in the Nizam's State cannot subscribe to the complacency of the Military Governor. The arrests and detentions of the 13th July prove that the Pakistani poison will take time to work out of the system of Indian Union Muslims.

### *Fifth Columnists*

The Pakistani press has featured a circular letter addressed by the Government of the Indian Union inviting the Provincial and States Union administrations to arrange to take a census of all Pakistanis engaged in "gainful occupations" in the Union territories. This proved that Pakistani spies and "fifth columnists" have been abroad amongst us; they are to be found in New Delhi offices from where they do the work of their "masters" in the neighbouring State. This is a technique of disruption which since the beginning of time has been an instrument in the hands of States. Our Government does not seem to attach any significance to it. It seems to be more concerned with the source of leakage of this circular.

But it is not Pakistani-minded persons alone who work mischief. There are elements here who are so dead set against the Nehru Government that they supply grist to Pakistani propaganda. A Calcutta English-language daily published in the middle of March last a confidential report on affairs in Kashmir submitted by one or two members of the Constituent Assembly to the Indian Union Cabinet; it was not quite complimentary to the Abdulla Government. The Pakistani press pounced upon it, and made the most of it as an indication why the Indian Government was afraid of plebiscite in Kashmir.

The West Bengal press generally have been drawing attention to the danger of East Bengal Muslims creeping into West Bengal and finding occupations here—in the Fort area, in the Port Trust, in the Kidderpur Dock area, in the Fire Services, in the Calcutta Corporation Water Works, in the Cossipore Gun Factory, etc., etc.

### *Orissa on the March*

One of the two half-a-million ton capacity steel plants proposed to be set up by the Government of India in Orissa and Central Provinces would be located at Hirakud or Bonai, Orissa's Development Minister, Shri Nityananda Kanungo, stated in a broadcast talk from the Cuttack Station of the A.I.R.

He was speaking on "The New Industries" and said that the locations suggested and the material conditions

there for operating a steel plant were excellent. The Bonai Hills were estimated to contain 650 million tons of iron ore, average purity being 60 to 68 per cent and ten million tons of manganese deposits. Other raw materials going into the production, such as limestone, dolomite, etc., were available in Gangpur. Plenty of water could be drawn from the Mahanadi or the Brahmani. The Hirakud Dam would produce plenty of hydro-electric power. The adaptability of Oriya labour to modern industrial requirements was a proved fact.

When the plant goes into production, the value of annual output would be Rs. 12½ crores calculating the price at Rs. 250 per ton of steel. In other words, Orissa will be producing consumable wealth in this plant alone to the value of Rs. 12½ crores annually, which is double the amount of its total revenue as it stands today.

The present shortage of steel in the country was estimated in the order of more than a million and a half tons per annum out of which 2,00,000 tons was necessary for the development schemes of Government alone, against the present production of 0.85 million tons. Experts of international reputation had estimated the demand for steel in about 1955 to be between two and a half million to three and a half million tons in the country.

The recent recommendations to the Government of India of consultants of three reputed firms of United States and the United Kingdom for locating two steel plants of half-a-million ton capacity each, in Central Provinces and Orissa meant an expenditure of Rs. 50 crores for each plant and Rs. 25 crores for water supply, transport facilities, building of township with its ancillary services and mining and quarrying for each factory.

### *The World Bank and India*

The Associated Press of America sent out the following speculations on July 13 last :

Informed sources said that the World Bank was expected "about the end of July" to grant India a 100-million dollar loan for the purchase of railway locomotives in the United States and Canada and development of hydro-electric and agriculture projects.

The Indian Government in its initial approaches to the World Bank had asked for about 250-million dollars to cover its needs. Sources said, however, that screening of the projects and estimates resulted, in lowering the figure to about 100 million dollars which is what the Bank is expected to grant. Negotiations on the loan have been temporarily suspended pending the return from London of Keith Roy, Joint Secretary of the Indian Ministry of Finance.

Informed sources said that out of the 100-million dollars which India is expected to receive from the World Bank, the major portion will go for railway rehabilitation. This will cover the purchase of locomotives since India herself has facilities for manufacturing carriages ; the loan to India probably would not be made in one lump sum but will come as a "series of loans" covering the various railway, agricultural and hydro-electric projects under consideration. It was emphasized, however, that the total of these loans was not expected to exceed the 100-million dollar figure.

While declining to divulge the exact portion of the 100-million dollar loan which would be available for railway rehabilitation, sources said that it would comprise the greater part of the money. Negotiations on this part of the loan had been completed.

Evidence that this was true was found in the fact that K. C. Bakhle, Chief Commissioner of Railway for the Indian Government, returned to his country after several weeks of discussions here.

It is significant that the Bank has as good as turned down India's applications for help in financing her river valley projects which will make her self-sufficient in the matter of food.

### *A Growing Scandal*

The New Delhi correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* wired on July 14 last the following news which our contemporary published under a second heading entitled "Prime Minister's Directive Flouted ?":

With the ink hardly drying on Prime Minister's directive to all Ministers urging upon them to avoid the expenditure particularly in foreign exchange on delegations to International Conferences comes the news that Dr. Shantiswarup Bhatnagar, Secretary of the Scientific and Industrial Research Department, has arranged for himself and seven of his colleagues to participate in the World Science Conference.

The usual cover that India with her growing importance could not ignore International contacts and scientists would use the opportunity to study atomic science has been advanced in support of the delegation.

The inclusion of Government servants in delegations imposes a double burden on the taxpayer inasmuch as he had to pay the salary of the Government servant delegate as also of the person who officiated for him.

The average travelling and other expenses of these delegations, which are daily growing in numbers and strength, is placed at Rs. 75 lakhs yearly. The Prime Minister's reaction to the first flouting of the directive is not yet known.

There has been bitter criticism of the growing fashion that has grown up in New Delhi of arranging deputations of our "experts" to foreign countries on every occasion, conceivable and inconceivable. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru must have realized the scandal of this particular technique of wasting the people's money ; the second heading of our Bombay contemporary bears witness to it. But bureaucrats know how to get over and flout such directives. New Delhi's are no exception.

### *Cottage Industries*

An account of cottage industries of Japan which can be profitably introduced in India has been given by Chamanlal, Member, All-India Cottage Industries Board, after his return from deputation in Japan, in a meeting held in Calcutta. The Governor of West Bengal presided. An exhibition of the sample products and machinery brought by S. J. Chamanlal from Japan was also opened on the occasion.

The co-operative system of production which obtained in Japan was mainly responsible, S. J. Chamanlal said, for development of cottage industries there. Component parts of one article were made in

different places and assembled at a central place. One village or a group of villages was engaged in one particular industry. One central factory was often linked with 100 small factories for production of one article.

Referring to the efficiency of Japanese skilled labour, S. J. Chamanlal said that the Japanese took four days to assemble a locomotive while many other modern countries took longer time. Orders for ship-building had been received by Japan from all over the world. Workers were honest and they did not shirk work. Transport system of Japan was the cheapest in the world. Railway journey was comfortable, even travelling by third class was not boring. There was no illiteracy in Japan. Many profitable cottage industries could be started with small capital in India with machineries imported from Japan and this would go to mitigate the unemployment problem to a large extent.

Dr. Katju said that so far as the development of cottage industries in India was concerned they were faced, unlike Japan, with one great difficulty, namely, the total absence of rural electrification. When the Damodar, Mahanadi, Godavari, and other projects were completed this would augment not only their food production but would help the growth of electrically run cottage industries in their homes.

What is needed most for a real development of our cottage industries is that the Government should shed its present attitude of distant patronage to this vital factor of cheap mass production which alone can bring about a state of full employment in India. An All-India Cottage Industry Board has been established but it has assumed for itself only advisory and tutorial functions. It must come down from its high altitude of disinterested patronage and get established in three branches of it, namely, an organisation to supply raw material to the cottage industries, a second organisation to supply technical personnel and equipment and a third one for marketing the cottage products. Current finance may be supplied through a revitalisation of the co-operative societies. Unless the Government recognise the rightful place of cottage and small industries in our national economic and social plan, nothing will be done in this direction beyond sending observers abroad and creating some government posts here.

### *Sailing Vessels Improving Traffic*

The Sailing Vessels Committee, appointed by the Government of India last year to report on steps to be taken to develop the traffic of sailing vessels in Indian waters, has recommended that the Industry should, through co-operative effort, organise itself on an all-India basis to rationalise traffic, standardise usages and eliminate anti-social practices.

The Committee, which has now submitted its report to the Government, has made about 75 recommendations with a view to making the sailing vessel a safer, more expeditious and efficient unit of transport and the personnel afloat more competent and reliable.

It has urged the immediate organization of the industry on economic lines, pointing out that sailing vessels, for a long time to come, will have a vital role to play in the economy of the country, not only as peace-time transport, but as a reserve in an emergency. It also points out that there are hundreds of minor ports on the coast which would be economically served only by sailing vessels.

It feels that much could be done to safeguard the interests of shipowners, shippers, brokers and floating personnel.

The Committee, however, deprecates unplanned and haphazard activity by official or non-official agencies and has recommended that, like steamship traffic, coasting traffic under sail should be under Central control, preferably under the Director-General of Shipping. It recommends that there should be a uniform and centralized system of registration and measurement and the safety, survey and construction of sailing vessels should be the concern of the Mercantile Marine Department of the Shipping Directorate.

It also proposes that coastal traffic under sail should be reserved for vessels on the Indian register and that the definition of "ship" in the Control of Shipping Act, 1947, be amended to include sailing ships employed in the coastal trade and overseas trade.

Stressing the need for scientifically constructed, sound, efficient and sea-worthy vessels, the Committee recommends that the Government should make available to the industry technical advice and supervision. Complete details of architectural plans, drawings and specifications should, on payment, be placed at the trade's disposal.

Materials required should be supplied at controlled rates and under government priorities and, if necessary, in the form of cheap long-term loans secured against the vessels concerned. The Government should encourage the fitting of auxiliary engines on sailing vessels by undertaking to supply certain approved types of marine engines at cost price to owners. Facilities should also be made available for the fitting of vessels with engines and for the repair of engines, without profit charges, in Government or quasi-Government workshops. It is also suggested that, for the economic operation of the vessels, they should be granted all port and other facilities which are granted to steamers.

The Committee recommends that a master's or mate's licence be issued to all masters and mates in charge of coasting vessels of 40 tons or over subject to certain conditions being fulfilled, such as sight tests and familiarity with simple nautical instruments and elementary rules and regulations regarding lights and signals.

Referring to fraudulent jettisoning, which is frequent on the west coast, the Committee feels that this practice is largely responsible for reluctance on the part of insurance companies to cover risks and their insistence on questioning the legitimacy of claims even when jettisoning may have been genuine. This is also

responsible for shippers' reluctance to use sailing vessels for transport of their goods.

The Committee accordingly recommends that until the industry is reasonably free of those malpractices, every case of jettisoning should be treated as a matter for police investigation, and it lays down strict procedure for this purpose.

### *States to be on par with Provinces*

The Government of India and the Premiers of States and States' Unions have agreed that amendments are necessary to make the provisions of the Indian Draft Constitution relating to provinces applicable to States and States Unions.

The discussions were held on the understanding that the Indian Constituent Assembly will be empowered by the States and States Unions to frame a constitution for them as part of the Dominion Constitution. Rajpramukhs or Rulers, as the case may be, will formally vest in the Dominion Assembly the required authority for the purpose in consultation with their Premiers and Constituent Assemblies or Legislatures, wherever they exist.

The amendments agreed upon at the meeting have taken the lines suggested in the model Constitution prepared by the Rau Committee which generally follows the provisions of the Draft Constitution relating to provinces.

According to these amendments, the head of a States Union will be known as Rajpramukh and that of a viable State as Ruler instead of Governor as will be in the case of a province. A Rajpramukh or a Ruler will be defined as the person for the time being recognized by the President as the Rajpramukh of a States Union or the Ruler of a State. In the event of misbehaviour on the part of such persons, the President may be entrusted with the power to withdraw his original recognition and recognize a suitable successor.

Contrary to what is provided in the case of a Governor, the salary and allowances of a Rajpramukh, which have been determined by the Covenant guaranteed by the Central Government, may be fixed by the President. In exercising this power, the President, it is hoped, will doubtless consider the terms of the Covenant in the case of a States Union and will be guided by the views of the Union Government and the State Legislature in the case of a separate State.

### *West Punjab Governor's Resignation*

Sir Francis Mudie, Governor of West Punjab, has resigned. His inability to carry on with the proposed Council of Muslim League Advisers is believed to be the main issue on which the Governor has resigned. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan did all in his power to persuade a man in whom Mr. Jinnah had the greatest confidence to carry on as Governor of West Punjab until the new elections to the Legislative Assembly was over, but recently Sir Francis' position became not only unenviable but untenable. The *Statesman's* Lahore correspondent reports:

All admit that Sir Francis has done much to improve a "corrupt and inefficient" administration. In a Muslim State it is natural that the people have been anxious to have a Pakistani Governor but there are thousands who feel that narrow racial prejudices should not be allowed to prevail when the question of efficient administration is concerned in an infant State.

Mian Mumtaz Daultana, who advised Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan that "Governor's rule", would be the best for the province today, said that Governors could not make or unmake a province. It was the revolutionary urge of a people that made a province great.

Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, Vice-President of the Provincial Muslim League, said: "The Governor has done a wise thing. With a fierce controversy raging in the province, there was the possibility that the advisers and Governor may not have pulled together. I hope the new Governor and his advisers will co-operate and improve the administration."

Dr. Khalifa Shujauddin, President of the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, said: "The demand for the appointment of a Pakistani Governor is universal and there is no reason to think that the authorities will ignore this demand."

The Governor-General of Pakistan took some time to announce the successor of Sir Francis Mudie. There were strong demands for the appointment of a Pakistani to this post. Surely, they said, there were many capable Pakistanis to fill this onerous post. The resignation of Sir Francis has caused a certain amount of concern in refugee quarters. His solicitude for the refugees was well-known and he never lost an opportunity to impress upon officers and staff of the West Punjab Government that the sufferings and rights of the refugees should not be forgotten.

The greed for power and the scramble for the possession of property and other valuables left by non-Muslims have been at the bottom of most of the provinces' ills, reports the Special Lahore correspondent of the *Statesman*. A Pakistani Governor in the person of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar has at last been appointed. It remains to be seen how he tackles the most intriguing situation in West Punjab.

### *Age of Retirement*

Controversy has been revived among members of the Constituent Assembly over the position of High Court Judges under the new Constitution. Articles relating to this subject were passed at the closing stages of the last session, but it appears that not all have proved acceptable in the form in which they were adopted. Revision is likely to be sought of Article 196 which, in its amended form, bans a former High Court Judge from practising in "any court of or before any authority within the territory of India."

It appears that an influential section within the Assembly views this limitation on the careers of Judges, who will be required to retire at 60, a serious obstacle to the recruitment of affluent members of the bar. Present experience in this country shows that it is difficult to attract the best men from the Bar to become High Court Judges even without the proposed



ban on legal practice after retirement. High Court Judges would, therefore, be still more difficult to find from among distinguished lawyers if they were faced with the prospect of terminating their legal careers at 60, when few members of the Bar considered themselves too old for work. It is learnt that the subject will be reopened at an early meeting of the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly and a suitable amendment moved to change the Article.

Changing of the provisions of the Constitution is becoming rather frequent, in any case, it should not be done before a thorough investigation about the consequences.

### *Cantonments Committee*

A Central Committee on Cantonments has been set up by the Government of India with Mr. S. K. Patil, M.L.A., as chairman. The main function of the Committee is to recommend to the Government whether cantonments and their administration as they exist now should be continued or should be transferred to the adjoining local administration. There are about 55 cantonments in India containing a large percentage of civilian population. It is stated that of late there has been criticism about the administration of cantonments mainly on the ground that they have outgrown their utility. It was argued that at least parts of those cantonments whose maintenance was not necessary from the security point of view to be under military administration should be handed over to the adjoining local bodies. The Committee has started work and has decided to circulate a questionnaire for eliciting public opinion.

### *Chartered Accountants Act*

The Chartered Accountants Act of India has come into force on July 4, 1949, and the rules framed thereunder have been published in the Official Gazette on June 25 except the portion covering the admission of G.D.A.'s under Sec. 4(1)(3) of the Act. It is understood that this portion of the rules will be finalised only after consulting the first Council members of the Indian Institute of Chartered Accountants who are going to meet on August 15 next. The admission of the G.D.A.'s into the scope of the Act has been a difficult hurdle and it is quite reasonable that some apprehension might arise in their minds because of the omission of their case in the published rules. In this connection, the following Rule suggested by the Accountants' Association of India, together with the supporting evidences, deserve serious and sympathetic attention. The suggestion is :

(1) "Any person who has passed the G.D.A. examination or an examination as equivalent thereto by the rules for the award of the Government Diploma in Accountancy before the commencement of this Act, if he has completed a minimum period of 10 years or more of practical experience in the profession as Secretary, Accountant, or responsible Assistant in Government, Semi-Government, or Commercial con-

cerns or as Private Practitioner shall be admitted as Associate Member waiving Articles."

(2) "In the case of any person who has completed less than 10 years of practical experience, for every completed period of 4 years of such practical training he may be given a concession of one year's Articles."

### *"The American Century"*

The 20th century has been called by United States publicists as "the American Century." What is the significance of this development has been becoming plainer as one year succeeds another after May, 1945, when the Hitler-Mussolini-Tojo axis lost in their adventure in world politics. One of the greatest of British Prime Ministers of the 19th century, William Ewart Gladstone, appears to have had a prevision of this evolution. A book written by a U.S.A. citizen and published in the early thirties of the present century with the significant title *America Conquers Britain* quoted his prophecy :

"It is she (the United States) alone who, at a coming time, can and probably will, wrest from us our commercial supremacy. I have no inclination to murmur at this prospect. If she acquires it, she will make the requisition by the right of the strong and the best. We have no more title against her than Venice, Genoa and Holland against us."

It is not possible to say when British statesmen grew aware of this inevitable development ; nor can we say when U.S.A. politicians grew conscious of its approach. But we find Joseph Davis, Ambassador to Britain during World War I and to the Soviet Union about twenty years later, writing to President Woodrow Wilson in 1917 :

"The future of the world belongs to us. The English are spending their capital. . . . Now, what are we going to do with the leadership of the world presently when it clearly falls into our hands ? And how can we use the British for the highest uses of democracy ?"

We have heard the propaganda machine of the Soviet Union blaring out that American capitalism is out to conquer the far spaces of the earth in its conscious urge for world hegemony. Conceding that there is wild exaggeration in this charge-sheet, there are indications that even U.S.A. publicists have grown afraid of this tendency in their country's life.

The London *New Statesman and Nation*, the Socialist weekly, published in its issue of June 11, 1949, an article, the second of the series entitled "Turkish Balance Sheet," wherein the writer, Erich Kastner, the *New York Times'* correspondent in Turkey from March, 1946 to May, 1949, described popular feeling in Turkey as expressing itself in no uncertain voice and language : "It is increasingly being said that abandonment of neutrality was act of folly for Turkey, and that the Truman Doctrine and U.S.A. Aid are merely riveting on the Turkish people the shackles of misery." We propose to share with our readers what Erich Kastner has said on the nature of rule imposed on the people of Turkey by



"the Ankara regime" which has striking similarities to "that at Athens and to the moribund Kuomintang."

"What the common people of Turkey want today is to see an end to the present suppression of all civil liberties, the police terror in the towns, and the brutal treatment of protesting Anatolian villages. What they are likely to see is not 'the reinforcement of democratic institutions' or the attainment of 'economic stability' which Mr. Truman promised them but the sale of national resources by a politically and morally bankrupt Government to American finance-capital. Publication of the Marshall Aid bilateral agreement was suppressed in Turkish newspapers by order of the Cabinet who have issued repeated official assurances that 'that no oil concessions in Turkey will be granted to foreigners' . . . Mr. W. Faust, a high executive of the Socony Vacuum Oil Corporation was in Turkey during April, carrying on with the Government negotiations of whose nature the Turkish people are unaware . . . From recent history in Iraq and Iran the Turkish people may gather what sort of 'stability' Socony Vacuum, if it became concessionaire, would require in return. But, then, popularity in Turkey is perhaps not America's primary object. Strategic plans and oil concessions may count for more than such an unimportant thing as friendship."

### "Anti-Semitism"

Christendom has not yet been able to work out of its system the prejudice that has come to be known as "anti-Semitism." It bursts out as an epidemic carrying death and destruction to thousands of men, women and children. The etiology of this disease in the body of Christendom is not easy to understand. And States and peoples, otherwise civilized, are prone to yield to it. The following from the *Worldover Press*, dated May 13 last, records an outburst which in the context of the foundation of the Israeli State in Palestine can only signify the creation of a new source of conflict in the Western world.

Montreal—long considered the hotbed of anti-Semitism—Quebec Province, has made considerable progress in recent years and can now be compared favorably with any other Canadian section in this respect, according to Samuel D. Cohen, public relations committee chairman of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

From the other end of Canada in Vancouver, however, comes a less favorable judgment from Rabbi David Kogen, of Beth-Israel Congregation, who charges that anti-Semitism is rife in college and professional circles. "University clubs and fraternities bar Jews," he asserts, "by 'gentlemen's agreement,' and medical schools admit only a small number of Jews on quota. I have seen Phi Beta Kappas of the highest standing rejected by medical schools because their names had the wrong kind of ending."

Jews have been barred from golf clubs in Vancouver and from a Ski Club in Winnipeg, said the Rabbi, and a separate hut for Jews has had to be built on the University of British Columbia campus because of the students' exclusion policies.

### Douglas Hyde

The death of the first President of the Republic of Eire (Southern Ireland) removes a significant personality from the life of the Irish people. He was no politician,

no leader of the political movement in Ireland for ending Anglo-Saxon rule. And when he was chosen the first President of the Republic there was no little surprise. But Douglas Hyde's title to this honour was based on his work as the founder of the Gaelic League in 1893 for the revival of the Celtic culture and the marks and notes that distinguished it from those of the surrounding cultures. His fellow-workers were Father O'Growney and John MacNeill.

Of the purpose of this League Douglas Hyde wrote .

"All good Irishmen desire to see Ireland a self-reliant nation. Nobody, I think, would wish to see the old Irish nation classed as an English country, nor to see the men inhabiting it fall into the ranks of imitation Englishmen. This, however, was near happening, and no one seemed to know how to prevent it. Now, that our eyes are open, it is plain to all men that there are really and truly one possible way, that is the vigorous revival throughout Ireland of all the different marks of Nationhood. And what are the marks of Nationhood? . . . They are pretty much the same in every country . . . language, manners and customs that distinguish a particular people . . . from the different peoples that inhabit other countries. These manners and customs include the national games, sports, music, plays, dances, and, of course, above all, the language of the country."

Douglas Hyde's activities, however, appeared to have been the fruits of a general awakening among the Irish as to their separateness from the English, and the Scotch. For, we find a Gaelic Athletic Association founded in 1884 by Michael Cusack, "Citizen Cusack" as he loved to be known by.

The realization of this shame of imitation was the seed-plot of Irish Nationality. Politicians were late-comers to this field. The Irish knew this sequence, and honoured the thought-leader.

### Bombay Plane Crash

We extend our sympathy to the families of the forty-five men and women who lost their lives as a consequence of the plane crash near Bombay. Amongst these were 13 American journalists who had been invited by the Dutch Government to report on their quarrel with the Republic of Indonesia; of these the name of H. R. Knickerboker had been familiar to Indian readers who during the last war had held up the cause of India's freedom as of all freedom movements in all colonial countries.

They were the United States' "outstanding experts on international affairs, having interpreted world news regularly to millions of Americans either in written despatches or over the radio," to quote from the tribute of Mr. Leo Henderson, U.S.A. ambassador to the Indian Union. They were returning home after finishing their job in Indonesia when this disaster overtook them. What they saw and heard has been recorded, and the U.S.A. press will have opportunity to feature it. But the personal element would be lacking. That is the tragedy. Verily, in the midst of life we are in death.

# **SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS**

## **A Survey**

**By DR. S. CHANDRASEKHAR**

THE European planters in Natal had long complained about the lack of labour to work on the sugar plantations. A new discovery about the Natal soil revealed that the sugar-cane plant can flourish very well on it. The Bantus, the native inhabitants of the region, would not leave their reserves at the bidding of the new and unwelcome European intruders, and when forced, they were found to be unskilled, undependable, and heavy-handed. But the Europeans realised that they were better than no labour. Hence, a heartless attempt was made to break up the native reserves. The greed of the European planters for profits knew no bounds. It did not take a long time, however, for the European planters to discover that they were getting nowhere with Bantu labour.

The planters then made an attempt to import destitute Britons and orphaned British children to work on the plantations; but this also came to nothing. Another attempt was made to import British convicts, as colonists in Virginia and some other southern States of the American Union did. Prime Minister Grey refused. At that time, indentured Indian labourers were working hard in Mauritius and some of the West Indian Islands. So the Natal planters turned to India. With the permission of Grey, the planters corresponded with the East India Company and the Colonial Office in London to secure Indian labour to develop Natal.

At first the Indian Government refused. A present-day historian might happily speculate on the planters' probable course of action if the Indian Government had persisted in its refusal. Perhaps then there would have been no Indians in South Africa, nor a Mahatma Gandhi. Disappointed by the refusal of the Government in India, and the upheaval in India due to the first War of Indian Independence in 1857, or what is officially known as the Indian Mutiny, one Natal Land Company imported some Chinese, but the Chinese desertions on the plantations became so frequent that they had to be repatriated *en masse*.

The Natal planters again renewed their request to the Indian Government in 1860 and the Indian Government finally agreed to send a contingent of Indian labourers as an experiment. The Natal Government finally passed the Law 14 of 1859, empowering the colonial government to permit the immigration of Indian labourers.

There seems to have been some opposition from the poor whites in Natal at that time, but the interests of the planters prevailed. On November 16, 1860, a batch of Indian labourers, the first group, arrived on indenture for three years. Within six years

that is by 1866, about 5,000 Indian indentured labourers had arrived in Natal and were at work, helping to lay the foundations of Natal's prosperity.

But soon the familiar abuses of the indenture system, which was nothing more than quasi-slavery, came up. Reports and rumours reached India that the Indian immigrants were ill-treated. An official inquiry held in the colony revealed that the reports were well-founded; apart from general ill-treatment, wages were habitually held in arrears and in many cases, not paid at all. As a result, Indian emigration to Natal was stopped by the Government of India in 1866. Immigration was reopened however, in 1874, when the Natal Government agreed to subsidize the Government of India £10,000 a year in respect of recruiting arrangements and the provision that the indentured labourer, on the expiration of his indenture, might commute his return passage money to India to a parcel of land for free settlement in Natal.

In 1875, the question of granting free land for the settlement of the ex-indentured Indian labourers, engaged some attention of the Government in London, for even at the very inception of this proposal there seems to have been some opposition as the British colonies in Natal wanted only slave, or semi-servile labour, and no free Indians around. The British Government gave its decision on this question when Lord Salisbury stated in 1875:

"Above all things, we must confidently expect as an indispensable condition on the proposed arrangement that the colonial laws and their administration will be such that Indian settlers, who have completed the terms of service to which they agreed, as the return for the expense of bringing them to the colonies, will be free men in all respects, with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the colonies."

The indentured labourers were recruited by agents in India under agreements to serve on conditions approved by the Government of India, for a period of three years, and later extended to five years. Thereafter the labourers were free and they could either enlist for a further term of indentured service, or return to India, or remain in South Africa as *free settlers*. When the indenture was over the labourer was only too anxious to get out, for by then he knew only too well the iniquities of the indenture system. As the number of ex-indentured labourers who remained as free settlers increased, the opposition of the European population to free Indians also increased.

The European fear of Indian expansion in Natal

expressed itself in fact, as early as 1880. And in 1887 a Commission appointed by the Natal Government to examine the validity of this fear reported that

"The majority of the white colonists are strongly opposed to the presence of the free Indian as a rival and competitor, either in agricultural or commercial pursuits."

In 1885 a Natal law forbade the owning of fixed property by the Indians. This was perhaps the earliest negation of Lord Salisbury's promise of the conditions under which Indian immigrants were to live in South Africa.

This did not mean, unfortunately, the end of Indian immigration into South Africa. The clamour for Indian immigrants continued. To the South African European mind the irrationality and the untenability of begging for Indian labour and at the same time denying them elementary privileges has never, as we know today, dawned. As a result of the pressure of the white colonists, the enactment providing for free settlement of ex-indentured labourers was repealed in 1891. After this repeal the European colonists did not ask for the end of immigration, though one would expect that to be their natural desire. Having realized that it was the Indian who contributed a major portion to the prosperity of Natal, the British and the Boer planters still wanted the Indians, but with the condition that the Indian should come to Natal to labour for the European planters, and return to India as sucked oranges. They sought, without success, to recruit Indian labour on conditions that would permit compulsory repatriation.

In 1893, Natal obtained responsible Government. And the newly won freedom gave the European power to persecute the Indian. The very next year, in 1894, the Natal legislature passed a measure depriving Indians of their parliamentary franchise. Joseph Chamberlain in refusing to recommend the Bill for Royal Assent, said :

"The Bill involves in a common disability all natives of India without exception, and provides no machinery by which an Indian can free himself from this disability, whatever his intelligence, his education, or his status in the country. To assent to this measure would be an affront on the people of India such as no British Parliament could be a party to."

However, the British Government offered no opposition to the *content* of the colony's anti-Indian legislation ; it only protested against the form of the legislation when it was based on differences of colour and race. This was all the more hypocritical for it achieved the end of discrimination and yet, terminologically it sounded like non-discrimination.

In 1894, a young Indian barrister named Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi happened to be in South Africa on legal business. He took up this issue and laid the foundations of his political career—which was to become later spectacular and world-renowned with a struggle against the principle of national, racial and religious discrimination embodied in the 1894 Franchise Bill of Natal.

The question of non-indentured and ex-indentured Indians, or what was called "free" Indians came up again. And to discourage the presence of such Indians and to make their livelihood impossible another Act was passed in 1895. By this Act of 1895 every ex-indentured Indian who remained in Natal was required to take out each year a license at a fee of £3. Those who did not want to pay this tax were either urged to return to India or reindenture and become a half-slave again. Those who returned to India immediately were granted free passages. Indian traders, incidentally trade being the only occupation open to ex-indentured Indians, were required to obtain licenses from the local authorities and this requirement was used to restrict as well as harass the Indian traders.

The question of equal treatment for Indians in what was now a self-governing Natal had assumed serious proportions. Speaking to the Colonial Conference in 1897 Joseph Chamberlain said :

"We ask you also to bear in mind the traditions of the Empire which make no distinction in favour of or against race or colour and to exclude by reason of their colour or by the reason of their race all Her Majesty's Indian subjects or even all Asiatic subjects would be an act so offensive to those people that it would be most painful, I am quite certain, to Her Majesty to have to sanction it."

While the question of the so-called free Indians was causing considerable anxiety to the Indian community and to the people in India, a tiny trickle of unassisted emigration to Natal both from India and East Africa began. These were small-scale traders and businessmen who had gone to South Africa to serve the needs of the Indian community. The violent opposition to this voluntary emigration found expression in a hooligan demonstration at Durban in 1896 when the then relatively unknown young Indian barrister Gandhi escaped lynching. The result of this thin stream of free Indian emigration was that in 1897 the first measure stopping Indian Immigration was passed by the Act 1 of 1897 in Natal. This Act required all Indian immigrants to pass a language test in a *European* language ! This simply meant that the South African Europeans did not want better class and free Indians but wanted only the underprivileged sections of the Indian population, for this Act, however, did not put an end to indentured immigration.

In spite of these restricting and curbing pieces of legislation many Indians somehow managed to live in Natal. So the British and Dutch opposition to the presence of Indians became intensified. In 1903 a tax of £3 was imposed on the children of ex-indentured Indians when they reached the age of consent which was sixteen years in the case of boys and thirteen in the case of girls.

In spite of these series of anti-Indian laws, the Indians still seemed to be around ! So in 1907 a Commission was appointed in Natal to enquire into the Indian question. This Commission, though composed of only South African Europeans, reported that

"Absolute and conclusive proof has been put forth before the Commission that several industries owe their existence and present conditions entirely to Indian labour. The Indians are industrious, law-abiding and on the whole sober in their habits, and it has been proved that their presence has had no injurious effect on the morals of the whites or the natives."

One would expect that in the light of the recommendations of this Commission, certain anti-Indian laws would have been repealed. On the contrary, the very next year the question of curtailing further even the elementary rights of Indians in Natal came up before the legislature. Sir Liege Hulett speaking in the Natal Parliament observed in defence of the Indian :

"The condition of the colony before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom, it was one that then and there threatened to extinguish the vitality of the country, and it was only by the Government assisting the importation of Indian labour that the country began at once to revive. The coast has been turned into one of the most prosperous parts of South Africa."

In the same year when there was a great agitation in India against the ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa Lord Curzon, who was the Viceroy of India, observed :

"In the first place, as regards South Africa itself the Indian labourer, or at any rate the educated man who is behind the Indian labourer and who has conducted this agitation, sees that the Indian artisan is invited and is even encouraged to emigrate from India. We send him to a colony which he enriches by his labour and then the society there appears to turn round upon him as if he were a dog. He is penalised there not for his vices, but for his virtues. It is because he is a sober, industrious, frugal and saving man that he is such a formidable economic danger ; and then the Indian rightly remembers that at any rate in a large number of cases he has fought for the British Empire in South Africa and that it was largely owing to his efforts that Natal was saved."

When the Union was formed in 1910 Natal ceased to be an independent, self-governing colony and the Indian affairs became a Union or a "federal" matter, as it were. Natal became a province in the Union of South Africa.

Before we trace further the history of the Indian immigrant in the province of Natal, let us look at his progress in the sister province of Transvaal.

In the Transvaal, European protests against Asiatic immigration were received by the Republican Government as early as 1884. The material of these protests took shape in Law 3 of 1885, which was amended in 1887. Under the provisions of this law, Asiatics were deprived of citizenship and the right to own property. It required all Asiatics wishing to trade in the Transvaal to register and in the case of a new entrant, at a price of £3. This law also empowered the local government to set aside for alleged sanitary reasons, (it did not distinguish between the wealthy and the under-privileged Asiatics), streets, wards, and location for the residence of Asiatics. Thus, for the

first time the principle of Asiatic segregation was introduced and this has become the main demand of the Europeans, both privileged and under-privileged, since then. This law, its interpretation, and the difficulty in enforcing such sweeping and broad legislation, was the subject of much controversy between His Majesty's Government and the Republican Government of Transvaal. This controversy between the London and the Transvaal Governments was reflected in a speech by Lord Lansdowne, Secretary of State for War, and an ex-Viceroy of India, who stated on the outbreak of the Boer War, that of all the misdeeds of the Boers, none filled him with so much anger as their treatment of the Indians. He proceeded to paint a lurid picture of the political evils which might have been expected to follow in India itself if England had failed to put an end to such insolent injustice. Professor W. K. Hancock admirably summarizes the situation in his observation :

"Till the very eve of the South African War, British Ministers continued to denounce to British audience the enormity of President Kruger's treatment of the Queen Victoria's Indian subjects. It was an offence against human equality. It was an affront to British dignity. It was, in short, a just cause—though certainly not the only just cause nor the chief one—of war. Indians, within the Transvaal and outside it, might be excused if they hoped for great things from a British victory. The Indians of Natal, inspired by Gandhi, demonstrated their loyalty as British subjects by organizing an ambulance corps. But the end of the war brought bitter disillusionment. Before long their complaints were assailing the ears of British administrators in the conquered republics and of the distant authorities in London.

"They asked, in fact, that the British administration in the Transvaal should be true to their professions and promises, which the British Government had made. The very reverse happened. The new British officials enforced them (anti-Indian legislation) with unprecedented efficiency."

After the Boer War of 1899-1902, the Dutch Republic of Transvaal became a British Crown Colony. But the transference of power from President Kruger to Lord Milner did not mean, as observed already, alleviation in the least of Indian suffering.

In 1902 and in 1904, the Governor, Lord Milner, put forward proposals for the registration of the Asiatics. In 1902, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain rejected the proposal and said that it would be impossible to defend what would practically be a continuance of the system of the South African Republic against which Her Majesty's Government had so strongly and repeatedly protested.

In Pretoria, the provincial capital of Transvaal, a new department to take charge of Asiatic affairs was created. Its sole aim was to prevent the entry of Asiatics, not from Asia into South Africa, but from Natal and other provinces into Transvaal. It was like the Madras Presidency preventing the entry of an individual who belonged to the Orissa province. In

1904, Mr. Lyttleton, while agreeing to the introduction of an Immigration Ordinance to restrict the entry of Indians in the future by applying a dictation test in a European language, refused to sanction legislation taking away rights for which Indians had contended in Republican days and which subsequently had been assured to them. European opinion in the Transvaal was, however, by no means satisfied, and continued efforts were made to impose further restriction upon Asiatics. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1907 and the Asiatic Law Amendment Act of 1907, besides introducing a European language test, demanded the registration of Asiatics and the recording of finger-prints. The Transvaal Government's contention was that this extreme measure was necessary to prevent illicit entry of Asiatics into Transvaal who had not obtained or registered a domicile there. These discriminatory and stringent measures were the occasion of the first passive resistance movement of Gandhi. According to the Indians, the main grievance was that the taking of finger-prints implied a criminal status and the immigration law excluded Indians who were British subjects, unlike the Dutch immigrants, solely on the supposed grounds of "race." In fact, the Indian reaction on the whole was against the British-Boer attitude of smug, self-assured superiority over the Indians on some unintelligible grounds. In speaking of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1907, Lord Morley said :

"The act may work grave injustice, since British Indian subjects who had before 1902 acquired domicile in the Transvaal, but, having temporarily left the colony, had not registered themselves, may under its provisions be debarred from re-entry."

These discriminatory and stringent measures were the occasion for the first passive resistance campaign under Mohandas K. Gandhi's direction. According to Hancock :

"Whether or not these conjectures of motive are well founded, the fact is clear that the local British administration had both in word and deed repudiated those principles of justice to which the British Government had appealed on behalf of the Indians in the Transvaal. Would the British Government endorse this repudiation? Would the Indian community submit to it? Gandhi and his associates were prepared to go to considerable lengths to allay the fears of the Transvaal Europeans. They were willing to submit, as a voluntary act, to a new registration of Indians lawfully resident in the Transvaal, completely with passes of identification, photographs, and finger-prints. This, they argued, should suffice to allay all fear of an influx of unqualified Indians. But the British administration insisted on achieving its purpose by stringent legal enactment, and to this end drew up the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of 1906. On the 11th of September, 1906, a large gathering of the Indian population of Johannesburg assembled in a Jewish theater hired for a meeting of protest. The date of the meeting has some importance, for it was then that a new principle and method of struggle came into being among Indians. Europeans called it *Passive Resistance* . . . . Twenty years later *Satyagraha* proved

itself to be the most baffling and dangerous weapon with which Indians resisted British rule in their own country. In 1906 it rallied Indians in South Africa to a more resolute struggle than any which they had yet attempted."

Before resorting to passive resistance Gandhi did everything in his power to have the repugnant ordinance repealed. He appealed to the London Government. He himself led a deputation of Indians to London and laid the Indian case before Lord Elgin, the Colonial Secretary. Lord Elgin replied to the deputation with the polite but inconclusive remarks which are in order on occasions of this kind. However, there was a little hope at the beginning, for a dispatch of Lord Elgin to Lord Selborne, dated 29th November, 1906, contained the refusal of the Government to accept then the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance.

Till now the story might appear as a struggle between the upright British Government and the Boers, the villains of the peace. But, as it soon became apparent, it was not a struggle between unjust colonists and honest English administrators in London, for the administrators identified with the colonists soon enough. The truth was that not the Boers alone or the South African British alone, but the responsible British administration and their London advisers were responsible for the greatest offence to the Indian community.

In a few months after Gandhi's return from London, Transvaal received responsible government. The new power was quick to assert itself and the 1906 ordinance appeared unchanged as Act 2 of 1907. Lord Elgin wrote to the Governor of Transvaal that His Majesty's Government was opposed to the principle involved in the legislation, but felt unwilling to resist the European will of the colony. The Indians were thus betrayed.

Gandhi started his campaign of passive resistance. It took the form of refusal to register and of deliberate and previously intimated breaches of the law. Hundreds of Indians courted imprisonment, and widespread sympathy was aroused in India and England. Even the Transvaal administration, which neither knew nor respected public opinion, was gravely embarrassed. By now the law of 1906 had become the "Black Act," but the administration did not budge. In 1907, it passed the Immigration Restriction Act and Gandhi felt justified in using his newly found and powerful non-violent technique of *satyagraha* to oppose this piece of legislation also. Gandhi and several of his followers were arrested and imprisoned, but the Acts continued to be on the Statute Book.

Months passed in the Transvaal struggle between the Indian passive resisters and the British Transvaal Government over the natural rights of the former in the province. In 1910, the two Boer settlements and the two British colonies coalesced and became the Union of South Africa. With the formation of the Union, the general immigration and the Indian question became the central federal subject and no more those of the provinces. When the newly created Union Government

planned to draft a new and general Immigration Law, retaining all the obnoxious features of the past measures, criticism of a small but enlightened European community within the Union, in India and the United Kingdom became loud. The usual procedure of the Government of India sending a protest to the British Colonial Secretary in London became invalid for the Colonial Secretary had no more any power over the Union. So the Government of India began to negotiate directly with the Government of South Africa and suggested the deputation of the well-known and able Indian statesman, Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, to explore the possibilities of and widen the area of agreement. Gokhale's visit to the Union of South Africa, instead of averting the passing of the contemplated General Immigration Bill, deepened the existing crisis. Gokhale met the South African Cabinet and obtained a promise from General Botha, the then Premier of South Africa, that the Registration Act would be repealed, the discrimination in the Immigration Act would be removed and the £3 Poll Tax would be abolished. In 1913, General Smuts denied that this promise had been given to Mr. Gokhale! Gandhi also believed that Mr. Gokhale extracted this promise. Now, then, were two conflicting interpretations of what appears to have been an express verbal agreement. Gandhi called it "a breach of pledge" while Smuts denied the pledge as such. As if the existing provocation was not enough, more fuel was added to the fire. Mr. Justice Searle of the Cape Supreme Court gave out a decision in March, 1913, which invalidated marriages performed according to the Indian religious rites. This affected all the Indians, Hindus as well as Moslems, as they were all invariably married according to Hindu and Moslem rites. This foolish decision of legitimizing Indian children and casting aspersion on the marital status of Indian women, made the delicate situation worse. The result was that Gandhi's passive resistance movement received an added emotional and religious impetus and the support of the Indian women who felt scandalized over the Court's decision. Then Gandhi launched his more spectacular passive resistance campaign.

In the words of Hancock, on the 6th of November, 1913 Gandhi led a band of over 2,000 'pilgrims', nearly all of whom were strikers from the Newcastle Coal Mines, towards the border of Transvaal. To cross the borders was a breach of the Immigration Laws of Transvaal, and it was Gandhi's plan to win justice by compelling the authorities to enforce the law upon so large a company of willing sufferers, that its iniquity, and therefore its weakness, would become flagrant in the eyes of the whole world and even in the eyes of the European community of South Africa. This is not the place to record the dramatic episodes in which Gandhi's plan unfolded itself—the stages of the pilgrims' march, the arrests of leaders, the deportation of the main body to Natal, the new strikes everywhere among the labourers, the transformation of compounds

into prisons, the rising excitement in South Africa, the growing indignations in India, where on the 24th of November, the Viceroy proclaimed the Indian people's "deep and burning sympathy" with their fellow countrymen in South Africa. These are some of the sensational scenes in an action which was working to its close.

To give the full quotation, Lord Harding, the then Viceroy of India, speaking in the City of Madras, said :

"Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands by organizing what is called passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust, an opinion which we who watch their struggle from afar cannot but share. They have violated, as they intend to violate, those laws, with full knowledge of the penalties involved, and ready with all courage and patience to endure those penalties. In all this, they have the sympathy of India deep and burning, and not only of India, but of all those who like myself, without being Indians themselves, have feelings of sympathy for the people of this country."

Now the South African Government, for the first time, awoke to its responsibilities as a Government, shaking the fetters of white South African supremacy prejudices. It appointed an Indian Enquiry Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir William Solomon, at the suggestion of the Indian Government, to inquire into the grievances of the Indian community that had culminated in this *satyagraha*. The Indian Government deputed Sir Benjamin Robertson, one of its civil servants, to give evidence before the commission. The Commission's report which cleared the atmosphere paved the way for a settlement by reporting that the Indian grievances were well founded. It recommended the abolition of the £3 Tax in Natal, the abolition of registration in the Transvaal, and recognition of the validity of Indian marriages. These recommendations resulted in the Indian Relief Act of 1914, which satisfied the Indian community on these immediate issues. The Indian Relief Act was at best a palliative and not a permanent solution. There was still enough legislation or the Statute Book, which was repugnant to the Indians. Gandhi, in a communication to Smuts, the then Premier, observed that the Indians would someday raise the other issues for complete satisfaction, and he could not be expected to rest until full civic rights had been conceded to the Indian population. Smuts, on the contrary, felt that the Indian Relief Act should be accepted as a complete settlement of the controversy. Thus, even in the dim good-will engendered in the after-struggle quietness, seeds of a future disagreement were sown by these opposing interpretations of the settlement. This Act also empowered the Union Government to repatriate voluntarily any Indian who had lost right to a passage by unspecified residence as a free Indian.

Gandhi and Smuts corresponded on other minor matters pertaining primarily to the administration of the Act, namely, that the law should be administered



"in a just manner with the due regard to vested rights." This phase of the controversy came to an end by what has come to be known as the Smuts-Gandhi agreement. Gandhi ended his passive resistance movement and returned to India.

Gandhi and the Indian community accepted the Immigration Act of 1913. Under this Act (which is applicable to all classes and peoples of Asia) Asiatics, with the exception of wives and children of domiciled relatives are prohibited from entering South Africa, *not co nomine*, but under a certificate of the Minister issued in terms of Section 4(1)(a). The provisions of this Act confined the movement of Asiatics to the provinces in which they were resident.

It had been hoped that the termination of Indian immigration would allay the fears of European South Africans and that the Union Government would make out justice to the already existing Indian population. In the midst of World War I, at the Imperial War Conference in 1917, General Smuts had expressed the hope that India's acceptance of the dominion's immigration policies of restriction would make it easy for them to satisfy her wishes for equality of treatment for Indians who had already domiciled in the Dominions. He said :

"In South Africa there has been this fundamental trouble that the white community has been afraid of opening the door too wide to Indian immigration. I have always felt sure that once the white community in South Africa were rid of the fear that they were going to be flooded by unlimited immigration from India, all the other questions would be considered subsidiary, and would become easily and perfectly soluble."

This question of according Indians equal political and economic status came up again at the Imperial Conference in 1918. It was found that the hopes General Smuts raised in 1917 were left unfulfilled. The European South Africans not only did not permit the Government to redress the grievances of the Indians, but clamoured for more discrimination against the Indians, which meant of course more grievances for the Indians. India became impatient and did not demand any more specific solution for a specific grievance, but asked for complete citizenship equality between Indian and European South Africans. The quarrel between India and South Africa at three successive Imperial Conferences revealed the depth of injustice to which European South Africans could descend to retain their special privileges. It must be remembered that the quarrel was about the rights of some 200,000 Indians, a few drops in the population ocean of India, and an inconsiderable minority in South Africa itself. "The quarrel ended in a deadlock but it was a kind of quarrel which wrecks empires."

At the 1918 Imperial Conference the delegates from the Government of India recounted the numerous injustices inflicted on the South African Indians. They were economic discrimination in the purchase and ownership of land, the grant of licenses to trade, offen-

sive railway regulations, and the denial of the municipal, provincial and federal franchise.

In the meanwhile the first World War had been concluded. General Smuts, who had done nothing to look into these grievances, had occasion to observe about the Indian troops that served under him, thus :

"I wish here publicly to repeat that I have had no more loyal, devoted and brave troops under me than those troops from the Indian Empire and I think the young South Africans who went with me and who fought side by side with those heroes from Asia, today have more kindly feelings than they had before towards the Indian population of South Africa."

These sentiments soon vanished into the thin air and those "young South Africans" on their return from the war became more anti-Indian than ever.

When the war was over, a new flame of discrimination, hatred and misunderstanding of the Indians sprang up from the members of the old controversy. Industrial and trade depression in South Africa resulted in unemployment. And the ever existent problem of the South African poor whites became intensified. Some Indians had become by then persons of considerable wealth and several were found in various industrial occupations. As usual at the end of every war and the chaos of its aftermath, ignorant, panicky and perplexed citizens, whom the war "to save democracy" had affected adversely, began to search for a scapegoat. False and mischievous rumours that the Indians were outstripping the Europeans in population increase and that South Africa was gradually becoming nothing more than an annexe of India, were spread. No census had been taken since that of 1911 and these fears had to wait and were only allayed by the 1921 census report of South Africa, which revealed that the rate of growth of the Indian population was smaller than that of the Europeans.

In the Transvaal, these fears found expression in resurrecting dead issues. A forgotten and ignored provision of the Gold Law of 1918 which forbade Indians from residing on proclaimed land was brought back to life. All of the Rand was declared proclaimed land with the result that the Indians in the Transvaal were faced with utter ruin. A select committee was appointed to inquire into the Indian grievances. The Committee, composed as it was, of South African Government officials, and therefore divorced of the ability to view South African problems impartially, heard the Indian and European points of view, but finally endorsed the European point of view in its recommendations. The result was that the Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Act was passed. This legislation debarred the Indians from obtaining new trading licenses and strictly enforced the Transvaal law, which forbade Indians from owning immovable property. Justice was again denied and the Indians as usual, lost.

As if this were not enough, the European South Africans began to clamour the very next year for

further restrictionist measures that would render decent Indian existence impossible. So yet another commission was appointed in 1920 to inquire into Indian trading and property rights, in fact to inquire whether Indians had become in the meanwhile, commercially successful. The appointment of a commission or a committee in South African politics usually signifies next to nothing. It is usually intended to divert popular attention from some issue or other. As for the recommendations of the commission, they are usually not acted upon. The Lang-Robertson Commission reported in 1922 and declared against compulsory segregation, repatriation and further curtailing of the almost non-existent rights of Asiatics. The Commission observed :

"We find ourselves wholly unable to support the policy of repression which was advocated by some of the witnesses. Indiscriminate segregation of Asiatics in locations and similar restrictive measures would result in eventually reducing them to helotry. Such measures, apart from their injustice and inhumanity, would degrade the Asiatic and react upon the European unfavourably."

All these repressive measures—both proposed and passed—generated great heat at the 1921 Imperial Conference in London. General Smuts, who represented South Africa, was unable to take a long and statesman's point of view, and in fact was unable to conduct himself as a representative of the Union Government, which was composed not only of Europeans, but also of Indians, Malaya, Chinese, and the Natives. Smuts' utterances at the Conference revealed that he did not come there as a spokesman of the South African Union, composed of various ethnic elements, but as a spokesman for only the European community. The delegates who represented India were conditioned by wounded pride and a burning desire to get even. Other factors of inter-imperial relations were anything but happy and rendered the atmosphere of the Conference on the whole sullen and resentful.

The unsatisfactory Montagu-Chelmsford Constitutional Reforms for India had just been launched. The Indian National Congress was demanding independence and Gandhi was on the eve of launching a *satyagraha* campaign ; and the Indian nation as a whole was smarting under the lacerations of the Amritsar massacre and its unpleasant aftermath. The Indian delegates at the 1921 Imperial Conference did not ask for the redress of any specific grievance. They simply demanded, as before, complete political and economic equality for the South African Indian community. They asked for franchise and refused to withdraw any of these legitimate demands.

While the Imperial Conference settled nothing and achieved little, the anti-Indian legislation began to mount in South Africa. Natal, where most of the South Africa Indians lived, struck the next series of blows. The Natal Government passed Provincial Ordinances in 1922 and 1923, debarring Indians from leasing or purchasing lands belonging to municipalities. This Ordinance sealed the fate of Indians in Durban, the

city which claims the majority of South African Indians.

As an ironical and bitterly humorous aside, it must be mentioned that when the infant League of Nations assembled in 1922 in Geneva, the representative of the South African Government, General Smuts, put forth the following resolution, which was, of course, passed by the League. The resolution said :

"The Assembly expresses the hope that the States, which are not bound by any legal obligation with respect to minorities, will nevertheless observe in their treatment of their own racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the treaties and by the regular action of the regular Council."

It need hardly be added that the South African Government did not adopt this resolution, as far as her own minorities were concerned. Possibly her tremendous guilt complex was responsible for her sponsoring this resolution.

In 1923, another Imperial Conference was summoned and this time the rift between India and South Africa became complete. Much oratory was wasted on the concept of citizenship in general, and British citizenship in particular, and the political rights and responsibilities of a national of the British Commonwealth and the Empire. India was represented by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and General Smuts represented South Africa. General Smuts in repudiating the claims and the contentions of the Indian statesman, observed :

"There is one British citizenship over the whole Empire and there should be. That is something solid and enduring, but we must not place a wrong interpretation upon it. We must not derive from the one British citizenship the rights of franchise, because that would be a profound mistake. The attitude has been that franchise does not depend upon British citizenship. It is only in India this position is not understood. Indians go to the length of deriving from their British citizenship the further motion of equal franchise rights also, and they claim they may go from India to any other part and enjoy the same franchise rights as other parts of the Empire. I think that is wrong not only as regards India, but as regards every part of the Empire. I do not think an Australian, for instance, should come to South Africa and claim franchise there as a matter of course. He is a British subject and on that footing we are equal in the eye of the law ; but when it comes to the exercise of political franchise rights, I think there is a great difference and a distinction and we should recognize that. And where a distinction is carried into actual practice, as it is in South Africa, it should not be looked upon as an indignity, as a reflection on the citizens of any dominion, including India, who come to us and who do not get those rights. That is really all I wish to say about this matter.

"I noticed in Dr. Sapru's statement a remark which almost looked like a threat, that if India fails in forcing on us the view which she holds so strongly, then she may be compelled to make it a question of foreign policy. Well, I would say this, you cannot have it both ways. As long as it is a matter of what are the rights of a British subject it



is not a matter of foreign policy. It is a matter entirely domestic to the British Empire. If it becomes a question of foreign policy, then India cannot claim on the ground of their British citizenship any more the recognition of any particular right. Once they appeal to a tribunal, whether it be the League of Nations, or whether it be outside the British Empire, they can no longer use as an argument the common British citizenship."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in reply, observed :

"There is an essential confusion in the position, which General Smuts takes. Really the fact of the matter is this : you cannot, according to the modern law of citizenship, and according to the latest development of thought upon this subject, have two kinds of citizenship in the same empire, a higher and a lower. When I go to your country and satisfy the requirements of the law of franchise you have no right to tell me that because I am an Indian subject of His Majesty I shall not be entitled to exercise my parliamentary rights. Therein lies the whole position General Smuts has taken.

"And with regard to the disability of the Indians in the purchase of town lands, in respect of trade licenses and other things, General Smuts, as I said before, had not a word to say in his speech this morning. Therefore, the position remains this : that while I receive support substantial and general from His Majesty's Government, and all the Dominion Prime Ministers, I have received no support from General Smuts. On the contrary, he has expressed the desire that the resolution of 1921 should be repealed. I hope for the reputation of this Conference, for the reputation of the Dominion Prime Ministers, and the reputation of His Majesty's Government, nothing of the kind will be done ; and though you may tell my countrymen that the problem is undoubtedly a difficult one, I request you also to say you are doing everything to try to discover the means of solving it. If you do that, you will change out attitude with regard to the great imperial questions.

"General Smuts said that as a British subject I could not claim that this problem would pass from the stage of a domestic problem to that of a foreign problem. He misunderstood me. It is not difficult to foresee the stage being reached when even the Government of India, whom he has attacked over its attitude in regard to Kenya, (but I must adhere for the very same attitude) may find it necessary to appeal to His Majesty's Government and say that one part of the Empire is standing against the other, and it is for you and His Majesty's Government now to treat this problem, inside your own Commonwealth, as you would deal with a problem of foreign policy. That is what I meant, and I anticipate a stage like that being reached at no distant date in so far as relations of India with South Africa are concerned."

It may be remarked in passing that Sir Tej Bahadur's statement proved prophetic, for twenty-three years later, that is in 1946, the problem of Indians in South Africa had to be brought before the United Nations General Assembly. But more of this later.

To the above contention of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, General Smuts did not have any reply. He, therefore, failed at the 1923 Imperial Conference in his efforts to repeal the 1921 Imperial Conference Resolution for fair treatment of Indians in the British Commonwealth.

Smuts found the British Government and the Dominion Governments on the side of India. He returned to South Africa, frustrated and only to forget the imperial context of the Indian question and treat it purely as a South African domestic affair.

In 1924, the Smuts Government introduced the Class Areas Bill, drafted by the late Sir Patrick Duncan, then Minister for the Interior of the South African Government. This Bill authorized the establishment of separate trading and residential areas for persons who were neither Native nor European South Africans. This simply meant segregation of Asiatics both for residential and trading purposes, which meant economic disaster as well as social humiliation, to the Indians. As far as Smuts was concerned, the Bill was a definite breach of promise given to Gandhi to respect "vested rights." Smuts vacillated between his alleged desire to mete out justice to the Indians and to satisfy the intolerant Boer nationalist opposition, and failed to take a courageous stand. In the 1924 elections he was defeated in his own constituency and General Hertzog succeeded him as the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.

When General Hertzog assumed office he wanted to show that the Boer nationalists were right in electing him instead of General Smuts. So he authorized Dr. Malan then Minister of the Interior in his Government to introduce a stringent measure of segregation. It included all the reactionary features of the earlier Bill of Smuts, plus a prohibition against the entry of wives and children lawfully domiciled in South Africa. This Bill, the Areas Reservation and Immigration Registration (Further provision) Bill, which was to take effect in 1930 raised a storm of protest in India and of course among the Indians in South Africa. This bill, as many before this, was drafted in general terms, but was aimed at the Indians. Hertzog, frankly if somewhat brutally, admitted that the aim of the Bill was "to supplement the inducement which is held out to Indians to leave the country." The Minister of the Interior was equally outspoken. In introducing the Bill he said :

"The Bill frankly starts from the supposition that the Indian as a race in this country is an alien element in the population, and no solution of this question will be acceptable to the country, unless it results in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population."

Several witnesses deposed before the Committee hearings both for and against the Indian community. The Indians pointed out with great justification that in the majority of cases the Indians had been brought to South Africa by the Natal Government which solely needed their labour and that, once they had acquired the legal domicile, they were entitled, as citizens of the Union and the Commonwealth to just treatment and did not merit persecution as a minority. It was further pointed out that if the Indian was an alien element in South Africa, so was the European, both the Dutch and the British, for strictly neither were ethnically indigenous to the country. It must be

remembered that in all this discussion the poor Negroes, perhaps the most under-privileged people in the world, natives of the land, have been completely ignored.

In the same year, 1924, attention in India was directed to Kenya, where a similar problem was awaiting solution. So the Indian National Congress deputed Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to visit Kenya to study the situation. The South African Indians seized the opportunity and invited Mrs. Naidu to visit South Africa as well. She visited the country, went on a lecture tour, and tried to arouse sympathy and understanding from the microscopic minority of enlightened South African European population. Before leaving South Africa she suggested a "round table conference" to reconcile the opposing points of view of India and South Africa.

Mrs. Naidu's return to India enabled the public in India to get a first hand picture of the plight of the South African Indians. When Nationalist agitation against the South African Bill gained momentum, the Government of India asked the South African Government to discuss the proposed legislation at a "round table conference." The Hertzog Government agreed to the principle of the Conference provided that it also discussed the possibilities of repatriation, which the Indian Government was to assist by offering land for settling the returning Indians. When the Indian Government declined to consider this possibility the Hertzog Government reintroduced the same Bill in 1926. In re-introducing the measure General Hertzog said :

"We had a right to say to the Government of India that any interference from the outside in our domestic affairs would be tolerated neither by the people of South Africa as a whole, nor by the bulk of the followers of any political party in the country. For this reason, and under these circumstances, we intimated to the Government of India that we are not in principle opposed to the holding of a Round Table Conference, but if we did hold one, then in the proposed discussions must be included this particular point, that the Government of India shall be asked to be willing to co-operate with the Government of the Union of South Africa to assist the Government in making the scheme of voluntary repatriation more effective than it is. We more particularly thought of the possibility of holding out with the assistance and co-operation of the Government of India an additional inducement to the Indians to leave the country by holding out to them the possibility of an advantageous land settlement in India or adjacent territories."

Thereupon several official and unofficial goodwill delegations were exchanged between the two countries. As a result, the Asiatic Bill was dropped finally and the Indian Government consented to discuss a plan for assisted repatriation and the South African Government agreed to a Round Table Conference. The Conference between the representatives of the Governments of India and South Africa met in Capetown on 17th December, 1926, *in camera*, and concluded their deliberations on 11th January, 1927. On the 21st of

February, 1927, both the South African and the Indian Governments announced in their respective legislatures what is now known as "The Capetown Agreement."

The Capetown Agreement of 1927 declared in noble words :

"The Union Government firmly believes in and adheres to the principle that it is the duty of every civilized government to devise ways and means to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacities and opportunities, and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities, the considerable number of Indians who will remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind any other section of the people."

As a result of the Capetown Agreement the South African Government dropped the Areas Reservation Bill. The Government of India assured co-operation in a scheme of "assisted emigration" for South African Indians. While the agreement recognized the right of South Africa to use "all just and legitimate means for the maintenance of Western standards of life, it also recognized that the South African Indians, who were prepared to conform to Western standards of life should be enabled to do so." South Africa undertook to provide a scheme of emigration to regions where South African Indians would be received. India on her side was to receive and take care of South African Indians who desired to return to India. On the request of the Government of South Africa, the Indian Government appointed a quasi-diplomatic representative, called the Agent General, in the Union, "in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two governments." In addition, the Union Government agreed to inquire into Indian education, sanitation and housing conditions.

The first appointment of an Indian Agent General (this title is now changed to the regular diplomatic High Commissioner for India, though the post is intentionally unfilled) was that of the liberal leader Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri. He made a favourable impression on the enlightened minority of South African Europeans. He effected a few minor improvements, notable of which was the establishment of the Sastri College, really a Secondary School, for Indian children in Durban, despite its name. He also invited an Education Commission from India, which enquired into the Indian educational needs, and made several recommendations, a few of which were carried out.

Another result of this Agreement was the repatriation of about 15,000 South African Indians to India between 1927 and 1935. The South African Government paid the passage and a bonus of 20 to every repatriated Indian, and the Government of India took care of some of the difficulties of the returning emigrants. The Agreement was received with considerable warmth on both sides of the Arabian Sea, though extremist critics, who denounced it, were not wanting. Mahatma Gandhi himself accepted the Agreement as a tentative solution.

However, the Capetown Agreement was a failure

on the whole, because the "Indian problem" was not solved, according to the South African Government, for, even after some assisted repatriation, Indians did not disappear into thin air. As for the Indians, the problem was not solved either, for the discrimination against them did not disappear. It seems that the South African Government expected that the Capetown Agreement would reduce the Indian population. This unscientific expectation was entertained by the Union Government, as there was no European demographer worth any standing in the South African Government to advise them on these matters. It has been established that migration does not reduce the population of a country permanently. It is only very rarely, as in Ireland for instance, that the population is reduced to a certain limit by emigration. On the Indian side there was dissatisfaction, for the repatriated Indians did not find the conditions in India particularly conducive to comfort. They had been absent for years, and some had never seen India, as they were South African born, and therefore, they could not adjust to the Indian modes, which they had rightly discarded in South Africa. No returning emigrant ever finds his original homeland a happy place after a long lapse of years. The repatriated Indians seemed to have warned other Indians in South Africa and therefore, the reverse emigration proved to be very slender, to the dissatisfaction of the South African Government.

In 1932 a conference was held to review the Capetown Agreement and its working. The problem, of course, had not disappeared. The South African Government still wanted the Indian to be out, and consequently it made no effort to make the lives of those Indians who chose not to be repatriated, pleasant. A resolution to explore the possibilities of settling the South African Indians in some thinly-populated regions within the British Empire was adopted, affirming at the same time the basis of the 1927 Agreement. But no definite scheme of settlement, nor a definite acceptable region, was decided upon. The 1932 Conference, therefore, produced no workable solution of the Indian problem.

In February, 1938, yet another Commission under the chairmanship of J. M. Murray, was appointed to inquire into and report whether, and if so to what extent, the letter and spirit of any law restricting or prohibiting the ownership, use or occupation, of land by Asiatics, was being evaded, and to make recommendations in regard thereto. The report of the Commission was published in March 1939, but it threw no new light that could contribute to the solution of the Indian problem.

But soon after, however, a Government whip gave notice of motion of a bill to empower local authorities to demarcate residential and trading areas for Europeans. While no action was taken on this Bill, the Government passed an Interim Act pending permanent legislation, which provided that Asiatics in the Transvaal could hire or occupy only premises occupied

wholly by Asiatics or coloured persons, on April 30, 1939. It also compelled an Asiatic to obtain a permit from the Interior Minister before applying for a license to carry on business or trade, or to remove his business to other premises. This last restriction was interpreted by the Indian community as a breach of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement, and the whole Act as a breach of the Capetown Agreement.

Till the outbreak of the second World War no other scheme of settlement or repatriation was decided upon, and the declaration of hostilities on 3rd September, 1939, pushed the Indian question into the background of South African politics. It would be incorrect however, if it is implied that the South African Government stopped harassing the Indians for the duration of the second World War. The declaration of war led to the formation of a new Government by General Smuts. As no South African Government can afford to forget the "Indian question" purely as a matter of domestic politics, the Broome Commission was forthwith appointed in 1939 to make an investigation of the entire issue, the Government, however, declared that no new statutory measure involving segregation would be introduced during the war.

In 1941, the Government broke this promise and the Interim Act was renewed for two years, while the Broome Commission was still investigating the question. In 1943, for the first time the Government's Pegging Act imposed statutory restriction on the acquisition of land by Asiatics in Natal. In the Transvaal it extended the Interim Act. All this happened despite the promises of the Union Government not to introduce segregation measures during the war, and despite the protests of the Indian community and the Government of India.

On January 21, 1946, General Smuts announced in the Union Parliament that he would introduce a Bill which would prohibit occupation and acquisition or property in Natal except in certain exempted areas. The Indian Government urged that the legislation be postponed and that the Union Government meet with a representative delegation of Indians to explore an alternative settlement of the question, as recommended by the Broome Commission. The South African Government refused. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act was passed in March, 1946. This Act gives permanent recognition to the principle of racial segregation; in Natal it subjects the transfers of fixed property between Asiatics and non-Asiatics to the approval of the Interior Minister; and in the Transvaal its effect is the same as the Interim Act.

The subsequent events in this unhappy struggle between the Indian demand for democratic and decent treatment for Indian and other non-European permanent elements of the South African Union population and the South African governmental and European forces of racialism and intolerance and the dictatorial rules of a white minority over a large coloured

majority, are too recent to need any detailed recounting.

India complained to the United Nations General Assembly that the South African Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, popularly known as the Ghetto Act was a violation of the principles of the U. N. Charter and that it was not conducive to the friendly relations between the two countries. India contended that the fundamental rights so recently promised by the U. N. Charter were being denied to the South African Indians, thus raising moral and human issues containing the gravest implications for the future of peace and progress of the world. The South African Indian case therefore was a test case not only on the question of human rights but also of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The South African delegation led by General Smuts did not deny anti-Indian discrimination but pointed out the existence of caste discrimination in India and that India could not afford to complain when her own house was not in order, and what is more important that the ill-treatment of the Indians was purely a South African domestic issue and beyond the province and powers of the United Nations. To this the Indian reply was simple and effective. In India, social discrimination exists and is practised by individuals and communities but the Indian laws on the statute book do not recognise the discrimination of the orthodox Hindu code. No one in India suffers from any legal disability by reason of his or her caste. No one is prevented by virtue of his caste or creed from holding or alienating any property permanently or temporarily or carrying on any lawful profession or trade. There is no Indian law that prevents any person belonging to the so-called Depressed Classes from buying or selling land or doing any trade or business. Members of the so-called Untouchable Community have held portfolios in provincial and federal cabinets. In a word there is no legal or statutory disability on anyone in India, because of race, creed or colour.

General Smuts of course could not claim that a similar position existed in South Africa, or say an

Indian being a member of the Union Cabinet. As for the second contention that the South African Indian question was purely a domestic issue beyond the province of the United Nations did not deceive any member of the General Assembly. It was incredibly ironical that General Smuts, who had a hand in drawing up the Charter of the United Nations should have brought in this point. The treatment of the South African Indians could not on any account be a domestic issue to anyone who has read the preceeding pages of this essay. It is subject to international obligations under agreements between the two nations and coming within the orbit of the Charter the General Assembly vindicated the Indian stand and resolved on 8th December 1946, that the South African Government should take measures that would bring the treatment of Indians in conformity with international obligations under the agreements concluded between the Governments of India and South Africa and the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter. The General Assembly urged that both the Governments should explore all avenues toward an agreement and report to the Assembly after the lapse of a year.

A year passed and South African Government did nothing to implement on the resolution. At the last sitting of the General Assembly South Africa again pleaded that the matter was beyond the purview of the United Nations and that it had taken no agreement. Though the resolution censuring South Africa for its racial attitude received the support of a majority of the nations, it did not obtain the requisite two-thirds majority and the resolution was lost. That is where the situation stands today. As for the Indians their position is becoming increasingly worse. Ever since the matter was referred to the United Nations and South Africa sustained a moral defeat, the economical, social and political boycott tantamount to persecution has been intensified and the Indians are finding it increasingly difficult to live in the Union as self-respecting citizens.

UNESCO, Paris.



# WHITHER CONGRESS ?

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

AFTER nearly a quarter of a century of fiercest struggle carried on by a section of the Indian people, the Britishers were made to quit with whatever vestiges of power that a ruling class may wield over a down-trodden race. It was a peaceful withdrawal in so far as it concerned the outgoing overlords, officials and non-officials, men, women and children, with every interest safeguarded, from the walking stick to fat pensions, from the household pets to the valuable securities in banks.

## BRITAIN'S GIFT TO IND.

But they did not fail to leave for India a legacy, a gift for their unwilling departure which made India a weltering pool of blood and smoke. There was a mass of bewildered women, children and men, screaming for life and safety and engulfed all around by inescapable torture and uncertain doom. Blood had been flowing freely in the Punjab and Bengal. Property worth lakhs of rupees was being reduced to heaps of ashes in the twinkling of an eye. Heart-rending sobs and sighs of abducted women had been filling the air of the Punjab and adjoining provinces.

Then appeared in the political horizon the problem of uprooted humanity, members of the human race torn away from their hearths and homes, fleeing away for life, sometimes in an interminable queue, to an uncertain fate under the canopy of the open sky with biting winds and burning sun as inexorable companions. They lay scattered with lacerated hearts and mangled limbs here and there like autumn leaves, the sport of every breeze of fortune. There was goodwill all around, but the magnitude of the task baffled all the resources, and hurried measures brought into action by the Government proved completely inadequate for the purpose.

## PARTITION OF INDIA

Then there was a truncated India skilfully manoeuvred by the foreigners to a forcible acceptance by the Indian leaders. A land that had enjoyed one geographical entity since the days of creation was suddenly torn asunder into two parts with concomitant complications partially paralysing the economy of the entire State. By one line drawn with the life-blood of the nation, two contending nations were created that had intertwined common interests which were simply inseparable. Both the dominions lost much of what gave them moral and material greatness ; both suffered from the effects of amputation which it would be very difficult to overcome.

## EFFECTS OF THE WORLD WAR II .

The communal conflagration and the bewildering Partition came over a people that had barely survived the worst famine in human memory and had undergone the ordeal of suffering of an unbalanced economy when rich men became richer and the poor poorer, where inflation and high prices ruled and physical shortage of essential commodities including food and clothing became the order of the day. And blackmarket prevailed, greed with an insatiable maw in all those connected with the execution of the War could not be checked and the poorer people did not know how to eke out their existence. There was superfluity of money, and reckless profiteers had been lifting at any price from the market essential goods, an equitable distribution of which might have saved many a man from the worst pangs of hunger and penury and not unoften an untimely death. Everybody was for himself and the devil was to take the hindmost.

## PROBLEMS UNDER BRITISH RULE

Then there were permanent complexities that had arisen out of foreign domination for about two hundred years. There was poverty, ignorance, disease and squalor and a dark shade of despair on the face of the common citizen. Every facility for healthy and comfortable living was completely wanting. And poverty made them an easy prey to preventable diseases and a premature death.

## THE SILVER LINING

When the Britishers announced their plan for leaving India with the accumulated vices of 'peaceful' administration, an India suffering from the aftermath of the War and the Partition, there were many long faces perplexed with the thought of an impending anarchy. It was unthinkable for many that any authority in India will be able to replace the white masters who had so long been deemed as *avatars* or incarnations of the Almighty or at least demi-gods with illimitable powers. Fortunately for India, there was the Indian National Congress, there was the Father of the Nation, the Mahatmaji, and his heir-apparent, the present Prime Minister of India, the redoubtable Sardar, and a number of men of character, experience and intelligence who might adorn the Cabinet of any civilized nation of the world with credit. These men controlled an organisation which was well-knit and far-flung touching each and every corner of this vast country, manned by workers with whom

the watchword was service above self. They had defied with a smiling face police batons and bullets. Long years behind prison-bars and untold sufferings had only steeled their determination to free India from foreign domination. No sacrifice was too heavy for them. They wore a dress which was accepted as an emblem of truth and honesty. The entire organisation, having a membership larger than that of the biggest organisations in the world, working like one man and ready to pass through brimstone and fire, took up the reins of the Government without much ado and the whole nation heaved a sigh of relief on such a big event passing off so smoothly.

#### • IMMEDIATE RESULTS

The transference of power immediately solved two of the most intricate problems of India, viz, the communal question and the position of the Native States in an all-India set-up. Each State was left with the unfettered choice of shaping its own destiny according to the imagination and physical capacity of the leaders. The States, very prudently, elected to merge either in Pakistan or the Indian Union or form into States Union and barring the question of Kashmir, everything proceeded according to plan. A great headache of the Home Ministry of the Indian Union was removed when the Hyderabad tangle was successfully resolved by a lightning action of the Indian Union.

The Congress became the master of a vast territory which no Hindu or Muslim satrap had ever ruled. There was not even a vestige of any effective opposition either from inside the legislature where the Congressmen were in absolute majority (thanks to the electorate) or, outside. Such a propitious day had never dawned on India, however much we may repent of the evils of partition. Never before was there such an opportunity of moulding the country according to one's own needs and in all these great and momentous issues the Indian National Congress and its accredited leaders enjoying unprecedented popularity acquitted themselves well.

And there was a credit balance of £1200 millions in India's favour.

#### • ADVENT OF TROUBLE

If the Congress leaders succeeded in great matters, apparently they failed in small. With the assumption of power they began to think that the coast had been made clear for them to pursue policies, at least in internal affairs, which will not receive any opposition from any quarter. It seems, they counted without the host. They overlooked the many important factors which confronted India from all sides. There was the permanent Civil Service which though it changed its name to the 'Indian Administrative Service' did not forsake much of its old attitude of treating themselves as the real rulers of the land. Most of them did not take the change very kindly inasmuch as they had to salute at least some of the many hundreds and

thousands whom they had treated with contempt as disturbers of peace, seditionists, traitors, anarchists and undesirables. There are honourable exceptions, but most of them were out to discredit the new Government by acts of omission and commission and let the Ministers and Members of the Cabinet bear the brunt of failure and ignominy. It is not known how much of the present unpopularity of the Governments, Provincial and Central, is due to the red-tape that encircled the entire Secretariat and which has been very difficult for the Ministers to unloose. There are vested interests, from businessmen to landlords, the titled gentry and other personages enamoured of the white people whose patronage had plumed many a jackdaw with the peacock's feather. There are the Rulers of the Native States who have been deprived of much of their earthly possessions, and considering human nature as it is, it is idle to expect that they will sing hallelujah to the new 'democracy' in a secular state. If most of these Rulers remain stunned under this heavy blow, there are, as it should be, very intelligent and capable officers in each State, who can set up one group of Congressmen against the other and keep the entire administration in a fluid state. There are a number of political parties who do not see eye to eye with the Congress, and the assumption of power by the Congress was a severe blow to their prestige. By all means fair or foul, they would try to discredit the Congress Government by propaganda and by acts, mishandling of which is expected to put the Government in the wrong. There are innumerable other persons and organisations, fortunately without a large following, which are opposed to the Congress regime for some reason or other.

#### INTERNAL WEAKNESSES

But a still greater danger lay hidden inside the hearts of Congressmen and the Congress organisation. The many weaknesses that had lain dormant ere long became manifest and forthwith tainted the whole organisation. Persons in authority began to ride roughshod over the wishes of the people and to proceed against the declared policies of the Congress. Salaries of officials have been fixed at a rate that are beyond the dreams of even the blindest supporters of the Congress. Nepotism has had a full sway affecting discipline and efficiency of the administration. Tales of bribery and corruption fill the air and there is no effective contradiction from anywhere. The common people think that perhaps there is not much to say against these allegations. Expenditure on embassies, fabulous sums spent on salaries, cars and office equipments, waste of money, with stories of underhand dealings on purchases in foreign countries, especially in U.K., appointment of foreigners including stenographers who are thoroughly incompetent for the job, are some of the many shortcomings of the Government of India. These are some of the handy tools for propaganda by the enemies of the Congress.



In matters of contracts, permits and other advantages that may accrue to the favourites of the power-that-be, in matters of recruitment of new and admittedly superfluous men on unwarranted salaries, in showering preferments that could satisfy a dozen competent men but were bestowed on a single person or a group of individuals, in appointing superannuated men on emoluments that are the envy of younger and more competent workers, in the selection of men at key-posts carrying high salaries and enormous responsibilities but without proper equipment for technical knowledge, and in thousand and one other matters, the Congress authorities have shown a lamentable lack of the sense of reality. It can be safely said that they have miserably failed both in the Centre and in the provinces and it is a patent fact that these and some other lapses on their part have contributed in the largest measure to the unpopularity of the Congress Government.

#### PATENT DIFFICULTIES

There are certain practical and insurmountable difficulties which the Congress and the Government have to face boldly before they can impress the public with positive achievement. So far they have failed because of the inherent clogs that lie embedded in each problem. There is physical scarcity of food and in spite of one's best efforts no individual, no party, no Government can make food available in sufficient quantity to each and every citizen. In matters of cloth the Government have evidently bungled and are partly responsible for the prevailing high prices and its short supply in the market. To evolve an all-round acceptable economic policy is a tough job for a newly formed Government that is beset with so many difficulties. But it must be said that their vacillation in accepting any one of the prevailing economic systems of the world has been responsible for much confusion in public minds. The embarrassment of the Government in giving effect to their declared policy of nationalisation of land and industries can be easily realised and they seem to be wavering between the Scylla of capitalism and the Charybdis of socialism. It is wellnigh a desperate predicament when the Government have to satisfy people who have been fed on long promises and who want all their demands fulfilled overnight. They want something tangible, let it be the result of short-term policies, and are prepared to remain content till the big schemes can assume some concrete shape. But they have become, to a certain extent, sceptical about the results and are keenly watching all waste, mismanagement, slow progress and chances of miscarriage. For the successful management of the State, the Government have had to resort to certain taxes which the people resent. The enhancement in the postal and railway rates by the Centre and the sales tax in the Provinces, especially on raw vegetables in West Bengal, are instances in point.

But the grievance that surpasses all others and which seems to have no remedy, is the failure on the part of the Government to check blackmarketing and arrest

corruption and above all their failure to bring offenders to book. The story of big bosses being caught in the net of the Enforcement Branch but quietly slipping away through big holes created by the Government on the score of some or other of the relations and/or friends of the high and mighty of the Government being entrapped, is afloat and it is a pity that the rules of the Income Tax Enquiry Commission have had to be repeatedly amended before any case of wilful or criminal evasion of taxes had been found out and duly punished in a court of law. It is a thorny problem which the common people cannot understand that it is not advisable or prudent to alienate each and every section of the society all at once, and for some time to come the Government have had to bank on the good offices of the big people some of whom might have transgressed the bounds of law with impunity.

#### THE AVERAGE CONGRESSMAN

The average Congressman has fallen from his high ideals and at times their actions are simply reprehensible. There is rivalry amongst parties each trying to keep the Congress organisations under their thumb apparently not for rendering better and more selfless services but for easily bagging the loaves and fishes of Governmental preferments either for themselves or their proteges, for wielding greater influence on the public and the public servants, for enhancing personal prestige and the prestige of those whom they elect to favour. It is as if they have begun demanding the price for sacrifices made and sufferings undergone.

Love of power has permeated all strata of workers. In both urban and rural areas, the worker claims a recognition for his past services in the shape of a domineering position where the common people would pay respect and the public servants would express submission. The officers of the local bodies as also the local police are often accused of corruption but the interference with day-to-day administration, more often than not, in big matters, by Congressmen has perhaps reached the limit. One must admit that some sort of supervision by a selfless man or a body of workers is one thing and interference by one whose mind is unclean and hands are tainted is quite another matter. Long years of privation have whetted the appetite of some and they are out to avail themselves of the opportunity that has unexpectedly come in their way. Means none too fair and absolutely unworthy of the followers of the prophet of truth and non-violence to pile up as much as possible within the shortest time are adopted by men and women which was unthinkable to a public worker a few months back. A regular scramble for the loaves and fishes of office, of preferments, jobs, permits, government grants and other advantages is discernible everywhere and this has lowered the prestige and fair name of the Congress and it has fallen from the high pedestal that it had for so long occupied. Not unoften Congressmen are found to have adopted a life of ease and luxury, and in

certain cases, of debauchery, and yet they would like to cling to the old position and past reputation having had at the present moment no legitimate claims on either.

In high places some Congressmen have displayed a great lack of responsibility and instances of ministerial scandal and scandal emanating from the acts of their favourites are freely talked about. In high offices, some are mere adornments, without making the least effort to uphold the dignity of the chair they hold. In the Constituent Assembly, where a member draws Rs. 45 per diem as allowance for attending a day's session, he will be found present in insufficient numbers to form the barest quorum and some will be found to default the bills for electrical and water rates of the Corporation for the princely quarters they occupy at nominal rents and will not pay until forced to.

What is the service they now render to the public ? The record is almost blank ; if there is anything, it bears only a nuisance value.

#### THE SEQUEL

The consequence of the Congress and governmental deficiencies and indiscretions is noticeable in the conversation of people in public vehicles, in the market places, in restaurants, in drawing rooms and in conferences. There is seldom a good word for the Congress and the name is uttered with utter contempt. There is a chorus of condemnation not only from the uninformed public but also from veteran Congressmen which include some of the present and past members of the Working Committee not excluding its presidents. The Congress can not confidently face a bye-election and Congress workers are now publicly hooted in the streets. Only the other day, people bowed to the behests of the Congress. In the name of the Congress and in the hope that it will behave, people most willingly tolerated the orders of the Government in respect of principles for which they had fought with their life. Ban on the Communist party and the R. S. S., curtailment of civil liberties in many shapes and forms, restrictions on the press, tampering of private correspondence, *lathi* charge and shooting in the streets on women, children and unarmed prisoners in jails, have been tolerated by the public without even a murmur. Supersession of a self-governing institution like the Corporation of Calcutta was simply overlooked without a protest. Such was the support that the Congress enjoyed. A khaddar-dress would find a sitting accommodation to the wearer in a most congested vehicle; with respect a crowd will move away to give him a comfortable passage. All these have changed and a wry face and a contemptuous smile will receive a man in khaddar in public places and private assemblies. The Congress has degenerated to a position from which it will be difficult to retrieve.

#### THE REMEDY

For a disaster of such a colossal magnitude it is very difficult to suggest a panacea. We can ill afford to let the Congress go down and disappear leaving the

country to anarchy and chaos. Signs are not wanting ; the horizon is already thick with dark and ominous clouds. The Congress must assert and occupy its rightful place until the government of the country has been placed on a firm footing and can take care of itself, no matter which party comes into power. The people have become so much disgusted with the Congress regime that they would welcome any change even though it brings untold sufferings in its train. The atmosphere is surcharged with the elements of a mighty explosion; let the brave, the undaunted, the honest, the well-wishers of the country come forward to meet the situation with commendable tact and a spirit of self-abnegation and sacrifice.

Desperate diseases require desperate remedies. What is most wanted is *honest* men, truthful men, sincere and hardworking men at every post. What the war and its aftermath have destroyed is the most precious thing on earth, *i.e.*, a proper appreciation of human values. This has overtaken mankind, but the consequence is most dangerous to an independent nation still beset with infantile maladies. Weakness of any sort is not to be tolerated and should be suppressed with a ruthlessness that would bring terror to the hearts of the delinquents and defaulters. Unless every individual Congressman becomes cognisant of his own responsibility and makes himself worthy of the onerous duties he has to undertake and execute with a clear conscience, the Congress can not get out of its present rut.

Now is the time when the Congress and the Government should separate into two distinct organisations, each having its own destiny to fulfil. The Congress will run the election and leave the field. It will keep watch over the administration, should dictate policies, and shall have sanctions to enforce its dictates. But it would certainly not interfere with the administration in its details ; it should remain content if the broad principles are not transgressed. Administrators, including members of the Cabinet, should have no place in the Congress executive, because the Congress, as Mahatmaji wanted it to be, will represent the nation and not become the mouthpiece of a political party. The role of the future Congress will be acting as a buffer between the disgruntled public and the Government. The Congress will have liberty of criticizing freely the blundering measures of the Government, it will give expression to the people's point of view. It will function as the custodian of people's interests, and should ensure the welfare of the masses. The Congress should refuse to be used as a machinery of the Government, it will by its own greatness, acquired through selfless service, act as a super-government in the country.

The average Congressman thinks himself in terms of overlordship and has forgotten much of the services he used to render to his suffering brethren at a great sacrifice. If the Congress is to survive, not only as a great social institution but as a mighty political organisation, it must live through the ungrudging services of its component members in cases of flood, fire, famine,



## THE MODERN REVIEW FOR AUGUST, 1949

epidemics and every kind of unkind visitations of nature. If Congressmen want to capture the hearts of their suffering fellow-beings, it must be by being helpful to them in all possible ways. There is a great scarcity of food and clothing. Will the Congressmen undertake to raise two blades of corn where only one grows at present?

Where distress prevails in every sphere it is idle to expect that Congressmen should work without any remuneration whatsoever. He must receive his wages earned conscientiously by giving more than what his wages guarantee. By conduct alone can the Congressman, from the lowest to the highest, inspire and enthuse others in protecting the independence attained after such a great sacrifice. Behests, requests, *futwahs* from unworthy men are stale and carry no weight with the public.

If there had been paucity of funds affecting the smooth working of public organisations so far, there are now governmental grants to educational institutions, child-welfare schemes, hospitals and dispensaries, for rural water supply, reorganisation of industries, for refugee rehabilitation, for growing more food, for the resuscitation of cottage industries and other such schemes. The field of work of a Congressman has widened and his responsibilities have increased. Moreover, there is a greater facility for work in the shape of

better experience, less interference, facility for funds and freedom from police surveillance. There can be no limit to the scope of work, it is only the will that is at a discount.

Those who control the destiny of this ancient but reborn nation must act in a way that will engender the least criticism and receive the minimum of opposition from the public. Remove nepotism, jobbery, corruption and waste. Try to enforce efficiency and practise rigid self-discipline; make the public more conversant with facts than confront them with a *fait accompli*; without divulging official secrets please state your difficulties and the way in which you want to overcome them. Helpful suggestions might be obtained from the public. Do not talk big, an ounce of fact is weightier than a ton of big words. Plainly tell the people the handicaps that you are beset with and let them know that the many 'high targets' that have been fixed will never be reached at least within the time specified, and that many big schemes will never materialise possibly within the lifetime of the present generation. Complacency in all matters is no longer to be nurtured; in its place self-confidence and confidence in public support is more than what is necessary in Congressmen, big and small, within or outside the governmental machinery. By all means, place the country above self.

## THE CITY AND PORT OF CALCUTTA

### The Measures Necessary for Its Maintenance and Improvement

By DR .N. K. BOSE, M.Sc., Ph.D., F.N.I.,

*Director, River Research Institute, West Bengal*

CALCUTTA is the only port for Eastern India. All the imports and exports of the newly constituted province of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, C.P. and a considerable portion of U.P. pass through this Port. Even the trans-Himalayan countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and during the last war even China have all their communication, trade and traffic with the outside world through Calcutta. It may be further added that with proper development Diamond Harbour on the Hooghly about 30 miles south of Calcutta may be converted into a very suitable naval base. It will be about 50 miles inland from the sea-face and almost unapproachable to enemy submarines due to the difficult nature of the estuary leading to the sea.

The maintenance and improvement of the Port and City of Calcutta is, therefore, of very great importance to the Union of India.

Besides this, the area lying round about Calcutta requires improvement urgently. The health of Calcutta depends to a large measure on the health and successful drainage of this area which is now tide-locked and does not allow the sewage and rain-water from the Calcutta area to be removed quickly. The citizens of

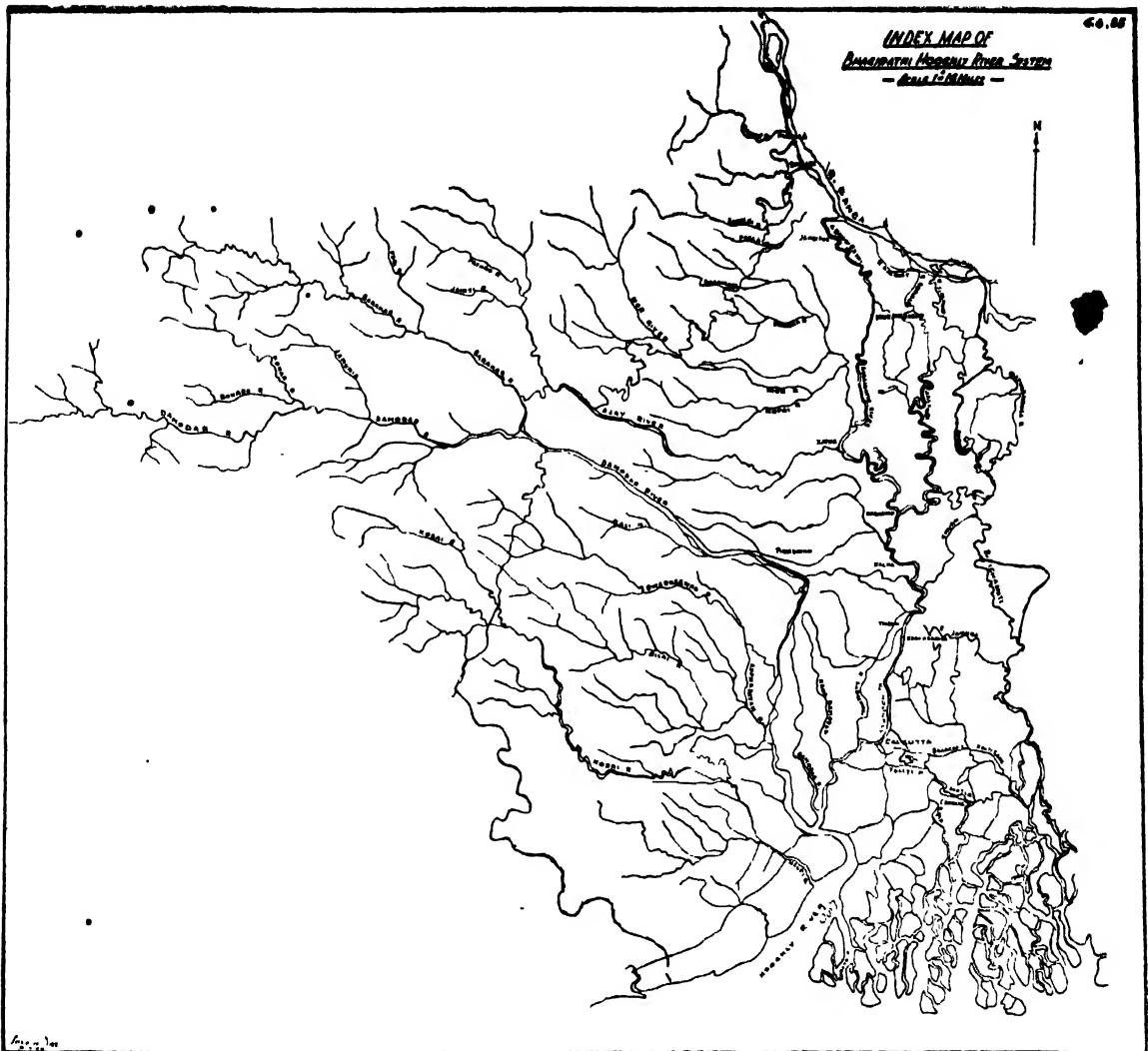
Calcutta know it too well to their cost the serious flooding that occurs after every cloud-burst over the city. The situation of the city saucer-like in a region controlled by high-level tidal rivers has created problems challenging the best ingenuity of engineers and scientists. The city is situated on the Hooghly which is the estuary of the following rivers:

*Left Bank Rivers:* 1. Bhagirathi, 2. Jalangi, 3. Mathabhanga.

*Right Bank Rivers:* 1. Pagla, 2. Dwarka, 3. Ajai, 4. Damodar, 5. Rupnarain, 6. Haldi, 7. Rasulpore.

The very existence and importance of the Port and City of Calcutta depend on the navigability of the Hooghly estuary.

When Job Charnok selected the three small villages of Govindpur, Sutanati and Kalikatta on the eastern bank of the river for the siting of his colony little did he dream that his small settlement of pirates and traders will develop into such a colossal city of business, trade and culture. The three villages were separated by spill channels connecting the Bhagirathi-Hooghly with the low-lying areas on both banks of the river. The Chit-



pore Khad on the north of Sutanati, the Creek Row between Kalikatta and Gobindapur and Tolly's Nullah to the south of Bhowanipur used to carry silt-laden tidal water from the Hooghly into the low spill areas known as the Salt Water lakes to the east of the river and were gradually building up islands in this vast water-logged tract. Villages like Belgachia, Ultadanga, Simla, Bagmari, Arkuli, Dhappa, Bantala and Ka-ba were gradually emerging out of the sea of the salt water. This whole tract would have been raised sufficiently if these channels were not gradually constricted and in some cases filled up by the pressure of population of the city. As the city developed and took concrete shape the low-lying areas on the east were cut off from the tidal spill of the river Hooghly and their reclamation was untimely stopped. The area to the south of the city towards Diamond Harbour was not so obstructed. As one flies over the area bounded by the Hooghly on the West and the Ichhamati on the East the country-side appears to be studded with

innumerable pools of stagnant water, some in horse-shoe shapes and others in vast stretches of low-lying areas connected by narrow channels with the few main rivers of the tract, such as Ichhamati, Kultigong, Matla and Peah. But the area to the east and south-east of Calcutta will appear to be the worst affected. As one flies over this area, nothing but vast sheets of stagnant water dotted with villages that were once prosperous appear under the plane. This was the drainage area of the Bidyadhari whose untimely death has led to this sad situation. On the drainage of this vast area depend the health and prosperity of the city.

The Hooghly-Bhagirathi river system has a drainage area of 32,000 sq miles. The average rainfall in this area varies from 120 inches on the seacoast to 45 inches in the Chotanagpur plateau. Besides the rainfall in this area the system received a considerable supply of water from the spill of the river Ganga. The river Hooghly-Bhagirathi now forms the main drainage channel of the West Bengal, Chotanagpur and Santhal

Perganas. It is, therefore, of paramount importance to keep this line of drainage in the most efficient condition so that no drainage congestion with consequent flooding occurs.

Years ago Bhagirathi formed the main course of the river Ganga when the western portion of the Gangetic delta was being built up. Big towns like Gour, Murshidabad, Katwa, Nabadwip and Kalna flourished on its course. The garden town of the Nawab of Murshidabad can still be seen rising proudly on its banks. The city of Calcutta is the latest imperial colony built on the river which was already showing signs of deterioration when Job Charnock laid the foundation of the settlement. The main course of the Ganga had already left the Bhagirathi and was flowing eastward. The town of Gour had been deserted by the river and was devastated by malaria. It was lying in ruins. It was at this stage of the river that the city was laid on its bank.

The volume and the duration of upland water supply steadily decreased and the regime of the river Bhagirathi-Hooghly seriously deteriorated. The navigability of the Hooghly estuary is now being maintained with great difficulty and at a great cost. This is affected by the following factors :

- (a) "Fresh Water Supply" brought down by the tributary rivers as stated above.
- (b) The amount of sand and silt introduced by these rivers.
- (c) The tidal inflow from the sea.

As it now stands, the upland water supply is only assured for about 2 to 3 months during the monsoon season every year. Huge quantity of sand and silt is also introduced during the same period but their presence on the estuary bed even after the flood period complicates matters. The tidal influence is present all throughout the year. It will thus be seen that though the factor (a) is operative only for 2 to 3 months in a year, factor (b) which is really introduced by factor (a), is present all the year round. The remedy, therefore, lies either in eliminating factor (a) altogether or by eliminating (b) without seriously affecting (a).

There is another method of tackling the problem which is being followed by the Commissioners for the Port. It is by accepting (a) and (b) as unavoidable and trying to train the river by dredging. This method is direct but very expensive and has not proved up till now very successful.

It will thus be seen that the difficulties of the Port and the City though apparently of different nature are due to the same causes. The absence of upland fresh water supply into the Hooghly estuary and the other rivers to the east, the introduction of huge quantity of sand and silt into this system during the rainy season and the arresting and complicating effects of tides are the three main factors responsible for the deterioration of the drainage, navigability and health of the area served by this system.

• The problem is a very urgent and serious one. It

has been considered by experts individually and also in committees. Though they have not come to any unanimous decision about the remedy to be applied they are more or less agreed on the factors that are operative in worsening the situation.

On studying the factors responsible for the deterioration of the river Hooghly and the countryside between the Hooghly and the Ichhamati, it appears that the following are most important :

- (i) The absence of fresh water supply from the Bhagirathi and its tributaries during 10 months of the year.
- (ii) Excessive quantity of sand and silt brought down by the Bhagirathi and its tributaries.
- (iii) Effect of tides on this supply of sand and silt.

Experience on other rivers elsewhere has shown that it is possible to increase the fresh water supply and make it last all throughout the year by constructing a barrage on the river Ganga near about the offtake of the Bhagirathi. Though the exact site has not as yet been selected, reconnaissance survey has shown that a suitable site is possible. The ingress of sand and silt may be reduced if not completely eliminated by introducing silt excluders and ejectors in the Ganges barrage and also constructing reservoir dams in the hill catchments of the Western Bengal rivers. If these two steps are taken, it is likely that by suitable training works, the Hooghly estuary may be kept open to all sea-going vessels.

Though the construction of the barrage with the silt excluders and ejectors and of the reservoir dams will almost completely reduce the ingress of sand and silt into the Hooghly estuary, some volume of fine silt and clay is likely to be brought up by the tides from the sea face. It is well known that there is a littoral drift in the Bay of Bengal which brings in considerable volumes of fine silt and clay from the eastern parts of the delta and also from the outfalls of the Subarnarekha and the Mahanadi so that even if the above steps are taken, a certain amount of training works will be necessary to keep a clear all-weather channel for sea-going vessels in the Hooghly estuary. The programme of work, therefore, should be :

- (a) Construction of barrages with silt excluders and ejectors in the Ganga, the Bhagirathi and some other connected rivers of the system.
- (b) Construction of reservoir dams in the hill catchment of the Western Bengal rivers.
- (c) Investigations to find the best method of river regulation in the Hooghly estuary.
- (d) Investigations to find the best method of draining the area between the Hooghly and the Ichhamati.

(a) *Construction of a barrage with silt excluders and ejectors in the Ganga* : Investigations in this connection have already been taken up by the West Bengal Government. When these investigations are completed, designs of a barrage across the river Ganga and a system of canals connecting the Ganga with the

Bhagirathi, Jalangi and Mathabhanga will be taken up. The volume of water thus brought down by these rivers will flush the water-logged areas round about Calcutta and bring them to their pristine glory. Methods are being explored to see if the river Bhagirathi can be made navigable all the year round from its outfall into the sea to its offtake from the river Ganga.

(b) *Construction of reservoir dams in the hill catchment of the rivers of West Bengal*: Damodar Valley Corporation has been instituted to tackle the problem of the Damodar. Similarly, arrangements are being completed to take up the construction of a reservoir dam on the Maurakshy. Investigations also are in progress to control other rivers, such as Rupnarain (Darakeswar), Cossye and Ajai. When these are completed, the ingress of all sand and silt into the estuary will be stopped.

(c) *Investigations to find the best method of river regulation in the Hooghly estuary*: With a and b completed successfully the main difficulty of navigation in the Hooghly will be almost eliminated. Though the ingress of harmful sand and silt will be considerably reduced the supply of fine silt and clay brought up by the tides will still continue. With careful investigations and model experiment it may, however, be

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possible to keep Hooghly navigable for sea-going vessels.

(d) *Investigations to find the best method of draining the area between the Hooghly and the Ichhamati*: The problem of drainage of the city and the area to the east is being tackled by a Special Committee of the Government of West Bengal. The two steps a and b will considerably ease the task of this Committee.

The problem of keeping other rivers of the system besides Bhagirathi alive should also be tackled at the same time. With dams built in the head waters of all the Chotanagpur rivers the ingress of harmful sand into the Hooghly estuary will be automatically cut off; but the supply of water from these rivers will also be affected. What will be the effect of this changed hydraulic condition of the rivers on their regime in the lower reaches affected by the tides will have to be studied carefully and action taken.

It is hoped now that the immediate danger to the city and Port of Calcutta has been realised, efforts to overcome it will not be relaxed till the ultimate aim has been achieved. This will require a co-ordinated planning by the parties involved, the Government of West Bengal, the Damodar Valley Corporation, Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta, Corporation of Calcutta and the Calcutta Improvement Trust.

## AN ARTIST AS A PEDAGOGUE

By SUDHIR R. KHASTGIR.

Doon School, Dehra Dun

It is not such a simple business—this teaching children how to paint. The grave high-brow pose of a school-master will not do, fretting and fuming would be still worse. For there is in Art no dichotomizing into right or wrong, and in the paintings of the very young, the undeveloped, what is there that can possibly be condemned as wrong? Whatever is done, is right. True genius in Art consists in a boldness to render just what one pleases and in a manner best pleasing oneself alone. It is the courage of this assurance that we as art-masters in most cases either stifle down or fail to foster in the child. If the measuring rod is applied and rules and regulations allowed to hedge in from the very first, from whence will spring the joy of creation, the fun of doing things, so essential at this stage? It is no great harm done after all if they do spoil a little paint, waste some paper, break a pencil or pull a brush to pieces. And what does it matter, if in a children's class, the master is denied the righteous exercise of some of the prerogatives of his position? It will only teach him a little welcome self-control, while the children will have a world to gain from such free indulgence with brush and paint.

As an art-teacher I have constantly observed a curious fact that while judging the drawings of the very young we forget that they are expressions of the child-mind and wish to see in them what would appeal to the mature adult alone. On the walls of the art-



Painting in oils by Ranbir Siuha, age 14½

room, I hang up rows and rows of such childish productions. How it delights their hearts to look at their own creation and what encouragement they receive! But when the big and learned ones or the parents of

few enthusiasts in Child Art have started holding exhibitions of such child-drawings and a fairly good literature has also sprung up round the same. These are welcome news, no doubt. If such spontaneous sketching is encouraged in a child, some closed shutters of his mind are bound to open and that is what the child will really gain out of it. It is in this enlarging illuminating process that the teacher's aid can be of



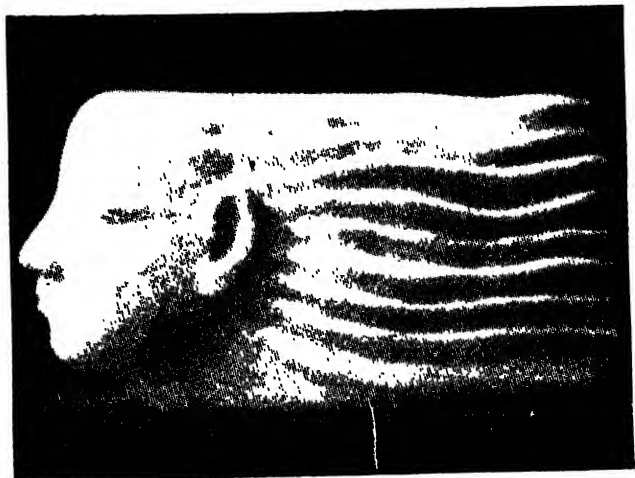
Wood carving by Jahangir Bihmoria, age 12½

the children come to visit the art school, the majority of them never care to look at this section. Totally blind to the genuine effects attained by the unsophisticated, reckless dabbling in paint in some of these, their admiration is all reserved for the neat sketches done by the older boys after the manner of renowned artists; and among children, it is the child, who imitating the older boys, after many careful erasures turns out a piece of somewhat clean and correct drawing, that can hope to win their applause. Year after year, I have watched this and found very few exceptions. And whether he be a celebrated Professor of Psychology or an eminent educationist it is always the same. Very recently, however, a change has come about. But\* curiously enough this time, specially among the research-workers on child-drawings, it is a rebound to the other extreme; and a fuss, much too great, is being made about them. They have now begun to implicate and insinuate the particular psychology of a child in his drawings, dragging in not only the parents but a whole line of ancestors as well. Now-a-days a



By Arjun Banadur, age 12

incalculable benefit to the child—as also the teacher's task may well be said to end there. After this, as the child grows up he will learn to look out for himself, any attempt to force in a more technical instruction at this stage cannot but end disastrously for him.



Marble head by Ranjan Roy, age 13½

From the very first, however, I was careful to keep out any such phenomenon as "syllabus" or "examination" from the Art School. An exhibition, once or twice a year, of what the boys execute is a far better arrangement, yielding infinitely more satisfactory results.

What has Art to do with such scheduled tests? And as for assessing pictures by an allotment of marks—was it not the most futile of attempts? How much more gratifying it would be to hold exhibitions and allow



By P. L. Gupta, age 11



By Mohuddin, age 12



By Mohuddin, age 12



By Bimal Bhagat, age 11



By Birendra Singh, age 11½



By Madan Saigal, age 10½

the boys to carry selected pieces home at the end of each term!

And it is somewhat along these lines I practise art-teaching in the Doon School—without the rudder, oar, or compass of a departmental syllabus. Other teachers come to me, loud in their enquiry, "Where is the syllabus?" To which, I can only give the old answer, "Syllabus? Why, I have none to show, Sir!" For I know, it is all within me—what syllabus is required for which boy at each stage, and I plan his work accordingly. With deep concern they ask me what I do about

class-management at any rate, if that is indeed the case. And again, I can only tell them that I suppose I just stumble along somehow—seeing that I usually do it well. And though sometimes the boys drive me fairly mad I bear up with it all, for how can I make every boy work at the same thing, there being some difference between an Art class and an Arithmetic class or a Geometry class as, no doubt, they can see.\*

\* Translated by Miss Latika Das, M.A., from the diary written in Bengali.

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## WIRING THE UNITED NATIONS FOR WORLD LISTENING

By MARTIN MANN

No matter where your home is, you can hear what is happening at United Nations meetings—and in your own language. The world's most complex radio network, broadcasting in 23 different tongues 25 hours out of every 24 (thanks to overlapping programs) makes this possible.



News of United Nations activities is reported by radio in 23 different languages, including the Chinese being written by Mrs. Chang

The hub of this globe-circling network is now a reconverted war plant on Long Island, a short distance beyond the city limits of New York. There, in the temporary headquarters of the United Nations at Lake Success, every technique of modern electronics is being used to convey to every land in the world news that affects every one of its people. Most of the equipment is standard, but it is used in new and unusual ways. Never before has a governmental body relied so much on radio waves and vacuum tubes.

The words spoken by a United Nations delegate travel a long and torturous road before they come out

of a loudspeaker in Czechoslovakia or Iraq. The first turn in this road is a control room in one of the booths that every visitor sees from the gallery of the Security Council chamber. There an engineer sits at a console. Watching the Council in action below him, he adjusts the switches that control all the microphones in the room. When a delegate prepares to speak, the engineer clicks on the nearest microphone, then switches back to the Council President when the delegate stops.

From the engineer's control panel, the lines travel down to an amplifier room directly below. This large, brick-walled room is filled with racks of electronic equipment that amplify the output of every microphone in the United Nations' vast system—there are microphones in conference and committee rooms as well as in the principal chamber. The amplified speeches then go out to loud-speakers in the meeting rooms and press lounge, to listening sets in several of the United Nations offices, and to the adjacent recording room.

Every word spoken in a United Nations meeting is preserved for posterity on large phonograph records. These verbatim recordings will enable the history student of the future to hear exactly what was said, the way it was said, just as though he had been present. He no longer will have to rely on dull—and possibly misleading—written records made from stenographic notes.

The verbatim records also turn up in the United Nations' radio programs. The most important, dramatic sections of the speeches are broadcast from the records, bringing the original speaker's own voice to the radio audience. Many of the United Nations programs are completely recorded—music from records, plus parts of speeches from other records, and commentators' voices are combined in one program record, which is then played over the air. The wide use of completely recorded programs simplifies the radio operation, permitting the identical show to be broadcast at various hours to allow for the difference in time throughout the world. Thus people in Norway, India, and the



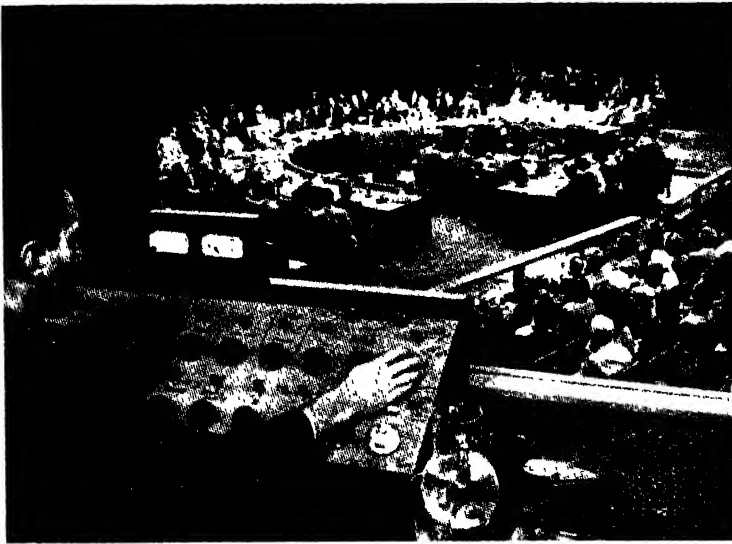
Philippines can all hear the same breakfast newscast at breakfast time.

The United Nations radio-news desk is geared to operate as fast as a tabloid newspaper's city desk when

Africa. All these transmitters operate in the 6-to-22 mega-cycle band reserved for international broadcasting, and can be picked up by anyone with a short-wave receiver. Most listeners, however, hear United Nations programs on the standard broadcasting band from local stations in their own areas.

These local stations can get the programs in any one of several ways. They may pick up a short-wave transmission and rebroadcast it directly, or record it for broadcasting later. In the United States, 113 stations are fed United Nations programs over wire lines. Overseas, many stations that have difficulty in receiving the short-wave programs are mailed program recordings—509 such records are sent from Lake Success every month. With this varied system of program distribution the United Nations now reaches an audience of about 100,000,000 persons—about one out of every four radio listeners in all the world.

Just outside the Security Council's chamber is the "shack" of an amateur



This switch-board helps nations confer. The engineer operating it controls the delegates' microphones

necessary. It is in a small office of the press section. Two reporters sit at adjacent desks. One wears earphones plugged into the United Nations-wide intercommunication system and types notes on the speeches he hears. As fast as he finishes a page, his partner takes it and rewrites the notes into news bulletins, typing them directly on a special duplicating sheet. As quickly as he finishes a page, a girl takes it and runs off copies on a duplicating machine. These copies are then distributed to the various language sections of the radio division, which prepare news broadcasts in 23 different tongues.

Most United Nations broadcasts, both recorded and "live," originate in the five studios at Lake Success. From there they travel over wires to whatever transmitters the United Nations

can beg, borrow, or rent. The largest number radio station, K2UN, operated by volunteers. It is of shows are carried by the United States State Department's big network, the World-Wide Broadcasting Foundation, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, but some are relayed by the Radio Corporation of America, to a station in Tangiers, North



Reporters and officials use "walkie-talkies" (portable receiving sets) to listen to proceedings in whichever one of six languages they prefer

the first station actually owned by the United Nations, and its central position in headquarters symbolizes the importance the organization's officials attach to radio. Construction of this "ham" station was the first small step toward the creation of

a big, new network that will employ the newest radio techniques to reach every part of the world. The amateur station, however, will not be abandoned even when the new system is completed. By keeping in touch with amateurs all over the world, United Nations officials will know how well their principal broadcasting system is operating. The "hams," who already have played an important role in radio development, thus may contribute still more to the solution of the problem of world communications.

Headquarters of the proposed new system, to be owned as well as run by the United Nations, will be in New York City. The main station will have short-wave transmitters beamed at various parts of the world, a medium-wave transmitter for local use, and possibly FM and television transmitters. A second large station is planned for the main European office of the United Nations, in Geneva, Switzerland. This station will pick up and rebroadcast over short and medium waves the programs originating in New York. It will also have studios for producing its own shows. A third station, intended purely for short-wave relay, will be located at some point in the Pacific, and a fourth may be set up in South America.

All these short-wave stations are expected to use the new method of single side-band transmission, which requires only half the available channel for any one program. The other half can then be used for something else—in the case of the United Nations, it will probably be employed to conduct inter-office business by teletype.

Additional teletype communication will be transmitted by frequency-shift keying, which permits both teletype signals and voice or music to be broadcast at the same time over the same frequency. Frequency-shift transmission sends the teletype signals as small changes in the frequency of the carrier wave. These frequency changes, while too small to affect a receiver turned to the voice broadcast, are picked up by the special frequency-shift receiver and made to operate the receiving teletypewriter.

Other modern techniques will make relay operations more dependable. The receivers that are to pick up short-wave transmissions for rebroadcasting will be designed to build up the carrier wave, reducing fading effects, and to expand the volume (which is ordinarily compressed in transmitting) to its original range. Groups of receiving antennas will be spaced to avoid fading, and the transmitting antennas will be of the movable, directional type, so that the radio energy can be concentrated in desired areas.

Part of this large-scale network is scheduled to be built in the near future. The first station will be constructed in New York, with three 50,000-watt short-wave transmitters. Studio facilities will also be greatly enlarged when the new permanent headquarters of the United Nations is built on New York City's East River. The skyscraper office building will have a dozen small "talk" studios, several large studios, and a theatre-type studio that can also be used for television broadcasts.\*

—From *Popular Science*.

\* The writer is associate editor of *Popular Science*.

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## A TRIP TO NAINI TAL

By M. R. SEN

"LET us have a trip to Naini Tal," suggested my friend. My friend who came from Calcutta found the Lucknow heat too trying. He wanted me to be his companion, for he said that while he could click his camera,\* I could cover the story.



A robust hill-baby in thoughtful mood

The railway trip from Lucknow to Kathgodam is not trying. We got into the train at 8 in the evening reaching

Kathgodam next morning at 7-30. From Kathgodam the distance of Naini Tal is only 22 miles. This journey is covered by either taxi or bus. The road is excellent and awe-inspiring too. We enjoyed the bus trip up to Naini Tal. From Kathgodam we were beginning to feel slightly cold. The bus went up and up and we could see the huge forest and magnificent views and we had a feeling as if we were leaving in our trail a long zig-zag ribbon.

It took about three hours to reach the bus terminus at Naini Tal. This shows how steep the climb is. As soon as our bus reached the terminus, down poured the rains and we were shivering like anything. But it seemed to be very pleasant when we remembered the temperature of Lucknow. We went to the hotel in a rickshaw. Here the rickshaw is of a better design than those found in the plains. It is pulled by four men. Although it was raining heavily we were fully protected, for the mechanical arrangement was quite good.

The first view which attracted our notice is the lake which because of its unique position affords

\* My friend Mr. G. K. Gupta Roy is an Hony. Cameraman of the A. I. C. C.

real beauty and grandeur. Girdled by a lowering line of hills the lake lies 29.24 north : 79.28 east with an elevation of 6350 ft. above sea level. It is no ordinary lake, for its length and breadth are 1500 and 500 yds. respectively with a depth of 93 feet. The

stiff. In hill stations like Shillong and Darjeeling the climbs are gradual so that visitors of all categories do not feel exhausted. Perhaps the Naini Tal Municipal Board which has done splendid work for the improvement of the town would do well to construct roads with climbs more gradual for the sake of all types of visitors.

Naini Tal lies in a valley bounded on the north by Cheena Peak which is 8568 feet above sea-level. One who is unable to climb the baffling peaks cannot possibly enjoy the wonderful views of the snow-clad Himalayan ranges because these are visible only from the Cheena Peak and the "Snow View" demanding a climb of 3,000 feet. We did climb up the Cheena Peak and enjoyed the imposing views of snow-covered ranges and Kedarnath mass.

This article will be incomplete if I make no mention of the economic depression with which Naini Tal is faced today. There is dearth of visitors and Naini Tal today looks like a Kentish town. The reason is



A magnificent view of Naini Tal Lake

water of the lake is scarcely disturbed and on its bosom are reflected the ever-changing views of the sky and the hills. An undulating lawn with a great stretch of level land interspersed with occasional clumps of oak, cypress and other beautiful trees, continues from the margin of the lake for upwards of a mile. The sides of the lake are bounded by splendid hills and peaks which are thickly wooded down to the water's edge. From the lake one could see the houses perched on the dizzy heights of the encircling hills, flanked on either side. In the evening one meets here a motley crowd of holiday-makers sauntering through the dusty Mall : men attired in their best and women flaunting their colourful *sarees*, ambling past fashionable shopping centres—all out to taste to the full the bracing climate of the season. Indeed in Naini Tal nature's hospitality knows no bound. The enchanting beauties of Kumaon hills, their bracing climate and the soothing green that envelops them leave nothing more to be desired.

I do not consider Naini Tal suitable for all sorts of visitors such as the invalid and the old from the plains. The climb to every house, except those on the shores of the lake and most of them are shops, is



An excellent view of Cheena Peak from Malli Tal

not far to seek. Once it was the place for rest and enjoyment of the Europeans. Naini Tal was developed as the summer capital of the U.P. both by the Government and the business community. Before this I had seen the gay life of Naini Tal. Local social clubs and institutions were full of life. The Naini Tal Club with Chalet stage and ball-room once haunted by the Europeans now presents a deserted look. Christian

Churches, European schools and colleges once vibrating with life no longer inspire the public. When India became free, the hectic excitement of Naini Tal came to an end. The Europeans of the station have mostly



The youngest "lady" visitor of the season



A depressed vegetable seller whose business is dull owing to the Government discontinuing the exodus to the summer capital

left India. The Government's summer-exodus has actually been abandoned. And this has affected materially the rickshawallas, pony boys, hotelwallas house-owners and above all the main business con-



These Bhutias pack coal in a peculiar way and come to Naini Tal Bazar for selling it



On the way to Cheena Peak

munity. It is pointed out and perhaps rightly too that Naini Tal is a part of the U.P. and her crisis cannot possibly be ignored by the Government of the day. An economy has developed in the place on account of the seasonal visit of the Government and it requires no specialist to ascertain that a good amount of wealth has been invested in the permanent structures there. The

Government will have to maintain the long zig-zag road from Kathgodam to Naini Tal and also the buildings. A well-organised tourist traffic is needed and the Government should pay attention to proper publicity in this respect.

Naini Tal may have its faults, Government exodus

to the hills may be put off on grounds of political expediency, yet nothing can take from its scenic beauty, a tribute which has come from far-off Kottayam in Travancore where a biscuit factory wants to use a view of Naini Tal on its fancy biscuit tins to replace British landscape.

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## THE LAST ORATION OF DR. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

ON the 22nd August 1947, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, a few days before his death, Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy was the recipient of a great homage offered by his friends and colleagues in Boston, together with a volume of essays *Art and Thought*, a Festschrift volume, embodying some forty contributions from admiring scholars all over the world, edited by Mr. Bharata Iyer. In answer to this tribute, and after the presentation of the volume, Dr. Coomaraswamy made a speech, which was his last published oration, very characteristic and very worthy of the world-famous scholar. As no report of this speech appears to have been published in India, we present the same for the benefit of our readers.

"I am more than honoured—somewhat, indeed, overcome—by your kindness in being here to-night, by the messages that have been read, and by the presentation of Mr. Bharata Iyer's Festschrift. I should like to recall the names of four men who might have been present had they been living: Dr. Denman W. Ross, Dr. John Lodge, Dr. Lucian Scherman, and Professor James Woods, to all of whom I am indebted. The formation of the Indian collection in the Museum of Fine Arts was almost wholly due to the initiative of Dr. Denman Ross; Dr. Lodge, who wrote little, will be remembered for his work in Boston and Washington, and also perhaps for his aphorism, "From the Stone age until now, *quellé dinggolade*"; I still hope to complete a work on Reincarnation with which Dr. Scherman charged me not long before his death; and Professor Woods was one of those teachers who can never be replaced.

"More than half of my active life has been spent in Boston. I want to express my gratitude in the first place to the Directors and Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, who have always left me entirely free to carry on research not only in the field of Indian Art but at the same time in the wider field of the whole traditional theory of Art and of the relation of man to his work, and in the fields of comparative religion and metaphysics to which the problems of iconography are a natural introduction. I am grateful also to the American Oriental Society whose editors, however much they differed from me "by temperament and training," as Professor Norman Brown once said, have always felt that I had "a right to be heard," and also have allowed me to be heard. And all this despite the fact that such studies as I have made necessarily led me back to an enunciation of relatively unpopular

sociological doctrines. For, as a student of human manufactures, aware that all making is *per artem*, I could not but see that, as Ruskin said, "Industry without Art is brutality," and that men can never be really happy unless they bear an individual responsibility not only for what they do but for the kind and the quality of whatever they make. I could not fail to see that such happiness is for ever denied to the majority under the conditions of making that are imposed upon them by what is euphemistically called "free enterprise," that is to say, under the condition of production for profit rather than for use; and no less denied in those totalitarian forms of society in which the folk is as much as in a capitalistic regime reduced to the level of the proletariat. Looking at the works of Art they are considered worthy of preservation in our Museums, and that were once the common objects of the market place, I could not but realize that a society can only be considered truly civilized when it is possible for every man to earn his living by the very work he would rather be doing than anything else in the world—a condition that has only been attained in social orders integrated on the basis of vocation, *svadharma*.

"At the same time I should like to emphasize that I have never built up a philosophy of my own or wished to establish a new school of thought. Perhaps the greatest thing I have learnt is never to think for myself; I fully agree with Andre Gide that *toutes choses sont dites déjà*, and what I have sought is to understand what has been said, while taking no account of the 'inferior philosophers.' Holding with Heraclitus that the Word is common to all, and that Wisdom is to know the Will whereby all things are steered, I am convinced with Jeremias that the human cultures in all their apparent diversity are but the dialects of one and the same language of the Spirit, that there is a "common universe of discourse" transcending the differences of tongues.

"This is my seventieth birthday, and my opportunity to say Farewell. For this is our plan, mine and my wife's, to retire and return to India next year; thinking of this as an *astam gamana*, "going home." There we expect to rejoin our son Rama, who, after travelling with Marco Pallis in Sikkim and speaking Tibetan there, is now at the Gurukula Kangri learning Sanskrit and Hindi with the very man with whom my wife was studying there twelve years ago. We mean to remain in India, now a free country, for the rest of our lives.

"I have not remained untouched by the religious

philosophies I have studied and to which I was led by way of the history of art. *Intellige ut credas!* In my case, at least understanding has involved belief; and for me the time has come to exchange the active for a more contemplative way of life in which it would be my hope to experience more immediately at least a part of the truth of which my understanding has been so far predominantly logical. And so, though I may be here for another year, I ask you also to say "good-bye," equally in the etymological sense of the word and in that of the Sanskrit *savaga*, a salutation that expresses the wish 'May you come into your own,' that is, may

I know and become what I am, no longer this man so-and-so, but the Self that is also the Being of all beings, my Self and your Self."

As the music of the meaning of his words rang out, men who had gathered to pay their respects as friends, were transformed into disciples. Men who had come to a birthday party found themselves at a Last Supper. Men who had been listening to an after-dinner speech found themselves hearkening to the Last Words of the Master.

by Dr. James Marshall Plumer, Michigan University.

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## TRANSFER OF A TREASURE

By PROF. SHYAM LAL SADIHU

KASHMIR attracted world-wide attention owing to the boom of guns on her mountains and the zoom of aircraft over her plains. Behind such a sound-screen several events in which the common man has great interest are apt to escape attention. Actually, in spite of numerous special correspondents and reporters, the vast reading public in India have yet to know of an event which took place recently. This was the transfer from Srinagar to New Delhi of a treasure of immense value. The treasure consists of ancient manuscripts preserved in the Research Department of the Jammu and Kashmir State and the Rajgarh Library in the palace of the Maharaja of Kashmir.

In all, there were about fifteen hundred manuscripts which were flown to New Delhi. They are of birch bark or ancient Kashmiri paper and mostly in Sharada and Devanagiri scripts, though many are in Persian and some in Tibetan script also. The manuscripts differ considerably in size and volume. For instance, *Parapraveshika* of Khemaraja exists in a fragment of two leaves only, while the manuscript on Vedic lore *Pipladashaka* of untraced authorship comprises as many as 956 leaves. In size some manuscripts are as small as a medium pocket watch while the famous Gilgit Manuscripts approximate to half-a-yard in length.

The manuscripts cover a wide range of subjects, *kavya, nataka, vyakarana, vedanta, shaiva philosophy, sankhya philosophy, veda, yoga shastra, shulpa, purana, ayurveda, sahitya, karma kanda, dharma shastra, upasana, alamkara, kama shastra*, history, etc. There is the fragment of a dictionary *Amarkosha* by Amarsimha; a volume in Sharada on the art of letter-writing, there are several on the art and science of dancing, including one in Sharada script, *Rasmanjuri* by Bhame. There is another, *Pakvidhi*, consisting of twenty-five leaves in Sharada script on the art of cooking. The variety is a tribute to the wide range of interest of the ancients.

Kashmir was far-famed as a seat of learning and culture. In the hoary past two universities, one at Shardhaji and the other at Bijbehara enshrined numerous manuscripts and attracted scholars from distant places. An anecdote from *Prabhavak Charita* about

the great Jain scholar Hem Chander (1088-1172) may be quoted here with some relevance: When Raja Jai Singh of Gujarat asked Hemchander to compile an up-to-date work on *Vyakarana* (grammar), he asked for the necessary material consisting of eight ancient works found only in the library of the goddess Saraswati at Shardhaji in Kashmir. Jai Singh sent some high officials to Kashmir to procure the manuscripts. With the help of these Hemchandra composed his well-known work on *Vyakarana, Siddha Hemchandra*. There were numerous monasteries and centres for scholarly pursuits for aspirants of Brahmin as well as Buddhist learning. It was not for nothing that the famous Buddhist Sangha was held here and the Chinese scholars spent considerable time here at the feet of the Pundits. Under these circumstances the existence here of a large number of rare and valuable manuscripts is a foregone conclusion.

But Kashmir has been witness to political depredations on numerous occasions. Throughout her history many revolutions upset the normal life of the people and numerous tomes were lost. In the reign of some fanatic rulers the existence of a manuscript associated with Hinduism was a sure warrant of death for the owner. After the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1492 numerous Greeks fled the country and contributed to the revival of learning in Europe. Likewise many Kashmiri scholars migrated to the plains in India for greater security under similar circumstances, but the vast majority stayed behind. Manuscripts were consigned to the flames or the waters because of the intolerance of fanatics for Hinduism. Thus, the existing manuscripts have had a miraculous power of survival in the face of these circumstances.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century the country was opened up for Indian and foreign scholars. Many savants came here to hunt up literary treasure and these included Dr. Buhler, Sir Aurel Stein, Dr. Richard Temple and Sir George Grierson. They combed out the whole country for manuscripts and transcripts, and were rewarded with considerable success. Semi-literate descendants of the great pundits of Kashmir parted with their literary wealth without much

compunction of the conscience. An idea of the activities of these scholars can be got from Dr. Buhler's *An Account of My Travels in Search of MSS.* The comparatively smaller number of manuscripts that escaped these processes were collected by the Research Department of the Jammu and Kashmir Government.

The important manuscripts amongst these 1500 tomes may be placed in two classes, those that have originated in Kashmir and those that are regarded as transcripts of others existent elsewhere. Before we come to the unparalleled manuscripts of Kashmiri origin let us glance over the other set. Among the important manuscripts in this set are a fragment of seven leaves of *Kenopanishad* attributed to Shankaracharya on old Kashmiri paper, sixty-one leaves of *Vajnavalkya Smriti* on Dharma Shastra, *Pipladashka*, a huge work of 956 leaves in Devanagiri script on Vedic literature, 686 leaves of *Rigveda Bhasya* by Sayanacharya, 172 leaves of *Sariraka Mimansa Bhasya* by Sankara on Vedanta philosophy, 110 leaves of *Brihadarnayaka* with commentary by Shankara, 90 leaves of *Mokshapaya* by Vyasa, and 85 leaves of *Raghuvamsa* by Kalidas. There are numerous other volumes on subjects like *Vyakarana*, *Karmukanda*, and philosophy by lesser lights about which it cannot be definitely ascertained whether they are of Kashmiri origin or have been transcribed from original manuscripts available elsewhere.

Of the manuscripts of a purely Kashmiri origin, those comprising the doctrine of Kashmir Shaivism or *Trika* are of the greatest importance. Shaivism outside Kashmir has had dualistic or even pluralistic tendencies and its convergence towards monism is attributed to the influence of Shankara's Vedanta philosophy as a reaction. But monistic Shaivism or *Trika* was known in Kashmir long before Shankara. There is a mention of it in the *Nilmat Purana* of the sixth century.

The philosophical literature of the *Trika* is known as *Pratyabhijna*, recognition (or, union by recognition). According to the *Pratyabhijna* philosophy the supreme reality present in every being is one : Siva, Parama Siva or Sada Siva. This supreme reality may be said to have two aspects, transcendent and immanent, Siva and Sakti, which, however, are one in their essence as a word and its meaning. It is through his Sakti that Siva manifests himself as the universe out of his own free will and without the use of any other material. In the manifested form Siva limits himself as the individual soul or *Jiva* because of the necessity of his own creative power. Siva forgets himself in the *Jiva*-state which is the result of his own free will to create. There is a temporary bedimning of the reflection of Sakti on Siva. But it cannot last long and it vanishes when the involution begins. Realization of the identity of self with God takes place through recognition of the Divine nature of self. Siva regains Sakti and self-realization through recognition is attained.

This is a highly idealistic philosophy with its roots in reality. It differs from the Vedanta in that though

the Vedantins regard the appearances as unreal forms of *Maya*, it regards the world as real, being an aspect of the ultimate reality. In the Sankhya system of philosophy the Purusha and the Prakriti are the final relatives while they are only derivatives according to the *Trika*.

Among the manuscripts flown to Delhi are the works of the most luminous stars in the firmament of the Shaiva philosophy : Vasugupta, Khemraja, Abhinavagupta, Utpaldeva, Shitikantha, Somananda and Jagadharbhatta. These names will bear some elucidation. The *Trika* takes its name after Triyambaka who is said to have expounded it in the fifth century A.D. After some time, under the influence of Buddhism or otherwise it was practically forgotten till Vasugupta living near the modern Harvan under the pinnacle of Mt. Mahadev felt inspired with it and communicated it in his famous *Siva Sutra*. It was left to his disciples to elucidate it further till the popular mind grasped its essence and felt drawn towards it. Kalla Bha's *Spanda Vritti* elucidates Vasugupta's *Siva Sutra*. Siddha Somananda supplied strong and invincible logic in support of the *Trika* in his *Pratyabhijna Sutras*. In the succeeding centuries Utpaldeva's *Siva Dristi*, Abhinavagupta's *Iskhara Pratyabhijna Vimarsini*, Parmarthasara and Tantraloka, Khemraja's *Pratyabhijna Vividya* completed the edifice of which Vasugupta's *Siva Sutra* formed the base. Other important works amongst the manuscripts on this subject are Khemraja's *Siva Sutra Vimarsini*, *Bodhivrlasa*, *Spandasandoha*, and *Starachintamani*, Abhinavagupta's *Pratyabhijna Vimarsini* and *Tantrasara*, Utpalacharya's *Sivastotravali* and *Iskhara Siddhi*, and Ramkantha's *Spandavivriti*. The original manuscripts of these important works are now in New Delhi along with many others.

The treasure flown to New Delhi contains another set of works of unique importance. This consists of what goes by the name of the Gilgit Manuscripts Gilgit situated to the north of Kashmir near the Russian border has been well-known for its political and strategic importance, and little did the world expect that it would become associated with the discovery of a treasure of great historical and cultural value.

It was the late Sir Aurel Stein who first announced the discovery of the Gilgit Manuscripts in the *Statesman* of the 24th July, 1931. It so happened that young shepherd boys who were watching flocks cleared a few pieces of timber sticking out on the top of a small stone-covered mound. When the stones and earth were partly removed, they recognized some chests below and thought it to be a treasure hidden by somebody. It could not remain a secret for long and the district magistrate of Gilgit took charge of the stupa from which manuscripts came out. Most of the manuscripts of the collection were collected then and there. In 1938, a few more were obtained.

Wherein lies the importance of the Gilgit Manuscripts? To India belongs the distinction of being the birthplace of Buddhism and its storm centre. From



here Buddhism spread all round. But so completely had time its vendetta that not a trace of Buddhist literature was left in this vast sub-continent. Works on the faith of Sakya Muni found in India were merely translations of Chinese or Tibetan sources which in their turn were translated from original Sanskrit texts irretrievably lost. To the Gilgit MSS belongs the unique merit of comprising authoritative Buddhist texts in original Sanskrit.

The MSS usually vary in length from 10" to 15", though there are a few longer ones. They have been edited by Dr. Nalinaksha Dutta with the collaboration of some other scholars. Their age has been fixed between the 5th and 6th centuries, for they are mostly

in Gupta (upright) script. Their language is a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Some of these 1500 manuscripts have been edited and printed, but the vast majority have yet to be examined and studied. It is to be hoped that they will not remain pigeon-holed for long in the National Archives but that competent scholars will edit and translate them. When some progress is made towards this end, fresh light will surely be shed on many dark spots in the historical and cultural assessment of India's past, and the transfer of this treasure to New Delhi will be appreciated retrospectively.

Srinagar

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## GIORDANO BRUNO The Martyr for Modern Thought

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

RENAISSANCE is a great name in the history of western civilisation. The period of humanistic Renaissance in the West is the beginning of a new phase of human evolution, which was destined to have a tremendous repercussion and creative influence in the history of nations both in the East and the West. Human reason, human experience, the psychological facts and factors in the perennial philosophy and religion of Man, and above all that subjective freedom for individuals to discover their own ways of life, thought and activity, began to assert themselves against the static, stagnant and authoritarian types of ecclesiasticism on the one hand and the despotic monarchy on the other. It was a period when the classics from ancient Athens and Rome were brought forth to light, when the masterpieces in art, literature, philosophy and religion from the entombed past were resuscitated and became an abiding influence, a living inspiration for the pioneers of modern thought to forge ahead unto "fresh lands and pastures new," to salute the advent of the Universal Man of the modern age.

The interchange between East and West has now reached such a stage that we are all becoming heirs of a world culture. The best representatives of all nations are directly or indirectly children of Renaissance. The spirit of ancient Greece and Rome has permeated the nations of the East. The inexhaustible treasures of ancient Egypt, Babylon, Indus Valley Civilisation, China, and other countries of Asia are influencing the thought and life of the Western nations. The dream of prophets, creative philosophers and inspired poets, the dreams that heralded the advent of the Universal Humanity with really world citizenship and world culture have never more been nearer the sight as it is today. This dawn of a world culture owes much to the Renaissance movement in the West, that clear-cut period between the Middle Ages and the

Modern Times. Now the best among us hardly ever think in terms of East or West, but in terms of Humanity as a whole. The League of Nations failed; the United Nations may fail; but after repeated failures and experiments the ideal of a World State is nearer sight now than ever before. For the alternative that is offered for us in this atomic age is either creative inter-action and co-operation between nations, races and creeds of the world, or co-operative suicide. Today there is East and West only as the diastole and systole of one and the same human heart. It is on this Humanity that the East and West joins hands, on this Divine Ground of Humanity that the twain meet. Rudyard Kipling who wrote:

"Oh East is East, and West      West and never  
the twain shall meet  
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's  
great judgment seat,"

has also subjoined:

"But there is neither East nor West, Border,  
Breeds, nor Birth  
When two strong men stand face to face though  
they come from ends of earth."

Those who are fond of quoting the first part will do well to quote also the latter part also, so that the text may be used in its context and give the full picture of the partial truths in the East and West, integrated in the Universal Man, the child of both.

Of the great names associated with the name of Renaissance, among the martyrs on whose blood is built up the modern world, this new Jerusalem, Giordano Bruno is in the top list. To those who visit Rome, the statue of Fra. Giordano Bruno erected by the democratic Free Masons of Italy in 1899 at Campo di Fiori, exactly at the place where the fires of Inquisition consumed him, is both a symbol and a sacrament. To the present writer, who like Bruno joined the illustrious Dominican Order and had to

walk off the Order exactly at the twenty-eighth year because of his honest convictions and spiritual experiences, the life and works of Bruno are not only subjects of historical research, but also a perennial source of inspiration and the living bridge between East and West, one great prophet who gave up his life so that the life of freedom and creative thought may live, a martyr whose blood is the seed of the Church, the Universal Kingdom of Truth, Righteousness and Service. This article itself is written to pay a humble tribute to the spirit of Bruno by a son of India, India that is the very embodiment of Perennial Philosophy and Creative Religion.

Giordano Bruno was born at Nola, in a small Italian village of Cicula, round about the year 1548. At the Christening ceremony his parents gave him the name of Filippo, which, however, was changed into Giordano when, at the tender age of fifteen, he entered the illustrious Dominican Order. Of the two great religious Orders founded by the two prophets of Middle Ages, St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic of Guzman, the Franciscan Order served as the heart, whereas the Dominicans became the brain of the great Catholic Church, the mightiest institution that has stood the test of times and violent convulsions of the ages. The founder of the Dominican Order, St. Dominic, was one of the best representatives of the Spanish intellectuals. From this great Order came out thinkers, philosophers and theologians like Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great, Catherine of Siena, Girolamo Savanarola and Tauler. It was the intellectualism and high aristocracy of the Dominican Order that attracted young Filippo to renounce the world and join the Dominican friars of Naples. From the early youth the spirit of Giordano was fiery, creative and enterprising. At the age of fifteen young Fra Giordano is reported to have composed a treatise on the ark of Noah. His views on the dogmas of the Church, specially on the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary and the dogma of Transubstantiation, clashed with the stereotyped orthodoxy of the unregenerate Church. After suffering many years of persecution, distrust and suffering, Giordano fled from Rome in 1576, as the hands of satanic Inquisition were still powerful and the democratic Rights of Man were not yet fully asserted until after the great French Revolution.

What a world of experiences this martyr of modern thought has undergone after he escaped the wrath of Roman Inquisition and wandered through many countries of Europe in search of more light and vision, forging ahead into the great unknown to be known, loved and realised! In 1579, we find the ex-Dominican monk at Geneva, then the plague-spot of Calvinistic innovations. Bruno thus found Geneva quite an congenial atmosphere for his creative mind and journeyed along through Lyons, Toulouse and Montpellier reaching Paris after two long years since his first appearance in Geneva. Paris, after the downfall of Athens and Rome, was to be the meeting and melting

point of the various streams of thought and to be the new metropolis of the cultural and spiritual life of modern Europe. It was in Paris that Bruno reached the full maturity of his convictions and became himself an embodiment of the spirit of the Modern Age. The new cosmogony of the heliocentric system of Copernicus which Bruno vindicated with eloquence and enthusiasm was but a prelude to the masterly synthesis he made and expounded between the Nature-Pantheism of Anaxagoras and Heraclitus, of Plato, Plotinus and the Neo-Platonism of the Alexandrian School on the one side and the materialistic monism of the new astronomy of Copernicus and Galileo on the other, defeating the geocentrism of the old Ptolemaeans and Aristotelians. The spiritual monism of Spinoza and the material monism of Heckel were already there in the lectures and writings of Bruno during his sojourn at Paris and later on in the quiet, systematic and congenial atmosphere in London.

Nothing is more interesting for a psychologist, a modern psychiatrist, a philosopher of history and religion, than to watch closely the gradual development of mind in the great representative types of humanity, who have found values and spiritual truths, who have through transcendental love and sympathy conquered the downward descent of unregenerate man, who through vision and divine ecstasy have been reborn of the Universal Self by conquering or sublimating the life of the sex-born being in them. Nothing is more romantic and poetic, thrilling and enrapturing, than to study the spontaneous and natural growth from within of souls, who through an adamant will and irrevocable decision explore the unexplored regions of life, who go all the way to find out the farthest beyond of our pilgrimage on earth, who, through efforts, grace and ecstasy finally become one with the Divine Will, one with the Absolute Reality, one with the Father who is in Heaven. The Vedantic *Tatvamasi*, the Evangelical, "I and my Father are one," the Sufi Islamic "Allah hun"—"I am Allah," is the pinnacle of spiritual consciousness granted to mortals to reach on earth, that realm where the conflicting duality is transcended in the all-unifying, all-enfolding, all-synthesising Oneness. The metaphysical problems of the One and the Many, of the Absolute and the Relative, of Substance and accidents, are all solved in the great truth of Self-realisation. Sex that has put limitations and has obstructed the spiritual path of the first-born is now transcended, not through the negative idea of negation or denial, but through the positive idea of sublimation and transcendence. Venus thus is the goddess of beauty and love and not any longer the goddess of death and negation. This truth technically called Tautism, in Indian philosophy and religion, is symbolised in the worship of goddess Tara in Mahayana Buddhism, of Kaji, Durga, Saraswati and Lakshmi in Hinduism, of Madonna in Catholic Christianity, of Isis in Egypt, of Diana in Greece and the great truths symbolised in the myths, legends and sagas of the ancient

peoples of the world. That subtle occultism of the ancient Pythagorians, of the Naturalist Stoics, of the Alchemists of the Middle Ages, the canticle of canticles of Solomon, the Book of Wisdom in the deuterocanonical book of the Old Testament, in the wisdom of Plato, in the inner voice of Socrates, all made real and vital in the life of creative thinkers, original prophets and inspired poets. It is this gradual unfolding of the great humanistic truths that we trace in the life of Giordano Bruno from the early teens when he joined the Dominican Order, then during his peregrinations throughout the continent and his quieter work in the heart of London, where he laid his hands to his great works, masterpieces in creative philosophy of the Renaissance period.

After producing his logical and epistemological systems in his books *Ars Magna Raimonis Lulii*, *De Umbris Idearum*, *Ars Memoriae* and *Cantus Circeus* during his stay in Paris, Bruno reached England in 1583, with the help of the French ambassador. During his stay in England between 1583 and 1585 Bruno met some of the leading brains of England, among whom the names of Sir Philip Sidney, Francis Bacon and probably also William Shakespeare and Queen Elizabeth. Oxford atmosphere was still pedantic and pre-scientific. In the University Statute Bruno was shocked to read among other things this clause :

"Masters and Bachelors who did not follow Aristotle faithfully were liable to a fine of five shillings for every point of divergence, and for every fault committed against the logic of (Aristotle's) *Organon*."

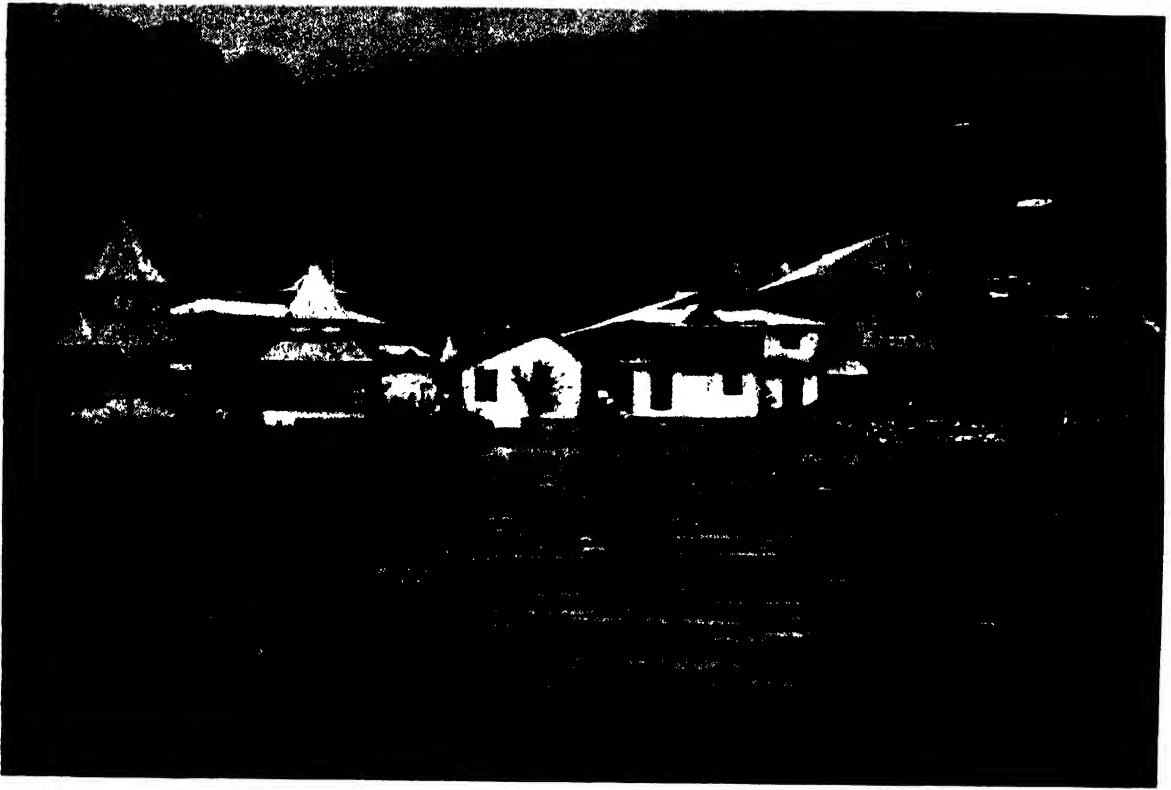
It is at Oxford that Bruno had one of his best triumphs when he challenged and won the Aristotelian dons of the University who, in their antiquated orthodoxy, opposed the new cosmogony of Copernicus. The main solid works of Bruno came out in England, specially his famous Italian works, *Cena delle Ceneri* or *Dialogues of the Ash Wednesday*; *De la Causa, Ed Uno Dell' Infinito, Universo, E Mondi* and other metaphysical works. In his *Eroici Furori a lo Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante* (heroic outburst and expulsion of the triumphant beast) Bruno lays down the basic principles of his new moral and ethical philosophy. A new vision of the ideals of Truth, Beauty and Goodness are given, fresh from his own personal experience and enriched with a wealth of language and idiom. The naturalistic-panteism of the ancient Stoics, the spiritual intoxication of Spinoza are all found in these works.

In 1586, Bruno returned to Paris with Castelnau. In 1587 we see him at Wittenburg, the headquarters of the Lutheran agitation. There is nothing to warrant the faint tradition that here at this time or a little later Bruno embraced Protestant faith. His mind had outgrown the limits of both Romanism and Protestantism and had reached the very solid rock of eternal humanity, the source of his perennial philosophy. The law of spiritual gravitation had drawn him beyond the half-way, middle-way enquiopise and he breathed and

experienced the Philosophy of the Infinite. The next year we find him at Prague and the next year at Frankfort, where in 1591, he published his other metaphysical books, viz., *De triplici Minimo et Mensura*; *De Monade, Numero et Figura*, and *De Immenso et Innumerabilibus*. When Bruno was staying at Zurich, a Venetian patrician invited him to go to Venice and propagate his new philosophy under his protection. Innocently he accepted it which spelt doom for him. The Inquisition fires were already lit up for him. The emissaries of the Inquisition were following his footsteps and no sooner did he step into Italy than he was caught and imprisoned in Rome for seven years, from 1593 to 1600. After all the hellish cruelties were inflicted upon Bruno, on 9th February, 1600, he was formally excommunicated by the Church, and eight days later, on 19th he was publicly burnt at stake at Campo di Fiori where, two centuries later, when the democratic and freedom forces began to assert themselves, a statue was erected to commemorate the great sacrifice of this martyr of modern thought and philosophy, the great Fra. Giordano Bruno.

Modern world of free intellectual research and co-operation which made the ideal of One World and World Culture nearer to the minds and hearts of the masses everywhere is the precious gift of many a martyr and pioneer who have sealed their faith with their blood, who gave up their life so that the life of humanity may live. The forces of obscurantism, religious fanaticism and bigoted inquisition are still there and even today the freer the mind the greater the risk it runs to lose its life shot by bullets or burnt at stake. The flames that consumed Bruno are the same old power of authority, static, stagnant, satanic, which from times immemorial retard progress and impede the march of mankind to build up a new humanity based on inner freedom, spiritual realisation and divinity. The spirit of those glorious martyrs and prophets are still presiding over us to see how we are benefited by their noble example and sacrifice and how we contribute our share in the progress of mankind. It is ours to see that the flames of ignorance, superstition and authoritarianism which burnt prophets like Bruno, crucified men like Jesus, poisoned philosophers like Socrates, shot down leaders like Abraham Lincoln and Mahatma Gandhi, be now made use of to beat the power of darkness, ignorance, superstition, which divide man from man, nation from nation, continent from continent.

The flames that consumed the life of Bruno can teach us that established religions are usually means of exploitation of the ignorance, stagnation and superstition of the masses for the defence of the vested interests and that spiritual religion and spiritual realisation can only come when strong men with great convictions and human experiences of the deepest kind stand high to bring life and vigour, freedom and illumination, to the minds of the people through their own sacrifice, purity and faith. The flames that perished



Naini Tal Lake affords an exquisite combination of grandeur and loveliness with an excellent view of the Cheena Peak



Another view of the Lake



Four representatives from Jammu and Kashmir including the Prime Minister Sheikh Abdulla, recently nominated by the Kashmir Government to represent the State in the Constituent Assembly of India



Kashmir comes back to normal life. The harvest has been good but Indian troops stand guard to prevent mischief from stray raiders

Bruno also teach us that the official custodians of official religions are often the very denials of religion as an inspiration, illumination and ever-growing force and ever-widening vision from within. The flames that consumed Bruno is another confirmation of the eternal law that the real Church, as a society of godly men, as an ideal Brahmo Samaj, a spiritual community, can only thrive on the seeds of martyrs, on the sacrificial offerings of great minds and hearts, who like God Himself, create new life and path, inspiration and guidance to this benighted humanity through sacrifice, culminating in the greatest of all self-sacrifice, the

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giving up of their own earthly pilgrimage so that their new redemptive gospel may be sealed with their own blood and that as many as the inspired and courageous souls may be led with them to the Yonder Shores of Existence. This was the mission of Bruno, to give a mighty impetus to the modern world, anticipating thoughts and ideals of many centuries ahead, to emancipate man from the trammels of authority and bondage and lead him on to the goal of existence, realisation of self through enlightenment, inner freedom and creative response.

## SOCIAL VALUES OF RELIGION

By SYAMADAS CHATTERJI, M.A., B.L.

RELIGION, as generally understood, is a bundle of rituals and dogmas which have no connection with the truth perceived by the founder and very often in the past it had landed humanity to disruption, and occasioned religious wars. Any attempt at reconciliation of these shells, leaving the kernel intact, will prove futile. Moreover, great wars were fought between two nations, even races professing the same faith, displaying thereby that the apple of discord lies elsewhere. The world is divided on different ideals, such as capitalism and communism. Recently, intolerance of coloured nations also is disrupting the peace and harmony between two continents. So, first of all, a definition of the true religion must be found out, and only then, it can be seen whether it can assist the world to a lasting peace. For this a search should be made in the distant past, when religion was born.

Baffled in his attempt to find happiness in material enjoyment, the earliest man of the Vedic period in his awakened thoughts, turned inward for search after pure Truth, unmixed Bliss and Immortality. Nachiketa's parable in Kathopnishad is an account of this search. The culmination was reached, when man realised pure Truth as All-Knowledge, All-Beautiful and Infinite. He also perceived the essence of these in human microcosm as he found in macrocosm which he called universe, cosmos. And this he named as Soul in man, in the universe, and That which transcends both of these as God. In spite of different methods advocated by different seers in various ages resulting in the conception of monism, dualism, divine Mother as the creator of this world, in essence none could surpass the Truth aforesaid realised by the Vedic seers. So, Hindu religion was not born out of the satisfaction of idle curiosity and vain pursuits of an ignorant mind. The same is true of other religions. Buddha, Christ, Mahomet, Zoroaster came whenever men of a certain locality were perplexed with problems that seemed insoluble.

They preached according to their realisations of creeds that satisfied the needs of the time. Although many empires rose and fell, even till today, Christ, Buddha, Rama, Krishna and others live in the heart of hearts of a *Bhakta*. To him still they are living personalities. One can still hear the flute of Krishna; one can still feel the presence of other *Avatars*. So, a religion is a song of the soul, the immortal essence of God in man, and it seeks to establish peace, bliss and immortality in man.

The Taittiriya Upanishad gives us the clue to the heights of the superconsciousness from the ordinary material consciousness of a man. Just as there are planes of consciousness in the universe, such as *prana*, *manas*, *buddhi*, *ahankara*, *mahat* (supermind), and *sachchidananda*, so there are beings of man in his body formed out of matter to his soul and the ruler of each of these parts is called a *Purusha* or Being. In the gradual process of realisation one can rise to superconsciousness which is God's. But what is the process, and why cannot every man feel these graduations? It is the human ego that binds him down to the body, life and mind and so the Hindu seers advocate elimination of this ego and in proportion to the annihilation of this ego, one can feel one's unity with another, ultimately realising his unity with the universe. To such a man the shackles of caste, colour and creed fall away like the slough of a snake, and thenceforward he is guided by the Spirit in his thoughts, movements, and actions.

But did it even remain an ideal to be achieved or a chimera which lives in the wild fancy of an idealist?

"The Vedic seers," Sri Aurobindo in his *Introduction to the Vedas* says, "discovered secrets and powers of Nature which could bring occult mastery over the physical worlds and things. They ascended in spirit into the world of Truth and lived in it."

In the Epic period, Kshatriya kings, Janaka, Kartavirya, Viswamitra, Rama and Krishna lived up to these ideals and became Brahman (knower of the Brahman).\*

In the historical period, Buddha gave up princely enjoyment and attained Nirvana, his conception of the Supreme. In later times Christ and Chaitanya suffered for their gospel of love. Ramakrishna became illuminated, though an "illiterate," proving thereby that the knower of Soul can know all truths that lie hidden to the eye of an ordinary mortal, and sporadic flashes of which are called miracles.

But have the realisations made by them at the sacrifice of earthly pleasure been all lost? Nothing in this world is lost. The seed sprouts forth and grows into a tree, and then decays to take another form. Life in plants and trees has been proved and the law of life is that it takes form and appears once again. So, thoughts and energies born out of Life create vibrations which are subtler than life-actions and are perceptible to those who can raise their consciousness to that plane. Rising further up, one can perceive the Will in the Universe. As such delicate and sensitive instruments for catching this have not been discovered yet, we cannot disbelieve it, for all the seers have perceived it. It is this Will that really creates, and causes sensation in the human mind that becomes its receptacle by process of purification of which the elimination of the ego is the principal purge. This is the process of ascension from the forms which one adores to the Formless Infinite. And it is the urge of this Will that sent forth great religious teachers whom Hindus call *Avatars* and *Bibhuti*s at the juncture of human civilization and they raised human consciousness to the heights wanted by them. There is a cycle of this process called *chaturyuga* from *Satya* to *Kali*, from the age of harmony and peace to the age of turmoil, when all laws, moral and religious, break up. So, after the Vedic period when the peace of the universe was disturbed Rama came to make the world safe for the *sattvic* type of humanity based on the virtue of obedience to parents and people and friendship with all classes. Such was the afflatus Rama gave that it still inspires people to establish a Rama-rajya, though several millenniums have rolled on: it was a dream of Gandhiji to establish it.

In this process descended the great Krishna who combined in him the qualities of a warrior, a politician and a seer, a phenomenon rare in the history of the world. The Divine teacher in his *divya-dristi* found out the necessity of the destruction of Kshatriya prowess, and to fulfil the Divine purpose he asked Arjuna to stick to the sword. And behind this consent of Arjuna there was no satisfaction of the ego of his *kula* or of his party. Indeed, after the victory, all the brothers including the great Krishna, departed. So, the Gita never teaches war for the satisfaction of the national ego which is called love of one's country. So, all through these teachings emerge out that grand principle of Yoga, the principle of the elimination of the ego. And so, Arjuna was asked to rise above bonds of blood

and friendship, dualities of weal and woe, good and evil, joy and sorrow so that actions done thereafter will be offered as a sacrifice to the Divine. So, the Gita never teaches renunciation of actions. The life of the world will be divinised. To such a man wealth is a power to be won and offered as an offering to God for fulfilment of His purpose in the world. So, the possessor of wealth shall not be possessed of wealth but its possessor.

Avatarhood and the necessity of a Guru are also advocated by the Gita. So long as Arjuna did not surrender his being to the Divine teacher, Krishna did not disclose his identity. After surrender, Krishna opened the divine eye of Arjuna and he saw *Viswarupa*, became convinced of Krishna's divinity and stuck to his words to the last. Adoration of such a Guru, fully grown, embodied soul, takes the devotee from the form to the Formless by transmitting his light to every part of the devotee.

Buddha's ten commandments and eightfold path had the aim of Nirvana attained by him, although if right understanding, right action, right means of livelihood are adhered to by common people, certainly there would be a great improvement in the world. All these were translated into action by Asoka who donned the yellow robe himself.

Christ, Mahomet, Chaitanya, Ramakrishna each had a mission to fulfil. The last-named himself practised the tenets of all religions and their branches and arrived at the truth in them, thereby realising the unity of all true religions, although there is the diversity of forms. Indeed, this is the grand truth that he sought for and established. But how is this possible in humanity? In the way an individual is spiritualised, can humanity be spiritualised? Individual spiritualisation is based on the annihilation of the individual ego, so a nation can be spiritualised, if the national ego such as the complex of race, colour and ideals, is eliminated by bringing in the light, knowledge, bliss of the spirit in it, in other words, raising human consciousness from the matter to the spirit. In this earth, mind has emerged out of matter and so, the next step of the evolution is the super-mind involved in mind, as Sri Aurobindo has realised.

And for that we are to take up "Christ's gospel of purity and perfection of mankind, Mahomet's perfect submission and self-surrender, Chaitanya's perfect love and joy of God in man, and Ramakrishna's divinity of God in man, and instil them in the materialistic humanity for the resurrection of soul in mankind."\*

In other words, these principles should be firmly implanted in human consciousness so that the ills of the world divided in ideals and colours can be rooted out. The greater the number of men prepared for this, the quicker will be the resurrection.

\* Sri Aurobindo: *Yoga and Its Object*.



## SRINIVASA RAMANUJAM In Memoriam

By YOGENDRA BEHARI LAL MATHUR, M.Sc.

INDIA has produced mathematicians who can well stand comparison with the best ones of Europe. The ancient Hindu mathematicians are recognised to have laid the foundations of modern arithmetic and algebra long ago. The most extraordinary mathematician of India in recent times was Ramanujam, the mathematical genius of the century.

Srinivasa Ramanujam Iyengar was born on the 22nd December, 1887, in a poor Brahmin family of the Tanjore district of Madras Presidency. His father and paternal-grandfather were *gumastas* to cloth merchants in Kumbhakonam, an important town in the Tanjore district; and his maternal-grandfather was an *amin* in the Munsiff's Court at Erode in the neighbouring district of Coimbatore. There is an interesting story about the birth of Ramanujam. His mother did not have any issue for some time after her marriage and her father was worried about it. He prayed and invoked the pleasure of the celebrated goddess Namagiri at Namakkal and the goddess blessed his daughter and India with the remarkable mathematician Ramanujam.

Ramanujam's early education had little in it which could have qualified him for the work of the highest order which he later did to his credit. He had, however, a craving to know the 'highest truth' in Mathematics. He wondered and questioned his teachers and fellow students about problems which never appealed or even occurred to them. By the time he had reached his fourth form, he had mastered the three, Arithmetic, Geometric and Harmonic progressions as well as Trigonometry. He had solved all examples in the second part of Loney's Plane Trigonometry and used to help a B.A. student with his difficulties. In a letter to Mr. P. V. Sheshu Aiyer, an old school-fellow of Ramanujam, who, along with Prof. G. H. Hardy and Mr. R. Ramchandra Rao, edited Ramanujam's mathematical papers, wrote :

• "He used to borrow Carr's *Synopsis of Pure Mathematics* from the College Library and delight in verifying some of the formulæ given there . . . He had an extraordinary memory, and could easily repeat Sanskrit roots (*atmanepada* and *paramai-pada*). He could give the values of square root of two,  $\pi$  and  $e$  to any number of decimal places. . . . In manners he was simplicity itself."

Prof. G. H. Hardy in an obituary notice also testifies to the remarkable memory of Ramanujam. This notice was published in the proceedings of the Royal Society and the proceedings of the London Mathematical Society and reads as follows :

"He had, of course, an extraordinary memory. He could remember the idiosyncrasies of numbers in an almost uncanny way. It was Mr. Littlewood (I believe) who remarked that every positive integer was one of his personal friends."

Prof. Hardy gives a very interesting illustration of Ramanujam's memory and extraordinary powers of calculation.

"I remember," says Prof. Hardy, "once going to see him when he was lying ill at Putney. I had ridden in taxi-cab No. 1729 and remarked that the number  $(7 \times 13 \times 19)$  seemed to me rather a dull one, and that I hoped it was not an unfavourable omen. 'No,' he replied, 'it is a very interesting number; it is the smallest number expressible as the sum of two cubes in two different ways.' I asked him, naturally, whether he knew the answer to the corresponding problem for fourth powers and he replied, after a moment's thought, that he could see no obvious example, and thought that the first such number must be very large."

It was a day of days for Ramanujam on which he first got the *Synopsis of Pure Mathematics* by Carr. The book thrilled him, awakened his dormant genius and opened wide channels for its outflow.

Ramanujam's excessive devotion to mathematics did not allow him to do full justice to his other subjects of study. He had an unfortunate college career, losing his scholarship, failing in F.A. first year and ultimately failing in the F.A. examination of December, 1907, in which he appeared as a private candidate. Till 1909, he had no definite occupation except working at mathematics, 'jotting down his results in two large-sized notebooks,' one of which later formed a treasured possession of Prof. Hardy.

Ramanujam married in the summer of 1909 and began his quest for a suitable profession, which has been best described by Mr. Sheshu Aiyer :

" . . . he went to Tirukoilur, a small subdivision town in South Arcot district to see Mr. V. Ramaswami Aiyer, the founder of the Indian Mathematical Society, but Mr. Aiyer, seeing his wonderful gifts, persuaded him to go to Madras. It was then after some four years' interval that Ramanujam met me at Madras, with his two good sized notebooks referred to above. I sent Ramanujam with a note of recommendation to that true lover of Mathematics, Dewan Bahadur R. Ramchandra Rao, who was then the District Collector at Nellore, a small town some eighty miles north of Madras. Mr. Rao sent him back to me, saying it was cruel to make an intellectual giant like Ramanujam rot at a mofussil station like Nellore, and recommended his stay at Madras, generously undertaking to pay Ramanujam's expenses for a time. This was in December 1910. After a while other attempts to obtain for him a scholarship having failed, and Ramanujam himself being unwilling to be a burden on anybody for any length of time, he decided to take up a small appointment under the Madras Port Trust in 1912."

Later Dr. G. T. Walker, F.R.S., head of the Meteorological Department visited Madras and his attention towards Ramanujam's work was drawn by Sir

Francis Spring, K.C.I.E., Chairman of the Madras Port Trust Authority. Dr. Walker, himself a mathematician of repute, at once recognised the worth of Ramanujam's obscure work and brought his case to the notice of the Government and the University of Madras. Eventually a research scholarship of Rs. 75 per month was awarded to him for a period of two years. Hereafter, the seeker after mathematical truth had enough leisure and he remained a professional mathematician till his death.

On January 16, 1913, Ramanujam wrote in a letter to Prof. Hardy of Cambridge :

"I beg to introduce myself to you as a clerk in the Accounts Department of the Port Trust Office at Madras on a salary of only £20 per annum. I am now 23 years of age. I have had no University education but have undergone the ordinary school course. After leaving school I have been employing the spare time at my disposal to work at Mathematics. I have not trodden through the conventional regular course . . . but I am striking out a new path for myself. I have made a special investigation of divergent series in general and the results I get are termed by the local mathematicians as 'startling' . . . I would request you to go through the enclosed papers. Being poor, if you are convinced that there is anything of value, I would like to have my theorems published . . . Being inexperienced, I would highly value any advice you give me."

Ramanujam's coming in contact with Prof. Hardy was the turning point in his career. The great professor desired Ramanujam to come over to Cambridge. For some time he was adamant not to go on a voyage because of orthodox religious views, but later he consented to go. Soon after this, Mr. E. H. Neville, a fellow of the Trinity College of Cambridge, who visited Madras to deliver a series of lectures, wrote in a letter to the Madras University :

"The discovery of the genius of S. Ramanujam of Madras promises to be the most interesting event of our time in the mathematical world . . . The importance of securing to Ramanujam a training in the refinements of modern methods and a contact with men who know what ranges of ideas have been explored and what have not, cannot be over-estimated . . . I see no reason to doubt that Ramanujam himself will respond fully to the stimulus which contact with western mathematicians of the highest class will afford him. In that case his name will become one of the greatest in the history of Mathematics, and the University and the city of Madras will be proud to have assisted in his passage from obscurity to fame."

We see today that Mr. Neville's prophecy has come very true.

In April, 1914, Ramanujam reached Cambridge and was admitted to the Trinity College which supplemented his scholarship by awarding an exhibition of £80. Though now fully comfortable and able to devote himself to research, Ramanujam was a puzzle to his teachers, Profs. Hardy and Littlewood. "The limitations of his knowledge were as startling as its profundity . . . His ideas as to what constituted a mathematical proof were of the most shadowy description. All his

results, new or old, right or wrong, had been arrived at by a process of mingled argument, intuition, and induction of which he was entirely unable to give any coherent account." Prof. Hardy and Littlewood helped him to publish his papers and under their expert guidance and often in collaboration with the former, he developed rapidly.

Ramanujam was by far the greatest mathematician that India has produced during recent times. Prof. Julian Huxley has somewhere referred to him as the greatest mathematician of the century. In him was bubbling an irrepressible genius which made him play and toy with the abstract numbers, equations and various other mathematical functions. During the very short period of his life, Ramanujam did work of profound value and astonishing originality. He had a powerful and amazing insight into algebraical formulae, transformations of infinite series, and so forth. In these branches of mathematics, according to Prof. Hardy, Ramanujam can be most certainly compared to only Euler or Jacobi, the two mathematical wizards of the past.

The Royal Society of England went rather out of their way and elected him a Fellow on the 28th February, 1918, at the young age of thirty. Ramanujam was the first Indian to receive this coveted honour. Later, in October 1918, he was also made a Fellow of the Trinity College, Cambridge.

Unfortunately, Ramanujam's life of glory was cut short by a fatal disease. He went to several nursing homes and sanatoria but could not get out of his sick-bed for any appreciable length of time. Early in 1919 he sailed back to India, arriving on the 27th February, 1919, at Bombay. Even in his death-bed he continued to work at his favourite Mathematics ; it had become a mania with him. He died on the 26th April, 1920, at Chetput, a suburb of Madras.

There can be little doubt that Ramanujam would have been much more of a mathematician had he been properly educated and looked after in his youth. To quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his *Discovery of India* :

"Ramanujam's brief life and death are symbolic of conditions in India. Of our millions how few get any education at all, how many live on the verge of starvation, of even those who get some education and have nothing to look forward to but a clerkship, in some office on a pay that is usually far less than the unemployment dole in England. If life opened its gates to them and offered them food and healthy conditions of living and education and opportunities of growth, how many among these millions would be eminent scientists, educationists, technicians, industrialists, writers, and artists helping to build a new India and a new world ?"

And, now that Pandit Nehru is the head of the national Government and India is free, let us hope that the country will be producing many more and greater Ramanujams.

# INDO-PERSIAN INTERCOURSE IN THE CHRISTIAN CENTURIES

By T. K. JOSEPH, B.A.,

SOME centuries before Kanishka's Buddhist propaganda in Persia, mentioned in Mr. Satya Prakash's article on Indo-Persian Relations (in *The Modern Review* for July, 1948, pp. 61-64), the Indo-Parthians (the 'Persian' kings Vonones, Spalirises, and the famous Gondophares) had established themselves in N.-W. India. In the reign of Gondophares (A.D. 19 to 50 . .) St. Thomas the Jew came to him (in C. 33 ?) with his Aramaic language and script already familiarised in those regions by the Persian scribes and Jews. According to the Syriac works *The Doctrine of Addai* (C. 200), *The Acts of Thomas* (C. 220), and *Acta Maris* (C. 520), St. Thomas, who, we may suppose, started from Palestine (in C. 30 ?) seems to have come through Mesopotamia to Bath Huzaye in the N.-E. of the Persian Gulf, and embarked there in the (Persian ?) ship of Habban the Jew, and reached the Persian Gondophares' Sirkap in Taxila, West Panjab, in an Indus boat of Persian, Greek, or modified Indian design, rather than Arabian or Phoenician, after having landed at Sendaruk (=Alek-sander-oikia), i.e., "Alexandria among the Oritae" to the west of the Indo-Scythian "Saka-dvipa," the estuary of the Indus, where the Apostle and his companion Habban, Gondophares' merchant, disembarked.

According to the Syriac work *The Doctrine of the Apostles* (C. 260), St. Thomas had sent letters to Edessa (now Urfa), and these must have been in the Aramaic language and script, the original of the Kharoshti script of Gondophares' days. *The Acts* says that the 'Apostle gained converts in Sandaruk and the Panjab, and the name of King Mazdai, Gondophares' neighbour, and perhaps his viceroy, is distinctly Persian (resembling Ahura Mazda), and some other names too in *The Acts* (Vizan=Bishan, and Manashar=Maneshak=Manesha), as Marquart says; also Karish (Cyrus ?), and Siphur (Shapur ?) in the same work. Incidentally it may be observed that about 180 miles N.-S.-W. of Taxila there is Mazdak Peak, which may be a Persian name. And Hamun Lake in Seistan is called by the natives *Zirrah* (Avestan *Zrayah*=sea), and a harbour newly made in 825 A.D. at Quilon in Travancore by the Persian merchant Sabr-Iso is called *Chirra* (*Zirrah*) in a Malabar Hindu document.

After embracing Christianity Gondophares did not probably change his Persian name (Vinda-pharna) to Thomas James, or Paul, as in those early days such a change was not deemed necessary. But his title *Deva-Vrata* (=devoted to God) appears to be significant. For he seems to have preferred it to the titles Deva-putra (=God's son), and Devanam-priya (=dear to the gods) current in those days, as according to his new faith Deva-putra was Christ Himself, and no other, and to him there was no plurality of gods as implied in the plural form deva-nam. Moreover, what

historians call "the characteristic symbol of Gondophares" seems to be a big 'chalice,' the earliest known Christian emblem, anterior to the cross emblem.

Now, in 44 A.D., the Parthian era of 245 B.C. is found used in the Mathura (Kankali Tila) inscription of the year 299, according to Rapson and Konow.

## II

There must have been in N.-W. India and the Lower Indus region of the Kushana period (since C. 50) the Christian descendants of Gondophares, Mazdai (converted later), Vizan, Karish, Siphur, and of many other Persian Christians. For in his Syriac *Book of Fate* (C. 196 A.D.) Bardaisan mentions Christians not only among the Gilanians, Persians, and Medes, but also among the Parthians and Kushans. These two were probably those in N.-W. India, in what had been Kanishka's Kushana empire.

## III

During the Patriarchate of Shalupha and Papa (C. 295-300), Dudi (=David), Bishop of Basrah, an eminent doctor, left his see and went to "India," where he evangelised many people. But one cannot affirm that he did come to our India. For in the early centuries (as I have shown in *The Journal of Indian History*, August, 1947, and August, 1948) there were several pseudo-Indias west of the Indus (Ethiopi, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Karmania).

In the same century a disciple of the Persian heresiarch Manes seems to have preached in Indo-Scythia and neighbourhood, and in South India in 315 A.D.

Then in 317 A.D., according to certain Malabar Hindu documents some Persian Christians from Baghdad came to Cranganore in Cochin, Malabar, and converted the Buddhist Chera king sur-named Pallivanavar. (See *Journal of Indian History* for April, 1948).

In 325 A.D., Bishop John "of Persia and Great India" attended the Council of Nicea. But this Great India under that Persian Bishop could very well have been "Arabia Magna," or Arabia cum Ethiopia (two pseudo-Indias).

Chandragupta (II) Vikramaditya's defeat, between 395 and 400, of Rudrasimha III, "brought the Gupta empire into direct touch with the western seaports, and this gave a tremendous impetus to overseas commerce, and along with it there was a free flow of ideas, to and from, foreign lands" (one of which was Persia).—Tripathi's *Ancient India* (1942), p. 251.

## IV

About 425 Isho-dad says that "Daniel the priest, the Indian" helped Mar Komai in translating St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans from Greek into Syriac. But this Indian Daniel may have been an Ethiopian, Arabian, or Mesopotamian, rather than an Indian proper.

In C. 470 A.D., Ma'na, Bishop of Riwardashir in Fars, S.-W. Persia, wrote in Persian (Pahlavi) religious discourses, canticles, and hymns, and translated from Greek into Syriac the works of Diodore and Theodore of Mopsuctia, and sent them all to India. This India may be N.-W. India, or one of the pseudo-Indias west of the Indus. For South India was under the Metropolitan of Selencia, and not under Fars.

In C. 525, there is Cosmas' explicit reference to a Persian Bishop in Kalliana (Kalyan near Bombay), and of a Persian priest and Persian Christians in Ceylon. He is not so explicit about the priests and Christians in Ma-le (*Mala-bar*), nor does he mention the existence of any St. Thomas tradition, or tomb, or Persian cross in South India, or north-west India.

In A.D. 529, on the breaking out of the Persian War, the agents of the Ethiopian king Elesboas, sent forth at the instance of Emperor Justinian for silk from the Indian (the Greek word is *Zeron*=Chera?) ports, found that the Persian merchants had forestalled them in the Indian markets. These were probably not pseudo-Indian markets.

#### V

According to the Arab writer Tabari, Pulakesin II sent to the Persian king Khusrū II, in 625 A.D., an envoy bearing letters and presents, and received from him in return an embassy, which is supposed to be portrayed in Cave No. 1 at Ajanta.

In about 650-60 Patriarch Isho-Yahb speaks of the region under the Metropolitan of Fars as an "India that extends from the (western) borders of the Persian Empire to the country which is called Kulab," probably Kala-wan (Latin *Calamina* of St. Isidore, d.

—:O

636 A.D.), or Kala-ka Serai, both in Taxila, Panjab. South India was then under Selencia-Ctesiphon.

Then there is the Persian cross at St. Thomas Mount, Madras, dug up in 1547, and copied later in wood, stone, and paint in Kottayam and other places in Travancore. Its Pahlavi inscription may perhaps be of 825-50, but the cross (without the inscription) may have been set up earlier by an Armenian, Persian, or Syrian. We recall here that the Shahanshahs and other Parsis came first to Din, Kathiawar, in 706 A.D.

Later on, C. 880, we find in the Quilon Christian copper-plates of the church built by the already mentioned Sabr-Iso, some names of Persian signatories in Pahlavi, and of Jewish signatories in "a sort of Persian in Hebrew characters." We remember too that in the Kanheri caves, Bombay, there are Pahlavi inscriptions of 1009 and 1021 A.D. scribbled by Parsi visitors.

And, finally, in the *tubdon*, a portion of the Malabar Jacobite Liturgy, the Catholicos of Selencia (founded in 312 B.C., but burnt in 164 A.D.) is still remembered loyally in the Sunday Service in Malabar; and there is in Travancore a family of Christians called "Quilon Mutalalis" (= men of the first rank) who trace their descent from Sabr-Iso who, in 825, excavated the *Zirrah* already mentioned, i.e., deepened the Quilon harbour for its king, who made that year the beginning of his own Quilon Era, with Simha (Leo) as the first month. There are, besides, a few pre-Mughal Persian words (*zirrah*, *dasturi*, *daroga*, etc.) still surviving in the Malayalam language. The Selencid era too is found used in certain Christian documents.

## THE PROBLEM OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

BY PROF. G. D. PARIKH

SOME time ago a Conference organised by a Civil Liberties' Union was reported to have ended in confusion. Some of the participants are said to have conducted themselves in quite a libertarian manner with the result that the President was forced to dissolve the Conference.

The issues the Conference sought to stress are no doubt significant and equally significant perhaps is the pandemonium which prevailed. It may be interesting to examine them briefly so as to deduce lessons useful from the point of view of the ordinary citizen.

It has often been complained that laws have been passed recently in different parts of the country, vesting the Executive with numerous arbitrary powers. Detention without trial of political opponents has become frequent, and sometimes when they are not detained, they have been forbidden from participating in normal political activity. Discrimination has sometimes been practised against organisations of non-conformist character, and the Press, when it refuses to fall in line, has also been muzzled. These and various

other forms of suppression of civil liberties have become a feature of our political life and the Conference perhaps aimed at drawing attention to these and demand their removal.

The measures have sometimes been justified on the ground of maintaining "law and order" which is obviously an essential function of any Government. It has further been pointed out that the "infant" national state must be defended and that any weakness in doing so may easily place the newly gained independence in peril. A great and long-drawn struggle involving serious hardships and sacrifices has brought us independence and our supreme task now, we are told, is to build up sufficient strength to protect it. All opposition to the proper performance of that task and hence dangerous to national freedom must be suppressed.

The measures are also sometimes said to be for the defence of our nascent democracy. The opposition, on whom the incidence of these measures often falls, it is pointed out, is undemocratic. It believes in fanning up discontent, resorting to action calculated

to disturb peace and ultimately aim at the overthrow of the established authority through undemocratic means. Such an opposition cannot naturally be given free scope for its activities. Its suppression is essential in the interests of democracy.

The aforementioned case however, has significant weaknesses. It will be generally agreed that the need for defending the newly gained independence is beyond the realm of controversy. But the manner in which it is done should not be open to objections. Imposition of uniformity, maintenance of peace through elimination of opposition or ensuring security through the destruction of liberty cannot be the methods of such a defence.

The position will appear to be still weaker when we turn to the oft-repeated characterisation of the position. The contention that an undemocratic opposition has to be dealt with undemocratically, is essentially fallacious and mistaken. No one can guarantee that a democratic party will always be faced with a democratic opposition. Its real test lies not in the kind of opposition with which it is faced, but the manner in which it faces it.

This is not at all a plea for allowing freedom to destroy the institutions of freedom and democracy. But such freedom cannot be denied only to the minority or the opposition; it must be denied to the majority as well. If a majority were to make short shrift of democratic practice on the specious plea of being required to deal with undemocratic opposition, it would merely indicate its lack of concern for democracy and furnish evidence to that effect.

"Defending freedom" has too often proved itself to be a dangerous doctrine. It is therefore essential and stands to reason that general allegations against all non-conformist opinion, accompanied by measures calculated to suppression of liberties, must be replaced by specific charges against individuals, brought forward, substantiated and proved in the ordinary courts of law, leading to the punishment of the actual anti-social elements.

As a matter of fact, the issues raised by the problem of civil liberties go much further than this traditional approach to them can indicate. The idea that liberties of the citizen can be safe with the existence of more than one political party, with more or less balanced strength, is increasingly proving to be inadequate.

A single party system signifies totalitarianism and is therefore obviously out of the question. But the existence of more than one party, it may be pointed out, does not constitute a guarantee of democratic freedom.

The emphasis on this system increased in the political context of the formalisation of democracy. It thereby increasingly parted company with its standards and came to be identified with majority rule; and that too of a majority of a handful of representatives.

An institutional apparatus, which embodies at best a very imperfect approximation to the democratic

ideal, attained under the conditions of the nineteenth century, bearing little comparison to our times, has come to be viewed almost as sacrosanct. Contemporary political experience however forces upon us the need for a revision of that view. The centralisation of power implicit even in the traditional democratic apparatus, results in making the successful politician of today far more powerful than any of the despots of the past, and organised political parties ensure such a success.

In the organised struggle between them, the tremendously increased lure of power mostly rules out the possibility of any careful or scrupulous observance of the rules of the game. Politics in such a context naturally parts company with its original purpose of freedom, harmony and well-being, and begins putting a premium on discipline, strength, power and success. The crucial feature of our times is the tremendously increased might of the State which holds out strong temptations to organised groups to dominate it. And such domination generally signifies the beginning of the end of liberties, much more so in a society wherein the cultural and moral pre-conditions for the successful functioning of the institutional apparatus are absent.

The danger to democracy arises in our times not only from a determined minority out to subvert the political apparatus, but also from a majority in control of it. As a matter of fact, given the organised might of the State, the former has become much less significant than the latter.

This shift in the source of the danger brings at once to the forefront the two-fold problem of popular education and institutional reconstruction. The latter can be tackled only in the context of the former, but is none the less significant. It is only an institutional apparatus which rules out the possibility of concentration of power, existent in the traditional framework of representative institutions, which can furnish a significant guarantee against the continuation of the scramble for power.

But such institutions can crystallise only when propaganda drumming which reduces men into a "mass" has been replaced by education which will elevate the "masses" into men, into rational and discriminating individuals. It may appear to be a long way, but we have perhaps once for all to realise that there can be no short cut to freedom and democracy. It demands a huge constructive effort from below; for, what can be imposed from the top is always bound to be slavery and totalitarianism.

The initiative in the matter belongs to those rational, sober and discriminating individuals who can free themselves and help others in their liberation from this corroding influence. That alone can help in the creation of an atmosphere in which real democratic institutions can crystallise and function successfully, guaranteeing the liberty of the individual. The manner in which the Civil Liberties Conference ended, simply reinforces the above conclusion.

## RABINDRANATH'S "PATITA"

PROF. B. N. SIKDAR, M.A.

In his *Kahini*\* Rabindranath fashions for his song a pipe from antique reeds. With magic fingers he knits anew the threads of age-worn myths into a golden pattern of music and drama. In his *Imaginary Conversations* Landor takes towering figures out of the historical past and breathes through their lips the whispers of his own lofty soul. His art is splendid in its control, exalted in its consciousness. In the lyrics of *Kahini* Rabindranath selects a few moments out of the traditional past and endows them with fresh dramatic significance. His art is careless in its ease, spontaneous in its flow. Landor lacks the mystical insight and spiritual vision of Rabindranath given him by a ripened assimilation of literature, old and new.

Yet in substance *The Conversations* and *Kahini* are alike: they contain heroic and idyllic episodes strong in primal passion and fraught with "the sense of tears in mortal things". In Landor Rhodope breathes her painless sighs to the Phrygian calmly awaiting his doom; Elizabeth Gaunt brings a broken heart as an unworthy offering to her Redeemer; Peter the Great calls for a bottle of Vodka to steady his iron nerves, when he has just killed his son with his cruelty; Spencer, having helplessly watched his infant burnt to ashes, turns away with a crushed despair from the noble courtesy of Essex; Hannibal in heroic admiration stands to attention by the prostrate body of Marcellus when hardly an hour of life is left in him. In Rabindranath, Gandhari, a mother, pitifully but with great inward strength, lifts her feeble voice in prayer to the king and her husband against their sinning son; Ama, a faithful wife, humbly answers back to the reproaches of her father when her infidel husband lies slain by his hand on the battlefield and proudly refuses to accept again the cord of love now red with a husband's blood; Somaka, a king, anxiously courts the flames of hell for the Priest that snatched away his infant of old age and threw it into fire; Karna, a son, disowned and forsaken from the moment of his birth repulses the stretched arms of a contrite and agonizing mother though his heart bleeds in him as he does so. Such are the situations caught by Landor and Rabindranath in the thrill of dramatic tension. Both depict in their own way the clash of attitudes and the conflict of aims and ideals in tense and terrible drama. With one the medium is prose that mostly verges on poetry, with the other it is poetry that occasionally trips to prose (as in Lakshmi's Test). While Rabindranath reminds us of Browning's dramatic lyrics Landor brings something of the *De Consolationi Philosophi* of Boethius. Landor is an Elizabethan recurring under new impulses, Rabindranath is a Romantic acting under very old ones. *Kahini* is mostly an analysis of ancient myths from a modern point of view. In the poem 'Patita' this analysis is extremely happy and glaring.

It is around an epic theme that Rabindranath constructs his poem in 'Patita' or 'The Fallen Woman'. It is a dramatic monologue (like Browning's "My Last Duchess") in which a penitent woman of disreputable past apparently addressing some one else seems to be speaking more to her own self. The Ramayana supplies the poet with the clay out of which he forms his being. To breathe into its nostrils the breath of life is the poet's own task. The story is of a young saint who has been brought up from his childhood amidst the sequestered surroundings of an hermitage and never looked on the seductive features of a woman. Some prostitutes are sent by a minister to break the penances of the saint (according to the myth, to lure him to a land where the dust of his feet would bring rains and fertility). One of the prostitutes comes back in shame bearing in her a touch of the hermit's holiness. Her inglorious past dies away; her sins melt away like a dream; she is born anew. She throws back the price for which she had sold her honour. She realises that it may be easy to forsake virtue but can the spark of divinity that is in every soul be quenched so easily? In the blissful clime of an hermitage a clear undertone thrills through her being; she feels like the woman in Tennyson's poem:

The smell of violets, hidden in the green,  
Poured back into my empty soul and frame  
The times when I remember to have been  
Joyful and free from blame.

### II

As Rabindranath can not give us any visual scenery he does "to our imagination with words what the painter does with his pigment". He traffics in word-pictures and uses them profitably to paint his scenes. At the peep of dawn the young saint appears slowly on the riverside to take his morning plunge. The rays of the rising sun play hide and seek in his grey matted hair; heaven and earth smile with the soft radiance of an early eastern dawn. The seducers approach on a boat, jump down, surround him and strike up a ravishing melody in chorus. The sage is astonished and thrilled with an unknown sensation. A moment later with folded palms he bursts forth in hymns of praise in honour of the god he worships. This rare spectacle of comely women dancing hand in hand throws him into a reverie as he was perhaps thrown when he saw the first sun-rise in his life. This sudden flash of earthly beauty on a spotlessly clean and uninitiated soul brings to it a message of the sublime Truth it is seeking so long. His eyes sparkle, his forehead shines, his heart gushes forth in rapturous utterance. The peaceful hermitage catches the tremors of the song in its tremulous leaves; the repentant woman is stirred to the inmost depth of her being. The warbling voice of the saint struck out by godly passion



did fall down and glance

From tone to tone, and glided thro' all change  
of liveliest utterance.

In the eyes of the hermit the woman discerns signs of wonder—the wonder of one who has never gazed on feminine features. His half-dazed and adoring looks galvanize the sleeping pride of a woman in her heart. A mother's affection, a bride's kindness, a maiden's silent and timid love—all such emotions combine to strike out a celestial melody from the harp of her soul. It is a sudden recognition of the eternal values of life in a flash of inner experience. So long the woman did not know that in her touch there was the sweetness of nectar; that in her eyes there was the gleam of heavenly fire; in her appearance the glow of pure bliss. As to Iphigenia in Tennyson's poem so to this Patita her god had spoken and her grief turned into a solemn scorn of all ills. Her soul henceforth starts on a new voyage carried anon by a zealous impulse towards higher forms of being. It is the resurrection of a fallen spirit over which there is so much joy in Heaven.

The man whom this woman addresses represents the cold, calculating, external world of politics where gains and losses are strictly weighed in a physical

balance, where two and two must always make four. From him this newly born spirit shudders away.

"In a moment the maiden in me came out—immaculate and pure"—this woman sings. Was there ever a more touching and more poetic expression of penitence? Many a tried heart has felt what she articulates. Others express such pangs, such heartaches, such striving, towards nobler destinies with religious ardour. Rabindranath's appeal is purely a sensuous one. Shelley may feel and say that our sincerest laughter is always fraught with some pain for he had felt such pangs as make us look before and after; Swinburne may render the travail that is on every lip, the blind desire that is in every heart, the fore-knowledge of death that is in every eye, but who can lay bare the soul in the process of purification except a mystic of Rabindranath's stature? Plato wanted to banish poets from his republic for he found them exaggerating or rather employing expressions that wanted the vitality of a corresponding insight. Byron's Lara does not touch us so deeply for Byron lacks the mystical intuition of Rabindranath. It is in the unique combination of mysticism and sensuous felicity that Rabindranath scores his triumph.

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## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### Legislation or Agricultural Readjustment?

#### A REJOINDER

I have read carefully the criticism of my article by Sri S. H. Desai in the February number of *The Modern Review*. It is good that a lawyer of the standing of Mr. Desai applied his mind in bringing out the legal implications of certain sections, particularly Sections 62 and 63 of the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Bill (now become Sections 64 and 65 of the Act No. LXVII of 1948) for the benefit of the readers of *The Modern Review*. An explanation is, therefore, evidently called for, lest there should be any mist of misunderstanding as a result of his review.

My article (*The Modern Review* for December, 1948) is not an omnibus treatise on the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Bill, 1948. My objective, perhaps the first and the last, is to lay bare the economic and social principles underlying some of the chief provisions of the Bill in a short space and present the matter in a way understandable to one and all. The scope of a piece of such nature is inevitably limited.

The items referred to in the criticism are taken up seriatim beginning at the end.

1. "Dr. S's reference to large incomes and huge profits is unfortunate. Those who live in South Gujarat know what became the plight of sugarcane farmers . . . if Dr. S. entertains any doubts, he may profitably spend a few hours in any South Gujarat sugarcane village." (Page 151, para 5).

With due apologies, I submit that this reference is both unfortunate and irrelevant to my analysis. What is relevant to the analysis is my suggestion of 'restriction on the extent of land a tenant can cultivate on lease' and not the 'large incomes and huge profits' obtained by sugarcane farmers in South Gujarat during the 'last year' and 'this year.' When the Bill provided for fixing up a maximum limit with regard to ownership of land as 50 acres both by a landlord (either individuals or branches of joint Hindu families) and a protected tenant under Section 32, equity demands that there should be also a similar provision for fixing up a maximum limit (as well as a minimum—See my article on "Agrarian Reforms in India," The Annual Number, *Commerce*, December, 1948) not merely for ownership but also for sizes of areas cultivated under pure tenancy or under a combination of tenancy and ownership, if at all an effective distribution or allocation of the agricultural land resources among the agrarian classes is aimed at to allay the land hunger and to ensure land for farming to as many cultivators as possible. In absence of such a provision, it is possible that tenants or owner-cultivators may acquire large areas of land even for *bona fide* cultivation which may give rise to concentration of land of a different form, and it has to be avoided, if we want to evolve a system of peasant proprietorship, or more precisely, establishment and growth of family-sized farms.

Certainly, I do not entertain any ingrained



illusion about the myth of agrarian prosperity due to inflation or high prices nor do I suggest or imply that all the agriculturists are making huge profits (see my paper on Economic Consequences of Inflation on Agrarian Economy, etc., *The Bombay University Journal*, January 1949, Vol. XVII, Part 4, pp. 28-47). The rise in the cost of production consequent upon the rise in prices of commodities and services needed for operating a farm is a matter of common knowledge. The fall in prices, referred to, relates largely to *gur* and that too especially during the last year and the current year. We need not risk an opinion here whether the fall in prices of *gur* during the two years is a temporary one or going to remain for a long time. But it is certain that a legislative measure, unless it is an emergency measure, has to take into account trends which are expected to remain for a considerable time and not those which are fleeting or temporary. Moreover, other cash crops like tobacco, turmeric, onions, etc., mentioned by me (page 483, para 3) do not seem to be subjected to the same phenomenon of falling prices as in case of *gur* to vitiate my statement. To make the point still clear, the following extracts are quoted from a letter of the Special Officer, Agricultural Income Tax, addressed from Salem dated 19-4-45 to the Board of Revenue, Government of Madras in connection with compilation of potential assesses for purposes of levy of Agricultural Income tax in the province :

"During my enquiries in Pethanaiken-palayam of Attur Taluka, I came to know that one Mr. P. N. has leased his arcanut topes in an area of 6.67 acres for Rs. 5,000 and he pays only Rs. 72 as kist (land revenue)."

Further in para 3 of the same letter it is mentioned :

"A village headman of Rasipuram Taluka informed me that Mr. A. P., who is a tenant in Chandrasekharapuram Mitta cultivated and sold onions for not less than Rs. 10,000 in the last year, etc."

2. "Once again . . . I have to point out that . . . the word in the section is 'landlord' and not 'landowner' . . . he wrongly uses the word 'maximum' for the word 'minimum' . . . that consolidation of holdings is one thing, prevention of fragmentation of holdings is another . . . It has nothing to do with consolidation of holdings."

With due regard to the legal acumen of Mr. Desai, it appears to me, *prima facie*, that he did not simply read the article as a whole, but read it with such ruthless care, scanning 'word by word, nay, letter by letter' (as Ruskin puts it), as though the article were a legal document. As conceded by him, however, desirable or commendable or both, unfortunately the word in Section 63 (now Section 65 of the Act) is 'landlord' and not 'landowner' in which case it would include 'owner-cultivator' and make the section highly commendable. It is regretted that a serious error of its magnitude has crept in owing to drafting on the basis of data contained in my work (*Agrarian Problems of the Madras Province*, now under publication)

with the help of one or two slips of notes, and largely out of memory after a scrutiny of the Bill. As for the word 'maximum' instead of 'minimum,' it is possibly a slip in printing, since the word in my original copy was 'minimum' and not 'maximum'.

With regard to the confusion of fragmentation and consolidation, attention, may be drawn to page 481, para 2, wherein it was stated by me in unambiguous terms that "the Bill is reinforced with some of the following important additions, pertaining to . . . prohibition of subdivision, subletting and assignment of tenant's holdings." Even supposing an explanation is found necessary regarding my words "to consolidation of tenant's holdings (Section 27)" found on page 483, para 2, it is not far to seek. The learned Advocate says that "consolidation of holdings is one thing." Quite correct. I agree with him so far. But surely, prevention of fragmentation of holdings, in the economic sense, is not altogether a different thing having nothing to do with consolidation of holdings which perhaps, he refuses to believe. "Prevention is better than cure," so runs a common adage. It follows therefore that any measure devised for prevention of fragmentation constitutes an essential part of a programme of consolidation. It is plain commonsense. In fact, the Act passed and amended by the Bombay Government, some time ago, was entitled as *The Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings Act*.

3. "In referring to Section 63, Dr. S. writes : The Provincial Government is entitled to take over management of such lands as have been found uncultivated . . . the question of loss of revenue to the Government raised by him is beyond my understanding . . . To the learned doctor's knowledge or information the rent equal to the amount of assessment realised by the Government will not fully cover the loss of revenue sustained by it, etc." (Page 149, paras 4 and 5).

While making the observation in the lines, referred to by him as above, I have not in mind those lands that are laid waste because of a dispute, default or wilful neglect, either on the part of the landlord or tenant, but because of some physical handicaps or economic considerations. Some lands are unattractive for cultivation, by landholders or tenants, on account of impediments to cultivation or uncertainty of harvests owing to inundation, prevalence of malaria, lack of agricultural water supply, due to situational disadvantage and so on. For example, it was found that in Hosalli village a Pujari disposed of (*vide* Sale Deed No. 591, dated 19-7-44, Vol. No. 153, p. 177) about 96.77 acres of Srotiyam (Inam) land, for Rs. 300, which works out at about Rs. 3 per acre in the period of land boom. Waste lands exist in India in various provinces and States under the Government as well as under private ownership which can be leased or brought under the plough by settlement and colonisation, only when additional incentives are created by way of giving concessions, as remission of land revenue on the first two or three years together

with a programme of liberal grants of loans, subsidies, etc., to the cultivators. In Bombay as elsewhere, revenue concessions are given by the governments concerned to bring more lands under cultivation in connection with the "Grow More Food Campaign". When the Government takes over the management of such lands, morally it cannot proceed against the landlords according to the Land Revenue Regulations for recovery of land revenue, while at the other end, it has to make probably, concession with regard to land revenue assessment in order to make the lands attractive for farming. Such a process, obviously, involves some loss of revenue to the Government in the initial stages. Moreover, when a person takes up such lands for cultivation as a tenant, he has to consider not only the amount to be paid as rent to the Government, but also the risk involved in investing labour, family or hired, and capital as seeds and others, required to carry on cultivation at his end.

4. Finally, in so far as the strictures on Section 62 (now Section 64 of the Act) regarding restriction on transfers of agricultural lands or more simply 'sales of agricultural lands' are concerned, (pages 148-149) I am in agreement with Mr. Desai that the working of the provision is restricted only to the landlords and tenants. I consider it a clarification rather than a criticism of what has been said by me. In fact, it is stated more than once in the preceding paragraphs of the article that the measure is largely going to benefit in the past as well as in the future, only a portion, and not the bulk of the tenants or agrarian classes as a whole (See para 2, on page 481 and page 482). Section 64(1) of the Act under reference runs as follows :

"Where a landlord intends to sell any land, he shall apply to the Tribunal for determining its reasonable price, etc."

As rightly pointed out by the reviewer himself, even a cursory reading of the section indicates that it applies only in case of 'landlords' and not 'owner cultivators.' As a matter of fact, a subsequent announcement made by the Government of Bombay leaves no scope for confusion. It says :

"It is to be noted that in Section 64(1), the reference is to a 'landlord.' The expression 'landlord' does not include 'owner cultivator' inasmuch as the word 'landlord' has to be construed with reference to the definition of 'tenant' in Section 2(8). It is therefore to the definition of 'tenant' in Section 2(18). It is therefore, clear that owner cultivators, while being subject to the provisions of Section 63, are not 'landlords' for the purposes of Section 64 and consequently are not required to follow the procedure laid down in Section 64 in case of landlords, wishing to sell their agricultural lands to particular persons."

By stating "that free trade in land is disallowed" I simply laid down the social or economic principle underlying, in broad terms, and I never intend to convey a meaning imposed by the critic.

It is true that insertion of the words 'by landlords'

in the observation makes it precise. But 'justifiably' to be more precise, it is not sufficient to state that "free trade in land by landlords is disallowed" as suggested by Mr. Desai (page 148, col. 2, para 1), but we have to rope in along with the expression 'by landlords,' all those cases mentioned under (a) to (d) of (1) and (2) of Section 88 (*vide* Chapter VIII, p. 32 of the Act) to which it is clearly stated that the provisions of the Act shall not apply. The reference made under Section 88 runs as follows :

"(1) Nothing in the foregoing provisions of this Act shall apply : (a) to lands held on lease from the Crown, a local authority or a co-operative society ; (b) to lands held on lease for the benefit of an industrial or commercial undertaking, etc. etc., shall not be exempt from all or any of the provisions of this Act."

It may be incidentally noted that according to reports in the Press that out of all sections of the Bill, Sections 63 to 66 were passed without much heat and opposition, which indicates the consensus of opinion of the members of the Legislative Assembly in their favour.

Further, it may be humbly submitted in this connection that there is also a personal factor in unqualified commendation of Sections 61 to 64 (Sections 63 to 66 of the Act), because an enquiry was made by the present writer into 'Land Transfers' (See Chapter 4 of my thesis, "The Land System of the Madras Province, 1947") and the regulation of 'land transfers' recommended. An 'Enquiry into Land Transfers in Dharwar district' was again conducted and completed under the guidance of the writer during the year 1947-48, which also strengthened the case for governmental action. In the light of these, when two sections are included in the Bill, aimed at restriction of land transfers (at least to a certain degree), one would be a little happy, since the principle is conceded by the Government.

To conclude, the review of Sri S. H. Desai is welcome inasmuch as it has provided opportunity to a further clarification of some of the issues. Agrarian problems and legislation offer a wide scope not only to the statesman, the economist, the lawyer, the sociologist and the technologist but all those who work within and allied fields of agriculture. Tenancy laws constitute an economic question as much as a legal question, perhaps a question that affects the lives of many, thus demanding at once a pooling of talent of the students of economics and the students of law in a common endeavour to raise the peasantry in status and welfare. As the measure is inadequate and found to contain certain flaws, economic and legal, it will be therefore of value, if a brochure on the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1948 is brought out through the joint efforts of an economist in collaboration with a lawyer, and vice versa, to serve as a safe guide to the people of Bombay as well as to those provinces who want to enact laws in the lines of the Bombay Act.

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# PROFIT-SHARING IN INDUSTRY

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THE object of this study is to analyse and examine the contribution that profit-sharing schemes can make towards the establishment of cordial relations between the workers and employers and towards the attainment of national economy and industrial efficiency. The vital problem that confronts our country is that of maximizing our production by accelerating the tempo of our economic and industrial progress. The objective can be achieved if there is maximum co-operation and goodwill between labour, capital and management. Unfortunately, today labour unrest in the country constitutes the greatest impediment in the way of increasing our national productivity. The enormous loss, material and monetary, that the country suffers through strikes and lockouts is almost incredible. The establishment of cordial relations between those engaged in production, is undoubtedly a pre-requisite for ensuring uninterrupted industrial progress and economic stability.

It is an oft-repeated criticism and perhaps the gravest count against modern industrialism that the workers are completely devoid of any self-interest in the productive mechanism or in the fortunes of their firms or enterprises. It is immaterial for the workers whether their employers reap profits or face bankruptcy so long they are assured of their earnings. The existence of 'impersonal' relations between the workers and employers and the lack of enlightened self-interest, initiative and enterprise among the workers is perhaps the most important cause of low productivity in our country. Till the workers feel that their own fortunes are linked with the fortunes of their employers, they will never have the desired urge and enthusiasm to put their best endeavours. Unless there is a growing realization on the part of the workers and the employers of their 'identity of interest' and a greater yearning for mutual co-operation and goodwill, the best interests of the industry and that of the country cannot be served. The workers should not be allowed to remain as passive spectators but should be prompted to become active participants in shaping the fortunes of their firms or enterprises.

It is a truism that the moment the workers acquire a stake in the financial success and integrity of the business, they are prompted to do their utmost for the economic utilisation of their employer's resources and for maximizing industrial output. The desire of gain and fear of loss have been the most powerful factors which have prompted the individuals to work to the highest pitch of their efficiency. The enlightened motive of 'self-interest' has served as a sheet-anchor and as an infallible portent of centuries of human progress and prosperity. It is the individual's stake in

the financial success and integrity of a business that has evoked his creativeness, ingenuity and enterprise and prompted him to make contributions to the best of his competence and ability. If, therefore, we wish the workers to contribute their utmost in enhancing the production and ensuring industrial peace and economic stability, we must so reorganize our economic system that the workers also acquire some stake in the financial success and integrity of their ventures. Profit-sharing schemes undoubtedly afford a means whereby the workers can be given an opportunity of acquiring some stake in the financial success and integrity of the business.

## II

### GENESIS OF PROFIT SHARING

Profit sharing may be defined as 'an agreement freely entered into by which the employees receive a share fixed in advance of the profits.' It is an agreement between the workers and their employers to set aside a certain sum out of divisible profits for distributing among the workers who qualify through a certain period of service and through compliance with other conditions stipulated by management. This includes both legally binding agreement and those in which there is no other than a moral obligation. In recent years, however, there is an unmistakable tendency to regard all profit-sharing agreements as legally binding contracts, and emphasis is being laid on the necessity of determining in advance the method of sharing profits.

There is, however, a wide diversity in the methods adopted for determining the workers' share in the profits of the firm. The practice that has received the greatest support both in the continental and trans-continental countries is that of a certain fixed percentage of the divisible profits after full provision has been made for interest on the invested capital, provision for depreciation and reserves, etc. The fixed percentage is usually a ratio based upon the relation of the annual wage bill to the total capital. Experience has, however, shown that if this procedure is adopted the employers' share would be at least three times as great as that of the employees. Indeed such a procedure is neither unjust nor unfair for the employers, for with little sacrifice on their part they will be able to win the loyalty and support of large numbers of workers with resultant enhanced production and industrial peace.

## III

### OBJECTIONS AND FEARS EXAMINED

The introduction of profit-sharing schemes has unfortunately aroused widespread suspicion, distrust and misapprehension among the minds of the

employers and workers. As a matter of fact, employers regard the profit-sharing schemes as an ingenious device to rob them of their hard-earned profits. They regard profit as legitimate reward for 'risk-taking' and 'entrepreneurial ability'. Any attempt to deprive them of their legitimate share not only means an encroachment on their rights, but also freezing of individual initiative, incentive and enterprise. Workers, on the other hand, have opposed profit-sharing schemes almost from the very beginning on the ground that the small remote and deferred payments made under the profit-sharing schemes are too inadequate to meet their legitimate requirements. Experience has shown that the workers have not much benefited under the profit-sharing schemes. In Great Britain over a long period of years the labour dividends declared by profit-sharing firms averaged approximately 5 per cent on annual earnings. The majority of plans in the United States resulted in less than 10 per cent increase in the wage-earners' income.

The small amounts commonly distributed to wage-earners under profit-sharing schemes have not added substantially to workers' income and therefore have failed to induce them to put their best endeavours. Indeed the workers have begun to view the profit-sharing schemes with a sense of indifference and even hostility.

The working of profit-sharing schemes in continental and trans-continental countries have brought in the limelight several other limitations. Generally speaking, profit-sharing schemes are successful only in industries where output and profits are sufficiently correlated and stable. But where output does not bear any relationship with profits, such schemes of profit-sharing fail to safeguard the legitimate interests of the workers and the employers. Where prices show a downward tendency the firms may actually suffer losses despite an increase in industrial output. Experience has shown that with lapse of time workers begin to regard the cash shares as a right and resent any material reduction in its size consequent on reduced profits. Cases are not wanting when such reductions have become a bone of contention between the workers and employers, and instead of harmonizing their interest and promoting mutual co-operation and goodwill, they have further aggravated the relations between the two. Unfortunately under the complex machinery of industrial production, profits are influenced by such a variety of factors outside the orbit of individual establishment that the workers' effort have little bearing on the fortunes of individual ventures. The depletion of profits despite workers' increased efficiency and greater output may induce workers to regard such depletion as an act of managerial inefficiency. A situation may develop when mutual accusations may result in increasing bitterness and antagonism between the workers and employers.

There is also a fear that during times of intense internal and foreign competition and during times of industrial depression, employers may be quite unwilling

to part with their meagre earnings. They would boldly question whether or not, on grounds of equity and justice, it is obligatory on the workers to come forward to share the losses in times of adversity, as they would share the profits in times of prosperity. Undoubtedly from a strictly moral viewpoint there may be some truth in the above statement. It is however undeniable that during times of adversity and depression, the employers will not be prepared to forego voluntarily their meagre earnings.

#### IV

##### PROSPECTS FOR INDIA

The foregoing study has clearly revealed that the factors most conducive to the launching of profit-sharing schemes are favourable profits combined with rising prices and industrial unrest. Indeed the success of profit-sharing schemes is conditioned by the high rate of profit and rising spiral of prices. There is obviously a greater temptation on the part of employers to offer incentive to the workers for increased output and efficiency.

Fortunately the economic conditions prevailing in the country at present are exceptionally suitable for the launching of ambitious profit-sharing schemes in almost all the industries. The industrialists are reaping abnormal profits ever since the war began. They should have no grudge to sacrifice a part of their profits to meet the legitimate demand of their workers. They should realize that the prosperity is as much the result of workers' endeavours as of their own. They are therefore, entitled from all canons of justice and fairplay to a legitimate share in the fortunes of their firms. Moreover the employers should realize that the continuation of mutual co-operation and goodwill will depend on the spirit of accommodation shown by them towards the workers. They should be paving the way towards the establishment of industrial peace and social contentment in the country.

Even from a purely economic standpoint the employers are to gain by the adoption of profit-sharing schemes. By giving the workers an opportunity to participate in profits they would economize on materials, improve the quality of the products and increase the industrial output. They would ensure the uninterrupted working of the economic system and save themselves from the menace of recurring strikes and lock-outs. Indeed the lure of profit acts as a great stabilizing influence on the trade and industry by dissuading the workers to go on strike or resort to such measures as may be detrimental to the prosperity of the industry. The introduction of profit-sharing schemes will undoubtedly enable the employers to win the loyalty and support of the large army of manual workers, with resultant enhanced production and industrial peace.

The workers should realize that the conditions precedent to the grant of benefits under the profit-sharing schemes, is their wholehearted co-operation and loyalty to the management and refusal to join the strikes which may hamper the industrial production

and deplete industrial profits. They should realize that their own well-being, happiness and security and their nation's prosperity rest on the uninterrupted working of the economic system.

V

Profit-sharing schemes undoubtedly afford a very effective means of socializing industry and allaying workers' discontentment. At the time when the atmos-

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phere is thick with a growing antagonism, rivalry and distrust and when nations are engaged in exploring ways and means to put an end to the over-increasing conflict between the workers and employers, profit-sharing schemes can undoubtedly play a very vital role not only in establishing industrial peace and tranquillity, but also in devising some effective and peaceful means of socializing individual industries.

## THE FOREIGN POLICY

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, ADVOCATE

THE establishment of direct relations with other sovereign nations is the foremost obligation of a free country. The primary function of foreign policy is the protection and promotion of national interests. It is not an abstract conception evolved overnight. For all countries the strong as well as the weak, the doctrine of exclusive self-sufficient nationalism has been proved to be a dangerous illusion. Peace and prosperity will depend on the extent to which nations can combine. But a country should be careful in selecting its allies and be guided by reason and not emotion or momentary gain.

India under the leadership of Pandit Nehru evolved a foreign policy of its own long before it became free. Mahatma Gandhi too was accustomed to use the learned Pandit as his yard-stick in computing the international situation. The global outlook of Nehru influenced the trend of public opinion in India. He is an anti-imperialist to the core. Though he is an aristocrat by temperament, he successfully assumed the role of a democrat. But it will be doing less than justice, to equate aristocracy with autocracy. India vehemently opposed imperialism and condemned Fascist aggression in China, Austria, Abyssinia, Albania, Spain and Czechoslovakia. While sympathising with the plight of the displaced Jews, India consistently supported the cause of the Arabs in Palestine on ideological grounds. But India's non-recognition of the State of Israel which gained admission into U.N.O., and whose foreign policy approximates to that of India makes one think that those who mould our policies are probably more pro-Arab than the Arab League. It is necessary to note that most of the Arab countries successfully negotiated truce with Israel.

After the dawn of freedom India got ample opportunities to elaborate her foreign policy. Government of India repeatedly affirmed its adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. She attained signal victory at the U.N.O., against South Africa on the racial issue. Pandit Nehru organised the Asian Relations Conference to explore the possibilities of co-

ordinating the progressive forces in Asia against internal reaction and external domination. The Delhi Conference on Indonesia held during the third week of January 1949 is unique in Asia's history. Never before had such a gathering of representatives of Asian countries met at Governmental level East of Suez. Again a month later by calling an informal conference of the Dominions on Burma, India retained the initiative in Asian affairs. Thus India is in a position to mediate in Peninsular and inland Asia and can be an effective guarantee for world peace. But the decision of the Commonwealth countries of Britain, India, Pakistan and Ceylon to give whatever support they can to the Government of Thakin Nu whose writ does not run over large parts of Burma amounts to an unwarranted and unwise intervention in the internal affairs of a country in the grip of a civil war. It is hoped that Thakin Nu will not prove to be a Chiang-kai Sheik. India is literally forced to occupy a pivotal position in the anti-Communist front in South-East Asia. At the same time India is anxious to see that colonial domination is liquidated in the East at the earliest.

The ideological approach is neither infallible nor perfect. There are other factors like race, religion, region and outlook. Historic growth, geographical position, economic ties, cultural and psychological make-up also should be taken into consideration. To minimise and ignore them would be fatal. Outlining India's foreign policy, Pandit Nehru repeatedly observed :

"We want to be friendly with every country and follow our own line of policy on every question that might arise remaining neutral on those not affecting us directly. We shall not align ourselves with one group or the other for temporary gains."

India rightly refused to be drawn into the whirlpool of power-politics. Keeping aloof from groups or blocs is no doubt commendable so far as it goes. One need not be afraid of the word 'bloc', if it is a bloc against War. To stand passively aloof would be neither possible nor morally defensible. The test of India's stature and maturity will be its ability to turn this attitude of

neutrality to creative use. But the idealistic approach if pursued to the logical limits may lead us to a stage where we have to plough a lonely furrow. We may then have a few doubtful friends and a host of pronounced enemies. There is, of course, the Biblical injunction that the meek shall inherit the earth. But such inheritance, in the present set-up, may take us to some fathoms deep. Our cause may be just, the means noble and the intentions altruistic, still we may fail for want of collective sanctions. Honesty is no doubt the best policy. But calculated honesty alone pays in practical politics.

Our Embassies, Consulates or Legations have already begun to function in forty countries. Since diplomacy has become highly specialised, Government of India instead of merely recruiting people prominent in the public life currying favour with the powers-that-be should pick up really competent persons from every quarter. It is no longer a side-show in politeness. It is a life and death affair. Relaxation, aloofness, optimism and dilettantism are dangerous. It must descend from the rarefied realm of conversations and notes into the people's problems. Successful diplomacy depends upon the understanding of men both as individuals and in the mass.

India is in evidence and the entire world is watching its demeanour. With China turning Red, Japan under American occupation and the countries of South-East Asia shaking in their foundations, India is the

only solid, solvent and stable democracy in Asia. But her choice to remain in the Commonwealth is likely to affect her international position as a sovereign independent State preserving neutrality between the Russian and the Anglo-American blocs. Pandit Nehru's reply in the course of a Press Conference on May 11, 1949, confirmed the thesis that the Commonwealth would for all practical purposes sail with the Anglo-American bloc and the alignment of the member of the Commonwealth on the side of opposing blocs would break the Commonwealth itself. Our capacity for statesmanship is put to public test as never before. The efforts to strengthen our country to collaborate with the liberal-minded countries everywhere are carefully watched and scrutinised. The special invitation to Nehru to address the General Assembly of the United Nations is significant. But international recognition cannot always be taken at its face value. President Truman's special interest in India synchronised with Nehru's invitation for foreign capital. As a prelude to his impending visit to U.S.A., Nehru is boosted as a world leader. Curiously the appreciation and admiration for the qualities of head and heart of Nehru continue to emanate from unexpected quarters. It is hoped that India under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is endowed with imagination, idealism and integrity would come out of every crisis and trial with her path undeflected, ideals unscratched and vision undimmed.

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## FUTURE OF ENGLISH

By DR. PREM NATH, M.A., Ph.D.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the birth of independence a controversy on the place of English in India has been brewing and while there are no finished conclusions yet, the growing design seems to indicate that language-pattern in future India will have less colour of English than it has hitherto had. On the whole, various forces of history and international politics and commerce seem visibly to be shaping the model of English to stay in India. What shall or should be that model?

In retrospect, the story of English language in India has been extremely thrilling, carving as it has done at once three sections of our populace: one aping the English culture with total or partial blindness to its own, the second most bulky having been bereft of any education for lack of proper facilities to pick up the language of the day, and the third, by far the most dynamic, assimilating the best that a language could give and using that most effectively for personal equipment as well as on a wider arena of political and cultural life of the world. To the last class, belong great

persons as Mahatma Gandhi, Poet Tagore, Pandit Nehru, Dr. Radhakrishnan and the like who together are the reason why English should not completely go out of our life.

And what place should English be relegated to in our educational and political system? Sentimentally, we have had enough of this or that to detest the use of English for it was the language of the rulers and all they stood for. Also it hurts our national pride if English cannot be replaced by an Indian language. Such considerations apart, English on merit deserves and is bound to occupy a front if not the frontmost position in our life. Already it is the one language understood all over India, an effective instrument of inter-provincial communication and so far the only *lingua franca* of India that has played not an insignificant part in unifying India. It is an international language, well on the way to become the popular language of the world for politics, education, industry and commerce. To be able to say our say in the world

therefore we would have to wield this language more forcefully than ever before. It is in this framework that the place of this language will have to be located.

English in this country has never been the language of the masses and for that reason alone it should make way for a sound Indian language to be both *lingua franca* of the country and medium of instruction in schools and colleges. Hindi or Hindustani should in course of time be able to replace English. It is going to be a hard task for Government to standardise this language to such flexibility as could match English and it would take many years. Advantages are in favour of developing such a language of our own which could bear the burden of knowledge in this scientific age. Hindustani or Hindi with Sanskrit as its source, should be able to wield any mode of thought. Indians have shown remarkable adaptability to a foreign language but it cannot be ignored at the same time that there has been a good deal of strain on average Indians in learning a foreign language for effective use. To replace English by an Indian language is to aid expression in the fields of art, literature and other branches of knowledge. Then alone will we have the national unfolding in knowledge and culture.

Incidentally that brings us to the problem of the *lingua franca* in relation to provincial languages and the span of time that will be necessary to replace English. Psychology of language bids one to think that prevalence of one language in a country aids unifying forces and multiplicity of languages creates barriers. Howsoever subtle be the implications of this assertion of psychology, the outstanding fact referred to above cannot be ignored. That in view it seems highly desirable that provincial languages be encouraged only so long as the common language does not spread far and wide. To suggest discouraging of provincial languages at this stage, to say the least, will be shocking to majority of us but I have no doubt that with the rise and growth of the *lingua franca* and its prestige as a State language coupled with forces of history, provincial languages will gradually go into noticeable disuse.

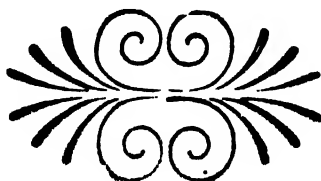
Existence of provincial languages is a knotty problem in education. For a long time to come the medium of instruction in the schools in the provinces will be the mother-tongue of each. And if it is meant to introduce Hindustani as medium of instruction at college stage, which seems to be the design of educationists, it is with jolts that students from non-Hindustani speaking provinces will be able to adjust themselves to the understanding and use of almost a

foreign language to them. And if the psychological researches are to be trusted, conclusion cannot be escaped that most of the students will never attain proficiency in *lingua franca* because it is the early age that is more receptive to the call of language. At any rate, imparting of education through Hindustani at the school age would give better continuity to education in link with college stage and would certainly help close understanding of children from various provinces the factor which is so much desirable for the ends of domestic politics today.

Now, English should stay till Hindustani is in a position to take its place. Since the processes of outgoing and the incoming of languages will be going on side by side there should be no anxiety on our part to get rid of English in haste and fix a time-limit sometime immediately after the present. Our Education Minister, Maulana Azad has rightly and in time sounded the nation on this point by emphasising that we should restrain to exercise undue haste in throwing overboard English that has been, allow me to use the expression, a good servant though a bad master. It is hoped that his advice will be heeded to and makers of our nation will not give way to a false sense of patriotism.

Now, English should have the place of second language in India just as practically all other countries have one or the other second language to be taught in the educational institutions. The point to be settled is at what stage should this be introduced in school stage and what should be the level of teaching it? It will be useful to initiate students to this language at a comparatively early stage, say after primary and the level of teaching be at least what we have up to the Matric. It is argued by a section of educationists that emphasis at this stage should not be on literary English but on English that is simplified to give students a workable knowledge. While the workable part could be added to the curriculum, it appears to be unsound not to emphasise the literary aspect of the language. Provision should also exist for imparting high-level English in colleges and universities. It is expected English will remain a popular subject with students as long as it retains its international position. It is obvious students will not choose to be deprived of advantages of this language in the modern set-up of the world.

The upshot of all this is that while planning our education we should be calculating in replacing English which eventually is to stay as the second but comparatively very influential language in the country.







# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto be answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**THE DUTCH IN BENGAL AND BIHAR, 1713-1825 :** By Fr. Ksh. Kinkar Datta. Patna University. 1948. Pp. 289.

The author, who has long been known as an authority on the history of north-eastern India in the 18th century, has here made an intensive study of records relating to the Dutch traders in Bengal and Bihar. This book is the result of his laudable desire to "make the history of the decline of Dutch influence in Bengal and other parts of India, known" to us. The delicate position of the Dutch traders during Siraj-ud-daulah's struggle with the English is fully studied in a chapter by itself, and the shattering of the Dutch dream of maintaining an empire in India after Plassey, on the rice-swamp of Bedara in the next. The natural repercussions of England's wars with France in the late 18th century, on the Dutch in Bengal are detailed in chapters 4, 5 and 6, and much new information will be here gained by Indian readers. A useful book, fills an empty nook in our historical shelf.

**THE FRENCH IN INDIA : FIRST ESTABLISHMENT AND STRUGGLE :** By S. P. Sen. Calcutta University. Pp. 360 + xviii. Rs. 7.

This piece of research by a scholar who is able to use the original French sources, starts with a brief resume of the history of foundation of French companies in India, and then goes into a detailed study of the doings of De La Haye's squadron. This book, really the first part of a longer work, ends with the loss of St. Thome to the Dutch in 1674, which was immediately afterwards followed by the foundation of a greater factory-town, Pondicherry. No useful detail for the intervening period has been omitted.

JADUNATH SARKAR

• **HANDLIST OF IMPORTANT HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS** (in the Raghubir Library, Sitamau, C. I.) : By Dr. Raghubir Singh, D.Litt. Rajkamal Publications, Faiz Bazar, Delhi. Paper bound. Pp. xiv + 64. Price Re. 1-8.

It is surprising how many of the most important and rare Persian manuscripts—mostly preserved in the British Museum, the Bodleian and the India Office (London) libraries, besides the private collections of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and others in India, have been collected here (by photographic reproduction or copying). Also a mass of Marathi historical records, mostly unprinted. This will make it unnecessary for our true research-workers on Indo-Muslim and Maratha history to go the expense of a visit to Europe or sigh in helplessness at home. We wish for the widest publicity to this mine of historic gems.

B. N. BANERJI

**RAMANAMA : THE INFALLIBLE REMEDY :** By Mahatma Gandhi. "Gandhi Series" Brochure No. 4. Edited and published by Anand T. Hirgani, Karachi. Sole distributors, Rupa and Co., Calcutta-Allahabad. Pp. viii + 104. Price Rs. 2-2.

Shri Hirgani has been doing a most useful work by gathering in separate volumes Gandhi's writings on specific subjects.

In the present brochure, he has presented the reader with Gandhi's ideas on what might be called faith-cure, where, of course, the faith is intelligent, and also calls forth certain necessary modifications in one's thought and way of life, in conformity with principles of Nature-cure.

**MAHATMA GANDHI :** B. J. Akkal, B.L. Vora and Co. Publishers Ltd., Round Building, Bombay 2. Pp. 88. Price Re. 1-8.

A brief, simple account of Mahatma Gandhi's life.

**LONELY FURROWS OF THE BORDERLAND :** By K. S. Pangtey. The Universal Publishers Ltd., Lucknow 1949. Pp. xi + 97. Price Rs. 4-8.

The book is a collection of folk-songs sung during certain ceremonial occasions in the Almora hills. The author belongs to the place, and is also a trained sociologist. His translations are accurate and convey the spirit of the original.

Dr. D. N. Majumdar has contributed a valuable introduction on the recent cultural position of the hill-people. The book is illustrated by a few woodcuts by the celebrated artist, Shri L. M. Sen.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**WHAT THE SIKHS WANT :** By Dr. Trilochan Singh, M.A., D.Litt. Secunda Janta Publishers, Qarol Bagh, Delhi. Pp. 28. Price twelve annas.

**EAST PUNJAB IN CRISIS :** By Hemant. Published by Careers, Qarol Bagh, Delhi. Pp. 85. Price Re. 1-2.

**RURAL REHABILITATION IN EAST PUNJAB—A SHORT SURVEY (1947-1948)** Issued by Director-General, Public Relations, East Punjab Government, Simla.

These three pamphlets present the world with the situation as it faces the North-West Frontier Province of the Indian Union.

The first gives crude expression to the feelings and sentiments of the Sikhs who have lost their rich homelands in the Canal colonies now falling within the Province of West Punjab in the State of Pakistan. The writer with all his modernism has not been able to resist the pull of narrow ideas reminiscent of what Muslim League propaganda has made us familiar with. The Sikhs and Hindus of the Punjab, the Hindus of East Bengal have been required by fate to pay an inconceivably high price for freedom from British

control. They appear to be shying more or less at it now, the Sikhs most of all. And Dr. Trilochan Singh is one of their minor prophets. The sentiments given expression to by him have been creating a situation that is fraught with danger to the safety and integrity of the Indian Union. A few samples are worth record for reference.

"Crush communalism west of Delhi means crush the Sikhs as a national minority and absorb their literature, language, philosophy and culture in the great experiment of Hinduising India and Indianising Hinduism."—(p. 17).

"... the more universalized Hinduism of the Congress."—(p. 21).

"About twenty thousand of the more desperate ones (Sikhs) have migrated to Malaya and Singapore to escape this freedom and equality of free India where the imperious types are entitled to enjoy the fruits of independence."—(p. 23).

"The Sikhs do not seek any absolute national self-determination, but within the Indian Union they want to live as a nation within a nation . . ."—(p. 25).

The political maladjustments from which the Sikhs have been suffering are at the root of the Ministry-breaking that we have witnessed recently. The second and third books explain the other factors of the situation. Lands abandoned by Muslims in East Punjab are in general less fertile and irrigated than those left by Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab; the areas in the former are about 4.5 million acres as compared with 5.7 million acres in the latter. In West Punjab, Hindus and Sikhs had been "land-holders who had never cultivated their lands themselves"; they "lived to a considerable extent on small trade and money-lending," their holding being "subsidiary" to their way of life; there was no lack of persons engaged in these occupations in East Punjab. And thus the new-comers found themselves in difficulties of re-adjustment to a new situation. This is the economic debacle that faced them.

There was again the policy of a "secular State" to reckon with. "It is a pity that several thousands of houses and shops of Muslims who have migrated to West Punjab are still lying un-allotted while about a million have to live in the scorching sun of June (1948)." The Pakistani Government were not troubled by such scruples, and Muslim refugees from the Indian Union were allowed to choose and pick the lands, houses and business places left by Hindus and Sikhs. As the book published by the East Punjab Government appears to regard this movement of population as "permanent," it is a little difficult to understand the policy followed in the Indian Union.

The three books thus enable us to realize the immensity of the task that the East Punjab Government has to deal with. Apart from the Sikh difficulty, the causes are really economic. The Central Government has been manfully trying to tackle it by persuading West Punjab Hindus and Sikhs to agree to go further afield than East Punjab. In the East Punjab itself, they appear to be trying to meet Sikh demands of Gurumukhi script and Punjabi language thus recognizing their "separate cultural entity."

The East Punjab Government has done well to follow the policy that enables "refugees from particular villages and areas in West Punjab to remain as much together as possible." By September (1948), they appear to have settled 2,72,674 families on 29,39,823 acres—not a bad record. If the Sikhs can forget their particular conceits and ambitions, East Punjab will pull through.

SURESH CHANDRA DES

OF CABBAGES AND KINGS: *By Humayun Kabir. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 4.*

This volume contains some of the speeches of Mr. Kabir, parliamentary and otherwise, dealing with varieties of topics, politics, economics, education, literature and so on. Prof. Kabir is a renowned scholar and a sensitive writer and can talk with profundity on various subjects. The present volume is conspicuous by depth, range and versatility.

TWENTIETH CENTURY URDU LITERATURE: *By Prof. Mohammad Sadiq. Padma Publications, Bombay. Price Rs. 2-8.*

In this small brochure of 96 pages, Prof. Sadiq of the Government College, Lahore, gives a brief but revealing account of the development of modern spirit in Urdu literature. Urdu literature has come to stay. Rich with impetus derived from the many-sided development of Indian life, it is a highly significant expression of artistic inspiration. Prof. Sadiq has traced its development since the beginning of the twentieth century, with a brief reference to the Aligarh movement in the background. He deals with such renowned poets as Akbar, Iqbal and Josh, and story-writers as Premchand. His note on progressive literature is interesting. But a treatment of such a complicated subject as this requires a much larger scope.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

THE GOSPEL OF SELFLESS ACTION OR THE GITA ACCORDING TO GANDHI (Translation of the original in Gujarati with an additional introduction and commentary): *By Mahadev Desai with a Foreword by M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajwan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. vi + 300. Price Rs. 4.*

The Gita is undoubtedly one of the finest fruits of Indian philosophy. Its importance lies in the fact that it is intended for dwellers of the Society rather than for those who have renounced it. In his "Submission" the writer tells us that Gandhi's introduction and notes were meant for "especially the unsophisticated and even unlettered section" of Gujarati reading public and as such "he studiously avoided all things that would make the little book in any way difficult for the unlettered reader and deliberately kept out of his regard the studious or the curious who would need help or enlightenment on certain points in which the readers he had in view would not be interested." It is, indeed, true that no one book in Sanskrit literature has been translated into as many different foreign and Indian languages as the Bhagavad Gita and it has been the ambition of almost all distinguished translators to attempt at a most precise rendering of the text together with a most scientific and learned presentation and evaluation of different philosophical points. But Mahatmaji unlike others undertook the work of translation with the sole purpose of conveying to the unostentatious masses the thoughts of wisdom through a medium which they would easily grasp and turn them to their best advantage.

But it needs to be said here that Desai's work is certainly 'ambitious.' And I may be permitted to quote the words of Mahatmaji in this connection: "In trying to give a translation of my meaning of the Gita, he found himself writing an original commentary on the Gita." Broadly speaking, the work under review contains two parts—(1) "My Submission" and (2) "Translation of the Eighteen Discourses." In the first part, the writer has discussed the date, text and authorship of the Gita and given us some information about the

fundamentals which are absolutely necessary for the purpose of understanding the philosophical issues and their implications. Though the author tells us that he is not very fastidious about giving us a detailed information about the most up-to-date researches in the field, he nevertheless takes up discussion on those points to maintain that the Gita is a very ancient work which has influenced the thoughts and guided the conducts of Indians and whether it was composed by one Vyasa or not, the message that it conveys has left an indelible impression on Indian minds and its teachings were translated into practice. The treatment of the 'fundamentals' though not scholastic, equips the reader with the requisite information that the philosophical study would demand. The sections on the four Varṇas and Svadharma as also Karma and Free Will make very interesting reading. The former in particular, has been discussed in a very efficient way and the writer feels that the distinction of caste as recorded in the Gita was full of meaning in a society when the work was composed. It also affords very great pleasure to find the writer's reverence for personalities and the spirit in which he attempts at a reconciliation of the views of master minds which appear to be conflicting with each other. This is particularly in evidence where he interprets the views of the Great Sankaracharya and Lokamanya Tilak. So far as the second part is concerned I need only repeat what Mahatmaji has said: "In so far as the translation part of the volume is concerned, I can vouch for its accuracy." As for the notes and parallels from the Bible and the Koran we have our sincerest appreciation of them.

GAURINATH SHASTRI

**THE METAL MARKET REVIEW** (Annual Review): 38 Strand Road, Calcutta.

Besides the mass of very useful statistics, the map showing the mineral distribution of India will be found to be interesting by both lay and expert readers.

**INDIAN POPULATION:** By D. G. Karve. National Information Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pages 50. Price Re. 1.

The population of India is rapidly increasing. Whether this increase is beneficial or harmful, it beneficial how to encourage it and if harmful how to check it, students of public affairs should know them. Within the short compass of 50 pages, the author has succeeded in conveying to the average lay reader an approach to the population problem from an economist's point of view. He says, "Let us take care of our economy, and population for the most part will take care of itself."

J. M. DATTA

**KRISHNAGAR COLLEGE CENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME:** Edited by Parash Nath Ghosh, M.A. and Chintaharan Chakravarti. M.A. Krishnagar College, Nadia. Price Rs. 5.

This is an interesting and valuable publication. It contains a collection of articles in English as well as in Bengali contributed by men of light and leading in different spheres of our national life. They review various aspects of the life and literature of Bengal during the last hundred years, a period of very great importance in the history of our national regeneration. There are altogether fourteen articles in English and two reminiscences including one from the pen of Sri B. K. Basu, I.C.S. Besides, there is an Appendix which contains texts of addresses delivered by the Chancellor

of the Calcutta University and the Principal of the College on the occasion of the Centenary celebrations of the Krishnagar College, a statement of donations received for the centenary fund and a short historical account of the College. There are nine papers in Bengali and two reminiscences from old students. Of these papers in English and Bengali a good number deal with education and its problems. We have here something like a symposium on education in its diverse aspects with contributions from men like Dr. Jenkins Prof. Nripen Banerji, Principal J. M. Sen, Dr. S. K. De Mr. James Buchanan, Sri B. N. Banerjee and Sri Jogesh Chandra Bagul. There are a few thought-provoking papers on Arts and Literature by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee Kazi Abdul Wadood, Annya Nath Sanyal and Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti. There are two articles dealing with scientific studies, one of them by Dr. H. K. Mukherjee drawing attention to a crying need of the present days, e.g., scientific fish-farming. Social and political development received its modest share of treatment in a number of articles by Prof. Priyaranjan Sen, N. K. Majumder and R. C. Ghosh, one of which by Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar directs our attention to new channels. The authorities of the Krishnagar College and especially the learned editors should be congratulated on their noteworthy achievement in bringing out such a nice and important volume which will be highly appreciated by the reading public. It is a fitting memorial to the centenary celebrations of an educational institution.

S. K. LAW

#### BENGALI

**SADHU SABHIPATI SWAMI SRI YUKTESWAR GIRI MAHARAJ-SMRITI KATHA:** By Swami Satyananda Giri. Maheś Library, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

The book is enlightening. The Swamiji Giri Maharaj was not a protagonist of customary religion. He believed in the religion of service to humanity.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

#### HINDI

**SHIVAJI: MAHARASTRA JATIYA JIVAN PURVA:** By Sri Jadunath Sarkar. Second edition, revised and corrected. Published by Hindi Grantha Ratnakar Karyalaya, Bombay 4. Four illustrations. Pp. 211 + 12. Price Rs. 2-8.

In this edition much new information has been added and minute changes made. The contemporary State papers lately discovered in the archives of the Japen Raj have been utilised in giving the most correct account of Shivan's historic interview with Aurangzib in Agra fort in 1656. Full details of the career of the Father of the Maratha Nation are available in Sarkar's standard English biography named *Shivaji and His Times*. But this is a short popular summary, correct in facts, but written in a simple style capable of being understood by Hindi-reading boys of eight or ten years of age, for which the author and publisher have thanked Maharajkumar Dr. Raghuvir Singh.

N. B. R.

#### GUJARATI

**PANCHI KARAN: 1948.** Pp. 248. Price Rs. 2.

Brahmanishtha Shri Ramguru had originally written this book, expounding Vedantic principles. It was translated into Gujarati with comments by the late Jayakrishna Vyas, and the Veda Dharma Sabha had published thirteen editions of it. After that it went out of print. The Society has met a keen demand for it by publishing this fourteenth edition.

K. M. J.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Aboriginal Population and Their Place in the National Life of India

The following extracts are taken from Dr. Mahendralal Sircar Memorial Lecture as delivered by Dr. B. S. Guha at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Calcutta on February 23, 1949 and as published in *Science and Culture* :

The people of India contain a large number of primitive tribes who subsist on hunting, fishing or by simple forms of agriculture. Various terms have been used to describe them, such as 'aboriginal,' 'jungle-folk,' 'primitive race' etc. Of these the term 'aboriginal' is more appropriate in the sense that, if not the indigenous, they are certainly the oldest known inhabitants now living in this country.

Their total strength in undivided India, as estimated in the Census of 1931, was roughly over 22 millions. In the Indian Union, after partition, it would be about a million less, but accurate figures will not be available until the coming Census, for, in the 1941 estimates, there had been some confusion between the aboriginal and the scheduled castes and the figures obtained were not always dependable.

Broadly speaking, there are three distinct zones in which the aboriginal population of India can be divided, namely a *North-Eastern*, a *Central* and a *Southern Zone*.

In the first or, the *North-Eastern Zone*, there are roughly three million people beginning from the *Lepchas* of Sikkim to the *Kuki-Lushais* on the Frontiers of Assam and Burma. They are scattered over a large area in the Sub-Himalayan region and the contiguous parts of Assam. On the whole they form a compact block and with minor interruptions are continuous along the whole of the North-Eastern Frontiers of India and even merging gradually into those of Burma and Southern Yunnan from which no strict line of demarcation can be drawn.

Those who inhabit the Sub-Himalayan region, contain among others, the *Lepchas* of Sikkim and the *Darjeeling District*. The *Rava*, *Mech*, *Kachari* and *Mikir*, *Garo* and *Khasi* of the Central Massif, separating the *Brahmaputra* from the *Sarna Valley*, constitute an inner ring whose outer perimeters are formed by tribes living in the hinterland between Assam and Tibet, and the mountain ranges and valleys that divide India from Burma. For administrative purposes they have been grouped into separate tracts, such as the *Balipara*, *Sadiya Frontier*, the *Tirap* and the *Nagi Hills Tract* and quite recently the *Abor Hills* has been formed into an independent unit. Very little authentic information is available on the tribes living in these tracts excepting the *Naga* tribes. On the Western borders, the entire region beyond the *MacMohan line* is almost a *terra incognita*. Neither the land nor the alignments of the tribes are known. Of the tribes that live here, the *Aka*, the *Dofla* and the *Miri* are on the west of the *Subansiri* river, the *Uppa Tani* on the *Upper Subansiri*, and on both sides of the *Dihong* are

the *Abor* group consisting of the *Galong*, *Pasi*, *Minyong* and the *Padam*. The *Mishmis* with their sub-tribes occupy the country from the *Dihong* to the *Lohit* river; the *Chuhkita* and the *Bebengyas* living on the Western, and the *Digara* and the *Meju* on the eastern parts. Further east, stretching towards Burma but within the *Sadiya Frontier Tract*, are to be found the *Khamtis* and somewhat to their south-west, the *Singphos*. From the *Tirap* river further east, to as far south as *Manipur*, and extending westwards beyond the *Dhansiri* up to the *Rengma Hills* in *Golaghat District*, lies the home of the *Naga* tribes, which on the east includes the valleys and mountain ranges up to the *Patkoi* and across it to the western parts of the *Hukwang Valley* of Northern Burma. On the Indian side, the *Nagas* fall into five major groups, of which the *Ranapan*, *Konyak*, *Sema*, *Angami*, *Lhota*, *Yimtsungar*, *Chang* and the *Rengmas* are most known. In the adjoining *Naga* territory of Burma the chief tribes are the *Hakani*, the *Ranapan* and the *Hamu* who live in the north and centre of the Triangle.

From *Manipur* the tribal territory extends through the *Lushai Hills* to the hilly parts of *Tipperah* and the *Chittagong Hill Tracts* which no longer forms part of India. The tribes that occupy this region are the *Kukis*, the *Chins*, the *Lushais* and the *Hill Tipperahs*, who are either overflows of tribes from across the frontiers or are closely related. In fact, along the entire north-eastern frontiers of India there is no clear line of demarcation between Assam and Burma as far as the *Chindwin* river. From the northern spurs of the *Patkoi* to the southern tips of the *Chin Hills* the whole tract forms a single geographical and ethnical unit closely knit in race and culture.

Separated from the *North-Eastern Zone* by the *Gangetic plains*, is the *Central Mountain barrier* that divides the Northern from the *Peninsular India* which has provided a refuge for the aboriginal population from time immemorial. The tribes living in this territory occupy the spurs and slopes of the *Vindhyas*, *Satpura*, *Mahadeo-Markal* and the *Ajanta* lines, stretching across the country and joining the Western with the Eastern Ghats. They have expanded into the subsidiary hills as far north-west as the *Aravalli* and southwards into the uplands and forests of *Hyderabad*. This mountain belt roughly between the *Narvada* and the *Godavari* contains the largest assemblage of India's aboriginal tribes. Beginning from the east, the most important tribes are the *Savars*, *Godava* and *Bondo* of the *Ganjam* district, the *Juang*, *Kharia* and *Khond* of the *Orissa Hills*, the *Ho* and *Bhumij* of *Singbhum* and *Manbhum* and the *Santal*, *Oraon*, *Munda* of the *Choto Nagpur plateau*. In the middle and western portions of the central mountain belt the most important tribes are the *Kols*, and the *Gond* and the *Bhils*. The *Baiga* living principally in the *Rewa State* and the *Murnu* and the *Hill-and-Bison-Horn Maria* of the *Bastar State* are other important tribes of this region.

Third major zone of India's aboriginal population falls south of the *Kistna* river below latitude 16° north. Beginning from the *Chenchus* of the *Nallamallais Hills*, the *Toda*, *Badaga*, and *Kota* of the *Nilgiri Hills*, the *Paniyan*, *Irula* and *Kurumba* of *Wynaad*, to the

*Kadars, Hill Pantaram, Kanikar, Mal-Vadan and Mala-Kurvan* of the Cochin and Travancore Hills, the tribes are scattered over a wide territory, but mostly concentrated in the hills and forests of the south-western tip of India.

In addition to these three major zones, there are small groups in several parts of the country or within the Indian political boundaries. Of these the *Andamunese* and the *Nicobarese* who live in the Islands bearing their names, though now separated from the main body of India's aboriginal tribes, are ethnically connected with them.

These three principal tribal zones, although possessing some common elements, may be considered to be distinct from the points of view of race, language and culture.

To begin with, in the Southern Zone which is numerically the smallest, there is an undoubted Negrito strain, although at present greatly submerged, but still surviving among some of the more primitive and isolated of these tribes, such as for instance the Kadars of the Perambiculan hills of Cochin and the adjoining hills of Coimbatore and Travancore and the Irulas and Paniyans of Wynnad among whom the presence of spirally curved hair has been found. In the majority of cases the skin colour is dark chocolate brown approaching black, and the nose is very flat and broad, and not infrequently the lips are everted. Some amount of agglutinin tests have been taken on these tribes, such as the Kanikars, the Panyans and the Chenchus, which disclose a greater percentage of A over B with high frequency of O.

The people of this zone are undoubtedly the most primitive of the aboriginal population of India. They have abandoned their original languages and now speak corrupt forms of Tamil, Telugu, Malayali and Kanarese. The basis of their tribal life has centred round hunting and food gathering in a state of semi-nomadism. Agriculture was unknown in any form and the sole implements for digging roots and tubers were a bill-hook and digging stick. Weapons of any kind, even bows and arrows hardly existed and life depended on forest products, collection of honey and fruits of the chase. Fire was made by friction or by a drill, and originally they wore apions made of leaves or grass skirts. The source of authority rested in the village headman who adjudicated disputes and performed the rituals of the hunt. The structure of society was largely on a matriarchal basis and among tribes on the Western Coast there is evidence of Polyandry, which is most marked among the Nilgiri Hill tribes, who form a distinct corporate unit with the pastoral Toda as the centre.

In the Central Zone on the other hand, the Negrito strain is not marked. The tribes very largely conform to the pattern of what are called "Australoid" characters, such as dark skin colour, short stature, long head with marked development of the lower forehead and very sunken nose at the root. The nose is also fleshy and broad but the tip of the nose is moderately high and there is frequently a forward projection of the facial parts. Unlike, however, the typical Australian, the hair either on the face or the body is not profuse. Among these tribes in general there is a marked preponderance of the blood group B and less of O.

Except in a few cases these tribes have retained their original languages belonging to the 'Austrie' family and to the branch which was first isolated by Frederick Muller in 1852 and named by him 'Munda.'

• These languages are agglutinative with extraordi-

nary development of suffixes and prefixes. There is no real verb and objects are not distinguished on their genders but according as they are animate or inanimate.

The tribes living in the central belt are of a higher stage of culture.

Instead of the typical food-gatherers' life, shifting cultivation is the prevalent form of food production. Among them the houses are more solidly built and life is more settled with considerable development of arts and crafts, such as basketry, wood carving and implements of different kinds. Communal life is better organized with village councils under a headman. Among the more advanced sections, such as the Santals, there are in addition, a "Dihri" or district council and a supreme council of the tribe known as the "Hunt Council." The chief characteristic feature of their social life is the presence of bachelors' dormitories or Dhumkaria, with either separate dormitories for boys and girls, or, as among the Muria of Bastar, the Ghotul, shared by both boys and girls together, of which my esteemed colleague, Dr. Verrier Elwin, has recently published a remarkable account.

Among these tribes, folk dancing and music are popular and there is a considerable development of poetry and song.

Contact with the Indian people has been greatest among these tribes and there has undoubtedly been considerable infiltration of Indian ideas and religious rites.

With regard to the North-Eastern Zone, the tribes show characteristic Mongoloid characters. They are in general medium statured with brown to light brown skin colour and dark hair and eyes. The cheek bones are prominent and the face flat. The nose is fairly long but flat and low and not sunken at the root. The forehead is smooth and there is hardly any development of the superciliary ridges. The head is fairly broad but not flat at the back and shows the characteristics of the long-headed rather than brachycephalic races. What little agglutinin tests have been taken, show that the blood groups A and B are present in fairly equal proportions indicating a pattern more in line with what we know of the Tibetan people.

All these tribes speak languages belonging to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Tibet-Chinese family excepting the Khasi who speak a Monkhmer language of the Austrie family. The languages of the North Assam tribes, such as those of the Aka, Dafia, Miri and Abor, show however some influence of Indo-Aryan tongues, and that of the Abor which is being now investigated by the Department of Anthropology, both in the structure of the grammar and vocabulary.





Indo-Aryan influence seems to be quite marked thus distinguishing it from the Bodo and Naga group of languages.

In these groups of tribes, the people who constitute the inner ring and dwell principally on the Central Massif, show a substratum of Megalithic culture with pronounced development of matriarchy. Among the Rabhas, Mikirs and Kacharis, evidence of matriarchy still persists, but among the Garos and Khasis it exists in its full development and the position of women is at its highest.

The groups living on the outer fringes have the entire organization of the tribal life built on the war basis, with villages built on high mountain spurs, surrounded by bamboo palisades or strong stone stockades and flanked by chutes. This is specially prominent among the Naga tribes, who unlike the North Assam tribes practise head-hunting. The houses are solidly built on piles and among the Nagas they are chiefly of a communal character. Shifting cultivation is chiefly resorted to, and Jhuming is practised on high mountain spurs among the North Assam tribes. Terracing has made rapid progress among the Nagas. There is a great development of arts and crafts, and weaving is practised largely among the Abors and allied tribes, who also grow their own cotton, spin the thread and weave beautiful clothes including the well-known Abor rugs.

Like the Central Indian tribes, one of their characteristic features, is the part played by the bachelors' dormitories in the village life of the tribe. They have separate dormitories for boys called 'Moshup' or 'Morung' and 'Rasheng's for girls. These institutions organize and control the entire youth of the village and help to develop them as fully trained members of the tribe with a thorough acquaintance with the defensive and offensive organizations of the tribe. Art and Music and folk dances are highly developed and whose wonderful rhythm has to be seen to believe. They are physically strong, healthy and full of the joy and vigour of life with democratic councils and considerable stress on personal liberty of thought and action. They have child-like simplicity and very honest but not trained for sustained labour and concentration of mind.

The philosophy of their religion is the belief that life matter can be transferred to living organisms and material substances deficient in vitality. This belief, as shown by Dr. Hutton, is at the bottom of the Naga custom of head-hunting, which fortunately does not occur among the North Assam tribes, but is widely practised from Assam to Oceania.

What is the place of these 20 million and odd aboriginal people in the Indian nation and what part are they going to play in its future life?

In the past, in those parts of the world where primitive tribes lived and later brought into contact with the civilized man, the results have not been very

happy. They were conquered, dispossessed of their lands, their tribal life disintegrated and were either brought under servitude or partially exterminated. To give only the most striking examples, the once proud and war-like Red Indian tribes of North America, living in Tipis and hunting the bison on horseback, were reduced to about one quarter of their total estimated strength. The figures published by the Bureau of Census of the U.S.A. show a total reduction from the round figure of nine lacs of people in 1860 to 237,000 in 1900! In Melanesia, Polynesia and New Zealand the situation was similar. In Australia the fate of the aboriginal population was even worse—they were virtually wiped out and are now confined to a few straggling bands in the central waste lands and deserts. From an estimated population of 7,000, the native Tasmanians were reduced to 120 persons in 1764, and soon after 1864 the last of that race passed away leaving a sad commentary on the white man's solicitude for the aboriginal!

In this country although no wholesale extermination took place they were mostly driven out to the hills and forests and partly absorbed. The wilder sections of the tribes, however, living outside the limits of the contact zones, though not uninfluenced by Indian thoughts and ideas were able to retain their tribal integrity undisturbed. With the British occupation and rapid opening up of the Country they came closely in contact with the civilized Indian, from whom, it is regrettable to say, they did not always receive a square deal. Several uprisings of the tribal people took place beginning from Mal Paharia rising in 1772, the mutiny of the Hos of Singbhum in 1831, the Khond uprising in 1846, to the Santal rebellion of 1855. In like manner a punitive expedition was sent to the Jaintia Hills in 1774, and in 1833 the Confederacy of the Khasi Chiefs was defeated by the British army. Other expeditions were sent such as those to Chin-Lushai Hills between 1850-1890, the Naga Hills expedition of 1878, the Abor expedition of 1912 and finally the column sent to the unadministered areas of the Naga Hills as late as 1936.

The underlying causes of these uprisings were the deep dissatisfaction created among the tribal people against exploitation by their more advanced neighbours and resentment against violation of their native customs and rites. Following the measures taken principally in the U.S.A. after the initial stage of exploitation was over, to segregate the tribes into special areas of reservations to protect their lives and interests, the Government of India passed an Act in 1874 to specify the tribal areas into "Scheduled Tracts." These areas were reconstituted under Section 52-A of the Government of India Act of 1919, and finally in 1935 more stringent provisions for special treatment of tribal areas were incorporated by converting them into *total* and *partially excluded* areas.

For students of human civilization and history however, it is impossible to advocate segrega-





tion as a lasting policy of administration. For complete isolation has never led to progress and advancement, but always to stagnation and death. In every part of the world such has been the case. From the aborigines of Australia to the Aryan speaking Khalash and Kati tribes of the Rambur and Bambooret Valleys of Chitral, it has been amply demonstrated that isolation can never lead to progress. On the other hand, civilization everywhere has been built up by the contact and intercourse of peoples which has been the chief motivating power behind progress.

There are innumerable instances of the borrowing of cultural traits by peoples of different countries, such as articles of food, use of metals, domestication of animals, methods of agriculture, spread of the alphabet, etc.

So long as the borrowing is natural and in harmony with the cultural setting and psychological make-up of the people, it has been entirely beneficial and even added to the richness of the culture. The hill tribes of Assam for example from times immemorial tilled their soil with digging stick and hoe and never learnt plough cultivation from the people of the plains. As soon however as terraced cultivation was introduced, it spread rapidly, for terracing not only suited the hilly nature of the country but it could be performed with the implements they were accustomed to.

The danger however, of contact lies when it is sudden and indiscriminate and tends to upset the tribal life by forced measures on unwilling people, as the tragic history of the aboriginal peoples of Australia, Melanesia and the U.S.A. has shown. It follows, therefore, that just as isolation cannot be the ultimate solution of the aboriginal problem, so cannot be indiscriminate and unregulated contact. A policy has to be devised which will ensure complete protection to tribal

life and customs, but at the same time give the tribes an opportunity to be gradually integrated into the larger life of the nation. In Australia and South Africa, where the white racial doctrine exists, isolation of the aboriginal people may be the policy of the Government, but such cannot be the case in India where they form part and parcel of our life. It must however be remembered, that there can be no unitary pattern of national life with one mode of thought and living, to which every tribe must mould its life. The gorgeousness of tribal life with all its vitality, colour, joy and enjoyment, must find its place if we are to assimilate them among us. We must recognize other values of life which have for ages past given the aboriginals a healthy, vigorous life, and should not think of substituting them for a life of emasculation and stagnation. On the other hand, the joy and merriment which now abounds the hills, should be imbibed by us in our own life marked by asceticism and negation. High philosophy and moral principles can never take the place of simple, chaste and scrupulously honest life of these primitive folks. In a country imbued with the lofty ideals and humanism of Mahatma Gandhi, the aboriginal population must receive a square deal from their more advanced countrymen, and greater understanding and sympathy for their mode of life and thought, so that they do not feel themselves as aliens, but as full citizens of the same country with their interests closely interwoven with the rest, for good or bad. The fostering of the growth of a common outlook and common interest should be the ideal for which both should strive. In short, the administration of primitive tribes should be so planned that this purpose is served by helping to develop them on their own models and thought, and fitting them gradually as full and integral members of the country and participating like the rest in her joys and sorrows.



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### Red Pause

*The New Review* observes:

Mao-Tse Tung is reforming his troops before resuming his march; his next move is uncertain; he might either make a bid for Canton and sweep down the coast of southern China or pursue the nationalist armies which retreat into the mountainous recesses of the west.

Politicians speculate that Chiang-kai Shek might repeat the manoeuvre which Mao-Tse Tung executed so brilliantly in the past, and stage a come-back when circumstances would be favourable. The regime is far from being firmly established and Mao-Tse Tung himself wants to give it a broader basis. A Committee of his is preparing a consultative conference at which 510 delegates will represent 45 units, fourteen democratic groups, six army units and sixteen functional groups (peasants, industrialists, religious organisations, overseas-settlements, minor nationalities), and which will discuss the future constitution of the country. The composition of the conference reflects the complexity of the situation. On the other hand, the Communist rule has failed to bring the blessings it had promised. The peasants feel the weight of endless requisitions, and the factory workers prefer the past payments in capitalist flour to the democratic black millet in which wages are now being paid. As the Red advance went south, the same story was repeated; at first no change, then shortage of raw materials increased wage demands, heavy taxation, closing of factories. Revolution is an enduring trait with the illiterate Chinese masses and a revulsion can only be expected from the middle class.

Much will depend on the relations between Communist China and foreign countries. Will China go back to an agricultural economy little stimulated with Russian imports that can only be on a limited scale, or will she open her harbours to world-trade? In Mao-Tse Tung's plan, his attitude towards foreign concerns and countries is possibly what is most enigmatic, and cannot yet be inferred clearly from his casual references to friendly co-operation. According to reports, he has not displayed any aggressive spirit against foreign firms though he took all the financial measures about currency exchange and banking which are usual when a new government takes over during the course of a war. Some foreign traders nursed wishful hopes that business could go on as before. But the latest advice from northern China belies their speculations. Tientsin merchants say that the Communists want to trade but on their own terms. Trade is being progressively absorbed by the state-controlled North China Foreign Trade Corporation and a few commodities are already declared state monopolies. In the other branches the Corporation claims priority and forbids direct dealings between Chinese merchants and foreigners. Exporters must be satisfied with a low commission out of keeping with the risks involved and importers are hampered by exchange difficulties about rates and amounts. The sterling-dollar (U.S.A.) cross-rate is quoted at 24, which badly hits British business, and all exchanges are regulated by the Bank of China which has become a state-bank. Foreign banks have little hope of financing trade in northern China. Chinese trade will be conducted on the same lines as Russian trade with Britain or America.

In business the Chinese communist is suspicious and hard-headed towards foreigners, even when distantly urbane. In propaganda he has developed a xenophobia as virulent as in the Boxers' days. In the press no local news, edifying information about Russia and everything Russian, relentless denunciation of anything American and British. Strategists foresee the worst about Hong-Kong, Macao and Formosa before the recognition of the Mao-Tse Tung's regime be demanded from the U. N. O.



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### The Legacy that Tolstoy Left

Nikolai Rodinov writes in *The Indian Review*:

Leo Tolstoy was born on September 9, 1828.

In his will, the great Russian writer, renounced all author's rights in the publication of his works and bequeathed them for the use of the people in general.

Tolstoy's friend Chertkov endeavoured to carry into effect the publication of a complete edition of Leo Tolstoy's writings, for a long time without success; no one would undertake this prodigious task in Tsarist Russia.

In the years 1910-1917 editions of some of the writer's works appeared separately, but did not form a complete edition.

After the October Revolution, Chertkov was received in 1918 by Vladimir Lenin, who pointed out the necessity for publishing all that Tolstoy had written. His initiative received practical realization in 1925, when the Council of People's Commissars issued a decision on the publication of a complete academic edition of Leo Tolstoy's works.

The legacy of manuscripts left by Leo Tolstoy comprised 1,500 authors' signatures. By the outbreak of the war 38 volumes of this edition, which was to be in 89 volumes, had been published. At the moment of writing, almost the entire edition has been prepared for the press. After the inevitable interruption caused by the war, the State Literary Publishing House of the USSR resumed work on the edition.

According to the evidence of the textologists, a task of such dimensions, both as regards its bulk and the amount of research required, has never been known.

The State Editorial Committee of the edition includes the well-known writers Mikhail Sholokhov, Alexander

Fadeyev, and A. Pankratov, corresponding-member of the Academy of Sciences.

The academic edition of Tolstoy is intended in the first place for philologists and those specializing in kindred branches, but it has also immense significance as a scholarly text of the writer's works. On the basis of this text the mass editions of separate books and of his selected works will be printed.

A Russian writer of genius, his books are popular and well-loved by the Soviet people. In Soviet years many editions have been brought out. In the first place it is necessary to point to several complete editions of his novels; for example, a 12-volume edition of fiction was published by the "Orgoniek" Publishing House, Moscow, in 1928, and 15 volumes were published in Leningrad the same year.

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future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newspapers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Majesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Siromani" in 1938 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Mahasabha of Benares.—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Hyderabad Issue Before UN Security Council Its Discussion

We publish below its discussion in the *New York Times* by Prof. Clyde Eagleton of New York University of the 5th June.

• TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The purpose of my letter on the Hyderabad case printed on May 15 was to assert the authority of the United Nations in a situation in which the jurisdiction of the Security Council had been interrupted by the use of armed force. I am glad to see that on this point your editorial of May 22 agrees, as does also the letter from Robert Delson which appeared in these columns.

Dr. Das argues that since Hyderabad was never a state, the Security Council cannot have jurisdiction. I did not, and do not take up this argument (though a very good case can be made that Hyderabad has always been a state) for the simple reason that it is not needed in my argument. Dr. Das agrees that under the Indian Independence Act, Hyderabad did not become part of India; if this be true, then Hyderabad (whatever its legal status) could not be regarded as a "domestic question" of India.

The Security Council has heard non-sovereign entities, as in the cases of Palestine or Indonesia; it could hear Hyderabad even if it were not sovereign, or even if it were part of India. No legal ground can be found for excluding the jurisdiction of the Security Council. In any case, the Council determines its own jurisdiction and cannot be excluded by the illegal use of force by one of the parties to a dispute before it.

One can have sympathy for the national aspirations of India at the same time that he condemns the use of force and defiance of the United Nations in the achievement of these aspirations. It seems inevitable as a matter of fact that Hyderabad must become part of India; her geographical and political situation leave her at the mercy of India. The situation is one in which there is a conflict between legal rights and factual circumstance. If that conflict could be resolved, perhaps everyone could be satisfied. To this end, I should like to suggest an approach to a solution. What is needed is to put the accession of Hyderabad to India upon a legal footing rather than to leave it as title by conquest.

Granted the situation in which the territory is located, and granted that 80 per cent of the people of Hyderabad are Hindus, there would seem little risk that India could lose by such a procedure. Indeed, Sir Zafrullah Khan pointed out, at the Security Council meeting of May 24, that Hyderabad was conducting negotiations looking toward accession with India before it was invaded and conquered.

Another way in which it might be possible to reach a solution satisfactory to the United Nations would be through an agreement entered into with the Nizam. The Council continued this matter upon its agenda because some of its members were not satisfied that the Nizam's withdrawal of the case was of his own free will. This difficulty might be overcome if the Security Council were to send a commission, or representative, to interview the Nizam under conditions in which it would be clear that he spoke his own free will.

The basis upon which the appeal of Pakistan was made was the danger of Moslem resentment against mis-

treatment of their fellows by India in Hyderabad. It would therefore be an indispensable part of any such arrangement that an amnesty should be offered, and that no reprisals should be taken against those who defended Hyderabad. Such an arrangement should allay resentment and remove the danger to peace of which Pakistan complained.

The initiative for such a move would logically have to come from India, though perhaps it was implicit in the statement made by the representative of Pakistan. It might also be initiated by a resolution of the Security Council which would do no more than call upon the parties to reach such an agreement among themselves. It is the duty of both the Council and the parties to take such a step under Article 33 of the Charter. It would be most discouraging to those who wish to see the United Nations grow in strength as an instrument of law and order if no member should raise a voice in its own defence.

If a formula could be found and I have merely suggested an approach to a formula which would uphold respect for the Charter and provide a proper statement for the inevitable accession of Hyderabad to India I am sure that every member of the Security Council would be delighted. It would relieve the Council of long and probably bitter debate and India would gain in prestige, both as a generous opponent and as having supported and strengthened the United Nations.

CLYDE EAGLETON.

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### The Israeli Government Program

We quote below from the *Jewish Frontier*, April, 1949: program planned by Premier David Ben Gurion for Israel's New Government:

#### ISRAEL'S NEW GOVERNMENT

In the meantime, peace or no peace Israel is rapidly squaring away to deal with the overwhelming problems that face the new nation, quite apart from its fight for life and independence. The program presented by Premier David Ben Gurion is an impressive outline of the huge tasks the new state is shouldering on the very morrow of its birth. It also reflects, in its very first paragraph, some of the difficulties Israel still faces in organizing itself properly to deal with its enormous tasks.

The Ben Gurion program begins with a statement of the "collective responsibility" of all parties represented in the government for the policies adopted by the Cabinet. Before a decision on any proposal is reached in the Cabinet, each party represented there is entitled to advocate whatever position it chooses on the matter, but after the Cabinet votes, every party represented in the government is bound by the majority decision. It can oppose that decision only if it wishes to withdraw from the government. This all seems reasonable enough, but the specific statement of the point was necessary, because in the Provisional Government, some of the parties represented permitted themselves the right of opposing in the parliament and in the press policies duly adopted by the Government, without themselves resigning from it.

The principle thus laid down by Ben Gurion was not disputed very seriously by the parties but its adoption led to a serious discussion of the general lines of policy of the new government, as a result of which various parties either agreed, or refused, to enter the government. The major disagreement arose, of course, in the case of the second-ranking party, Mapam, the left-wing United Workers' Party. They failed to enter the government—like the right-of-center General Zionist Party partly because of dissatisfaction with the Cabinet posts Premier Ben Gurion was prepared to give them, but mainly because of the demands they formulated on foreign policy.

The foreign policy principles of Ben-Gurion's Government are defined as follows: "The policy of Israel shall be based on the following principles: (1) Loyalty to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and friendship with all peace-loving states, especially with the United States and the Soviet Union. (2) Efforts to achieve an Arab-Jewish alliance based on economic, social, cultural, and political co-operation with neighbouring countries. This alliance must be within the framework of the United Nations and not directed against any of its members. (3) Support for all measures which strengthen peace, guarantee the rights of men and equality of nations, and enhance the authority and effectiveness of the U.N. (4) The right of all Jews wishing to resettle in their historic homeland to leave the countries of their present abode. (5) Effective preservation of the complete independence and sovereignty of Israel." To all this Mapam could, undoubtedly agree, but they wanted the Israeli "neutrality" policy spelled out more fully to include a guarantee that neither politically nor economically would Israel permit itself to be tied to any global power bloc, whether West or East.

What this means specifically to Mapam remains uncertain, since they did not join the puny Communist faction in the Knesset (Assembly) in voting against the American \$100,000,000 loan. They abstained from voting, but only because they refused to take Finance Minister Eliezer Kaplan's word for it that there were no political



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strings to the pact unless he published the text, which he refused to do. But this would lead to the conclusion that if they were convinced that the loans had no political strings, they would not oppose the loan on the grounds that it constituted an economic tie to the Western bloc. Yet obviously, Mapai could not agree to Mapam's entry into the Cabinet on the assumption that they would in general ignore their own previously stated conditions on this point, and as a result, Mapam—much to their own and everyone else's dismay—remains in the opposition.

The parties in the Cabinet are those who fully share Mapai's stand on foreign policy: the Religious Bloc, the Progressives, and the Sephardic communal party. The largest among these is the Religious Bloc, and their participation in the government involves certain problems that may still arise to plague the Cabinet.

#### IMMIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

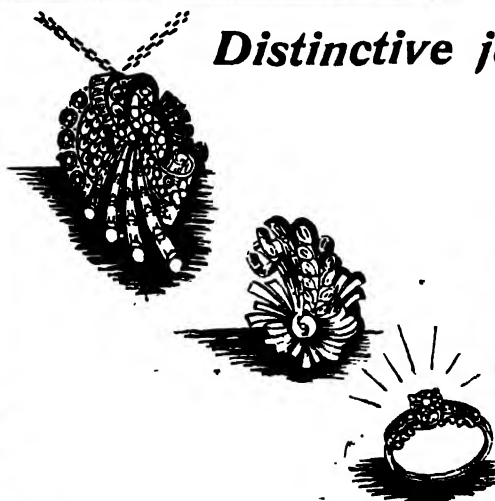
So important is the immigration of as many Jews as possible in the next four years that it is included in the foreign as well as domestic policy program of the Israeli government. The difficulties in obtaining the release of Jewish immigrants from Moslem countries and from Eastern Europe were anticipated, and certainly nothing less than a major effort of Israeli foreign policy, backed by Jews and humanitarian liberals abroad, will suffice to overcome them. Nevertheless the tide of immigration is already flowing at such rate that tremendous exertions and an ambitious development plan are now necessary to absorb it.

With respect to the immigrants themselves, the government program provides for equipping, with the assistance of the Jewish Agency an estimated flow of 200,000 persons a year with the following services: agricultural and crafts training, placement in rural and urban jobs, housing, and basic education in the Hebrew language.

In addition the government program calls for a comprehensive four-year development plan, with the overall objective of doubling Israel's Jewish population during that time, and resettling all underpopulated areas in the country. Under this plan, previously neglected urban areas like Jerusalem, Tiberias, and Sated will be strengthened by Jewish immigration, and by the location of industries and commercial and administrative offices in them. In rural areas, an ambitious soil reclamation and irrigation program will be initiated on a nation-wide scale.

The government not only will plan the broad outlines and schedule target goals of the development scheme, but will actively use its various powers to stimulate it. Nationalization and taxation will be applied not only as a source of revenue, but as an incentive to development: thus, unused land will either be nationalized or heavily taxed to stimulate its development by the present owners; and foreign investors will be helped, by appropriate tax exemptions, tariff provisions and fiscal policies, to import essential machinery and raw materials, and otherwise establish themselves. The government will proceed vigorously to expand the inadequate communications network it inherited from the mandatory power.

Both in order to stimulate economic advance and protect the Israeli standard of living, the program calls for a direct attack upon the high and rising price level. Imports and foreign exchange will be controlled with this end in view, and an "austerity regime" based on price control and strict rationing of food, clothing, and other essential commodities will be introduced. A concerted effort will be made to raise the productivity of labor by all methods of technical science and fiscal policy, and by reliance on labor morale. A wide national social insurance scheme will be initiated, and socially underprivileged groups will be brought up to a higher level of housing, education, and health.



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## SOCIAL LEGISLATION

One of the most important new departments set up by Ben Gurion's government is the Ministry of Education and Culture. The government program is deliberately drawn up in the perspective of a cultural level for Israel which is derived from the high standards traditional in Judaism. The target goals include "assuring a decent cultural level for every man and woman in Israel," concentrating Judaistic scholarship in Israel, "making available in Hebrew the world's literary treasures," "disseminating among Jews knowledge of the Middle East and the Arab peoples" and "promoting pure and applied research in the natural sciences." The main task of the ministry is to institute free and compulsory elementary education for all children in Israel, this being one of the public facilities most painfully lacking under the mandatory regime. But in addition the government plans to expand vocational education in agriculture and crafts and provide scholarships "to enable talented children to continue their studies in secondary schools and universities."

### Madame Pandit Foresees Closer Indo-U.S. Cooperation

Madame Vijayalakshmi Pandit, India's Ambassador designate to the United States said on her arrival at National Airport outside Washington yesterday morning that she looks forward to closer cooperation between India and the United States.

In an editorial welcoming Madame Pandit the *Washington Post* of May 9 calls India the hope of the East and the real bridge between the East and the West. The editorial says in full:

"Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, who arrives today to take over the Indian Embassy, is the first woman to serve as an ambassador in Washington. But this is merely a personal reason for the special welcome that awaits her here. She comes from a state, which, if it can surmount the enormous issues facing it at home and on its borders, appears destined for an important role in world affairs. The omens are favorable, in part because of the ability and sense of leadership of Premier Nehru, Mrs. Pandit's brother.

"India is on a pedestal to the rest of the Asian and African world still emerging from the cocoon of colonialism. The hold of Western power over these peoples is almost gone; they are looking for new symbols and new associations. India, under Nehru, can be a pillar of stability and strength to all the colonial peoples. Indeed it is already the pivot of their hopes and of their embryonic regional organizations. Here and not in Russia, is the real bridge between the East and West. We wish Mrs. Pandit a happy and successful stay."

### U. N. Commission Ends Session on Human Rights Covenant

Laks Success, June 22.—The U. N. Commission on Human Rights has ended a six-week session spent in drafting a projected covenant on human rights and considering measures of implementing it.

The draft covenant will go to all 59 U.N. member states for study and recommendations, with replies due by January 1, 1950. The Human Rights Commission will review the draft covenant and governmental suggestions at its next meeting early in 1950 and attempt to have the document in final form in time for action on it by the General Assembly later that year.

Delegates of the Soviet Union and the Ukraine abstained from voting on the report. The Soviet delegate insisted that any measures of implementation of the covenant would represent interference in the domestic jurisdiction of the signatory nations. He also complained that the commission had postponed discussion of several articles proposed by the USSR dealing with economic rights. A number of other delegates expressed the opinion that the draft document, while perhaps not perfect represented important progress.

In its present tentative form the covenant includes more than a score of articles outlawing arbitrary arrest, torture, slavery, servitude or forced labour, and provisions for fair trial for accused persons, freedom of religion and rights of assembly and association.—*USIS*.

### Indian Scientist Awarded Fellowship in U.S.


Dr. Harish Chandra of Allahabad is one of six young scientists receiving the 1949-50 Frank B. Jewett Fellowships, awarded by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

## THE ARYAN PATH

Editor: Sophia Wadia  
PRINCIPAL CONTENTS FOR AUGUST

- Bicentenary Of The Sage Of Weimar:  
I.—The Wisdom of Goethe E. K. Bramstedt  
II.—Goethe's Power of Vision Richard K. Ullmann  
In Search Of World Peace N. B. Parulekar  
An Old Man's Musings S. L. Bensusan  
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## FOR ITCHES & SORES

BARNAGORE
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A number of girl trainees working on the engine of a motor car



A number of girl trainees selected for the National Cadet Corps, Girls' Division, from among the lady professors of the various Women's Colleges of India, are seen here at the army drill



SPRING  
By Sydney R. Khosiga

Poetry Press Group

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *Independence Day*

Pandit Nehru, in his Independence Day speech, the authorised English version of which is being given elsewhere in the editorial columns of this issue, gave a comprehensive survey of the political atmosphere of this country as it obtains to-day. He attached to it his own particular commentary on the state of affairs as observed by him, both as regards the cause and effect and in regard to the desirable remedial measures. The Speaker and the speech both befitted the occasion.

Let us say first of all that we associate ourselves entirely, and without any reservations, with the spirit of Pandit Nehru's observations and exhortations. But even so there is scope for review and remarks, for all of us are equally and vitally concerned with the well-being of the State whose Chief Executive to-day is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Pandit Nehru has himself said:

"The start of a Free India beckoned to us forward, the dream not only of national freedom but of the freedom from poverty and distress of the millions of our people filled our minds. We gained our political freedom at last, but the other freedom still remains for us to achieve."

This is true for most of us, but not for all of those who fought for freedom. For the numbers of those who fought for freedom, sacrificing all they had in the fullest measure for the cause, and yet at the end found themselves and their near and dear deprived, are by no means inconsiderable. Such a one was, for example, the late Pulin Behari Das, the famed leader of the Anusilan Samity of East Bengal. His death closes one of the two heroic chapters that began in the dawn period of India's fight for freedom. Scion of a rich and well-placed family of East Bengal, Pulin

Behari Das made the supreme choice, when he was a young man with all his life before him. He pledged his life and all for the fight that began in 1904-5, and thousands followed him, through fire and fury, and ill-equipped and without resources as they were, they paid the price in full. Hundreds lost their lives and tens of thousands were broken and ruined absolutely in the epic struggle that followed in Bengal after the twin movements gripped the country. Have all of them and those that are theirs gained freedom, or gained anything in any shape whatsoever? Indeed most of those, in West and in East Bengal who surrendered all for the cause, even unto the supreme sacrifice, have passed into oblivion, unwept and unsung. For it is the fashion to-day, specially in those Congress circles where the term "sacrifice" means a commercial commodity, to belittle and even decry these pioneers! Let us not forget them, let us bestow a thought to their memory at least once a year, lest we forget those that began the fight, over two score years back, in Bengal, in Maharashtra and in the Punjab.

Freedom has come, but what Freedom? Not the Four Freedoms surely, for that has to be fought for. We in this country are interpreting all the Freedoms, each according to his choice and his bent. For like the blind men of the fable, who had never seen an elephant in plain vision, and therefore each described the animal according to what part of its body he had touched, most of us do not know what Freedom is, far less about the price one has to pay for it. Freedom from want can only come with victory.

### *The Problem of West Bengal*

The Congress Working Committee which reassembled for a brief session on the 25th of August, discussed

the question of implementing the Committee's resolution on West Bengal and certain other matters, including that of creating a separate Andhra province in the South.

It is understood, according to press reports, that the Committee reviewed the latest developments in West Bengal, particularly the reaction in Congress circles there, on the question of the formation of an interim Ministry and holding of a general election. After discussions the Committee, however, unanimously decided to stick to its original resolution on West Bengal. It is further understood that a directive was given to the West Bengal Congress Committee and the Provincial Government to make preparations for the elections.

The same reports state that "the Working Committee is expected to meet again by the middle of September, when the West Bengal Premier, Dr. B. C. Roy might be available for consultation on the West Bengal situation."

The position therefore remains as confused as before, due to the fact that the Working Committee has adopted the "ivory tower" principle in regard to the problems of West Bengal. Instead of analysing the implications of the situation in detail, together with its all-India aspects, it has confined itself to the mere political side and has issued a directive for the purpose of implementing a resolution which was defective and incomplete in the first instance, as we pointed out in our August issue. With a pose of impartiality, it has either been manoeuvred into, or has blindly blundered into, a situation which has made it a partisan of one of the factions, i.e., the group that is trying to capture the Ministry. And thus having placed Dr. B. C. Roy's Ministry in an impasse, to say the least, it is calmly awaiting his arrival "for consultation on the West Bengal situation."

We have failed to understand the reasons for issuing the directive prior to the arrival of Dr. B. C. Roy. What was the urgency for thus making a confused situation still worse confounded, specially when the arrival of Dr. B. C. Roy was a matter of a week or so? Does the Working Committee realize that the entire Congress structure in Bengal is in jeopardy, or does the old dictum "what matters if Bungal perishes" still stand? Somehow or other, the attitude of the Working Committee reminds us of the smirking complacency of the British bureaucratic morons who thought that the nationalist movement in Bengal, of 1905-1911 period, was merely a local disturbance, and sought to stamp it out accordingly.

This blindness to the implications of the West Bengal situation is not confined to the Working Committee alone. In the Constituent Assembly Dr. Ambedkar moved a new Article replacing Article 254. It provides for grants in lieu of export duty of jute and jute-products to the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa. The grants will continue for ten years and the President will prescribe the sums. Dr.

Ambedkar said that the Article sought to effect an important change in the existing system of sharing of export duty on jute.

In the discussion that followed Pandit Lakshmikanta Maitra very cogently said that the Article moved by Dr. Ambedkar meant a grave menace to the whole taxation structure of West Bengal. Dr. Ambedkar had described as "vicious" the principle of sharing a particular export or import duty with States. Pandit Maitra would reply that it was even more vicious to rob a Province of its legitimate due. Bengal was allowed to share the jute duty not on grounds of generosity of the Centre, but because it was proved at the Third Round Table Conference that the jute duty was discriminatory.

There was a fashion here in these days, said Pandit Maitra, to describe Bengal as a "problem province." But how many people realised that 70 per cent of the total revenue raised in Bengal went to the Centre. It was because Bengal did not get her due share of revenue that problem after problem was created in that Province. Unless these problems were approached in a statesmanlike spirit, they would multiply and "ultimately devour you." The real implications of Pandit Maitra's comments seem to have gone unheeded.

Right from the start, there has been a spirit of niggardliness in the matter of giving West Bengal its legitimate dues. When the first allocations of West Bengal's share in the Jute Export duty and Income tax pools were made, severe cuts were imposed on the old grants, reducing the awards to a minor fraction in each case. The Cabinet at the centre thought it was a triumphant achievement. We agree that in this respect, that is, in the matter of depriving Bengal and the Bengalis, they had succeeded in out-Heroding Herod. But in such matters they should have remembered that the old Newtonian principle "Action and Reaction are equal and opposite" is true in politics as well.

Further in the matter of Relief and Rehabilitation, West Bengal's problems are still being neglected. The Cabinet at the Centre is exceedingly ill-informed about the position even now, and the refugee question is still being dealt with in an off-hand way. The question of immigration of non-Moslems and Moslems from East Pakistan has been totally ignored and as a result Moslems are not only settling in large numbers in the border areas of West Bengal, but have commenced a veritable invasion of Cooch Behar and Assam. It is well-known all over Bengal that the State of Cooch Behar has long been in the hands of a pro-Muslim clique, that in the past played havoc in the State. To-day a similar group wants to play the fifth column game on behalf of Pakistan, for which it is necessary that the State remain isolated from West Bengal and linked with a province whose people are politically less wide awake to the dangers of Pakistani infiltration tactics. The Maharaja of Cooch Behar has been their latest mouthpiece.

### *Pandit Nehru's Independence Day Speech*

"Two years ago I unfurled the National Flag here on this Red Fort. Since then two years have gone by. Two years have been added to the long story of India which began many thousands of years ago. During these two years, we have seen achievement and failure, we have experienced joy and sorrow. The good work we have done will remain even though we pass away. So will India remain while generations come and go.

Great questions face us and our task will not be over till we have tackled these questions and solved them to a large extent, for our objective is to make crores of our countrymen able to lead a contented and purposeful existence.

Only on a day like this it is desirable that we detach ourselves from the problems of the moment and see as it were from a distance, what is happening in our country and in the world. It is right that we forget our little troubles and problems for a while and think of the major currents that are moving in our country.

Thirty years ago there began a time for us when a mighty man of destiny lighted up our path. That light illumined our minds and hearts and large numbers of our people, forgetting their own troubles and domestic difficulties and property and family, responded to his call. There was no question of personal gain or profit or of office. The only kind of competition was a friendly one as to who could serve the motherland better and more effectively. Our consuming passion was how to liberate our country.

The star of a Free India beckoned to us forward. The dream not only of national freedom but of the freedom from poverty and distress of the millions of our people filled our minds. We gained our political freedom at last, but the other freedom still remains for us to achieve. Meanwhile new problems rose before us, problems of a tremendous magnitude. There was the migration of sixty lakhs of our people as refugees. We faced these problems and made many mistakes. Nevertheless we went ahead and the country went ahead. No man who looks back over these two years will fail to appreciate this forward march of our nation in spite of all difficulties.

What was the strength which sustained us during our struggle for independence and gave us self-confidence? Unarmed and with peaceful methods we faced a proud empire, not looking for aid to any outside country and relying on ourselves. We had faith in our leader, in our country and in ourselves. If we had that faith and self-confidence in days, when, to outward seeming we were powerless, then what of today when we are a free people with the strength of a great country behind us? Why then should we weaken in our faith and in our confidence in ourselves? It is true that we have big economic and other issues to face; it is true that while we have rehabilitated lakhs of refugees, large numbers still remain to be helped and rehabilitated.

But we faced even bigger problems in the past.

Why should we not face these also in the same way? Is it that our minds are getting entangled in petty questions and difficulties and forgetting the main issues?

Our country is a great country in the world, not only in size but in other matters which are more important than size. We are the citizens of this great country. If we are to be worthy of it, we have to have big minds and big hearts, for small men cannot face big issues or accomplish big tasks. Let each one of us do his duty to his country and to his people and not think too much of the duty of others. Some people get into the habit of not doing anything themselves and criticising others. Out of that type of criticism and helplessness nothing good can come. So wherever we might be, whether in our armed forces, our army, our air force and our navy, or in the civil employ of Government each man and woman must do his duty efficiently and in a spirit of service to the nation, so also the vast numbers of our countrymen who work in innumerable capacities. Let them apply themselves to their tasks and co-operate with others forgetting the petty things that divide them. If we do this, we shall marvel at the speed at which India progresses.

So I want you to think for a moment of those past days when we fought peacefully the battle of India's freedom without arms, without much in the way of resources. We had a very great leader who inspired us. We had other leaders also, but in the ultimate analysis it was the people of this country, the masses who bore the brunt of the struggle. They had faith in their country and their leaders and they relied upon themselves. Today we have far greater strength both to fight external enemies as well as internal. Is it not surprising therefore that some people should feel dejected now and complain all the time and have no confidence in themselves.

Let us get back that feeling of great purpose and enthusiasm and self-confidence and faith in our country which moved us in the days of our struggle. Let us put aside our petty quarrels and faction and think only of the great objective before us.

In our foreign policy we have proclaimed that we shall not join any particular power-bloc but shall endeavour to co-operate and be friendly with all countries. Our position in the world depends ultimately on the unity and strength of the country, on how far we proceed in the solution of our economic and other problems, on how far we raise the level of the Indian masses. That task may not be completed by us, for it is a colossal task. Still if we go ahead some way, we shall make it easier for others to complete it.

A nation's work never ends. Men may come and men may go and generations succeed each other, but the life of a nation continues. We have to remember always certain basic facts. Whatever our policy and whatever our convictions, we can achieve little unless there is peace in the country. There are some misguided men in our country who indulge in violence



and try to create disorder. Sometimes they throw bombs. It surprises me how any person with the least intelligence can think in terms of such anti-national activities. Because, out of this violence nothing good can come for the country. Our economic problems which trouble us today will not be solved through violence but will only grow worse. Therefore, irrespective of difference in regard to policy it is the duty of everyone to help in the maintenance of peace in the country.

The people have every right to change laws and even to change Governments. You have that right and you can exercise it in a peaceful democratic manner. But those who choose the other path, the path of violence, demonstrate that they have no faith in what is called democracy. If their way prevailed, chaos will spread and the condition of the people would deteriorate. There would be no progress and no lightening of the burden for a generation or so.

I am still more surprised at those people who, while condemning violence, join hands with those who indulge in violence. They think in terms of victory in an election and forget that the cause of the country and of the people is bigger than that of any election or any party. The problems that face us are bigger than winning an election. If we forget India and her people in pursuing our smaller objectives, then indeed we are guilty of betraying our country for petty ends. Therefore, I wish to emphasise that all of us should understand that our first problem is that of India, her safety and security, and the prosperity and advance of her people as a whole. That can only be achieved effectively if we stop quarrelling amongst ourselves and following the methods of peace and democracy try to solve the great problems that confront us.

Secondly, we must always look at our problems in proper perspective. If we are entangled in petty problems and fail to solve the larger and more important ones, we shall succeed in neither the small problem nor the big one, and we might well be swept off by the tides and currents that rise in human affairs from time to time.

Thirdly, we must learn to depend on ourselves and not always to look up to others for help. Certainly we want to make friends with the world. Also we seek the good will of all those who reside in this country to whatever race or country they might belong. We welcome help and co-operation from any quarter, but primarily we must depend on ourselves and not on any outside body or country. We should not forget that those who get into the habit of always looking up to others for help become weak and helpless. Freedom cannot exist on the strength of other people. It can only be based on one's own strength and self-reliance.

We are not hostile to any country and we do not want to meddle in other people's affairs. Every nation should be free to go the way of his choice and to follow the path which it considers best. Just as we do not wish to interfere with others' freedom, we cherish

freedom for ourselves and do not approve of any others interfering with us. That is why we have decided, as a matter of policy that we will not join any of those power-blocs which we find in the world today. We will remain aloof from these entanglements and try to be friendly to all. We intend to progress on our own lines. We have resolved on this policy not only because it is essentially a sound one from our country's point of view, but also because we feel that this is the only way to serve the cause of world peace which is so essential. World war again will spell ruin in a great part of the world and we shall not escape that disaster. Therefore we are determined to pull our full weight in the cause of peace, and hence our present foreign policy.

Perhaps many of you know that shortly I am going to pay a visit to a foreign country which is great and powerful. I propose to carry there a message of friendship and co-operation from our people, for we would welcome their co-operation in the smaller as well as the bigger tasks ahead. Keeping our own freedom intact, we wish to befriend other nations. By being friendly to one country, it must not be thought that we are becoming hostile to some other.

Asia is passing through a great revolutionary process. Our country in common with some others has had revolutionary changes. In other parts of Asia there is struggle and ferment. This morning's newspapers contain the news of trouble and upset in a small but important country of Western Asia. We do not know all the facts and in any event I do not wish to express any opinion about it here. But I would like to remind you that if violence and violent methods prevail in a country, that country becomes weak and its progress stops.

In Eastern Asia a great and ancient country is experiencing revolutionary changes of tremendous significance.

What is our reaction to that? Whatever our individual reactions may be to any changes elsewhere, our policy is clear that we do not wish to interfere in any way internally with other countries. Each country and each people should have the freedom to go the way they choose. It is for them to decide their future. Any attempt at outside interference or compulsion must necessarily lead to evil results. No country can impose freedom on any other. That is a contradiction in terms. Freedom must grow in each country and for each people and it is for the people themselves to decide about their own fate. The world has a great deal of variety in it and it should be no one's business to suppress this variety and to impose his own way of thinking and acting on others. We should, therefore, impartially survey world events in a spirit of understanding and friendship to all.

Our Constituent Assembly is busy hammering out a new constitution for our country, and soon we shall put on a new political garment of a republican variety. That is good. But laws and constitutions do not by themselves make a country great. It is a people's

enthusiasm and energy and constant effort which make a nation great. Men of the Law write down constitutions, but history is really made by great minds, large hearts and stout arms, by the sweat, tears and toil of the people.

So let us learn to see our country's problems on the larger perspective of the world and not permit the minor questions of the day to overwhelm us. I have faith in India and her great destiny and I am convinced that her future is a great one. A country has to have military strength but armed power does not by itself enhance a country's real strength. Its real strength and power lies in the capacity of its people for disciplined work. It is by hard work and not just by laws that we shall produce wealth and remove our poverty.

Each one of us, man or woman, young or old, must therefore toil and work. The time for rest is not for us. We won our freedom not to rest afterwards, but to work harder in order to spread out that freedom. There is a great difference between the voluntary labour of a free man for an objective of his choice and the drudgery of a slave. Our labours as free men and women will lay the foundations of a great country and this labour of love for the cause of India and her people, this building brick by brick of the great mansion of free India, will endure. There is joy in such work, and even when we have departed that work will be there as a witness to future generations.

One of our most important problems today is that of growing more food, to avoid waste on feasting or in any other way and to conserve every bit of our present resources. We have to tighten our belts. If we co-operate in this business, we shall solve not only this problem but many others. Our other problems and party differences can wait. What is vital and important for us is to keep this great picture of India always before us. For India is enduring and will continue long after we are gone. Let us concentrate, therefore, on this great task and seek to serve thereby both India and the world.—*Jai Hind.*

### *New Law on Evacuee Property*

The Constituent Assembly has just passed a Bill which will enable the Government of India to apply a uniform evacuee property law throughout the country and will empower the Governor-General to issue orders regulating any general elections in a province before the new Constitution comes into force on January 26, 1950.

As regards the question of evacuee property, Mr. Ayyangar, who moved the Bill, said that Pakistan enacted all its legislation in regard to the Evacuee Property Act at Dominion level "and, as members must have noticed, it has been issuing ordinances and orders fairly quick succession during the last few weeks." According to Mr. Ayyangar, it is necessary that a single authority like the Dominion Government here would be in a position to deal with a situation created

by such legislation "on the other side" with promptitude, with the assurance that such legislation would be implemented all over India. He said that the Government of India recognised that in regard to certain details of the administration of evacuee property, it was desirable that Provinces and States should have the discretion to enact legislation and issue orders which would supplement or fill any lacunae in the legislation enacted by the Centre. So it had been decided that this power to legislate in regard to the custody, management and disposal of evacuee property should be a subject for legislation in the concurrent list.

We have doubts about the explanation put forward by Mr. Ayyangar for justifying the measure. The recent strong measures taken by the Governments of Bombay and U. P. have been at clear variance with the Central attitude and the object of the new measure may therefore be that of preventing the provinces from moving forward.

### *More Powers for Governor-General*

The second part of the Bill proposes to arm the Governor-General with rather autocratic powers in regard to provincial elections. Moving the Bill, Mr. Ayyangar said, "I wish to make it clear at this stage that the introduction of this Bill does not mean the announcement of any decision as regards the holding of general elections in any province. But it is quite possible that such a decision might be taken, might in fact be forced on those who are responsible for looking after these things between now and, say, January 26, 1950. If such a contingency should arise, we shall be in a position to make the necessary amendments in the existing rules and regulations even in the provisions of the Government of India Act itself so that we might bring these elections into conformity with the state of things that exist today. For instance, if we decide to hold general elections in West Bengal or East Punjab it would be impossible for us to ignore the claims of the people who have migrated from West Pakistan to East Punjab or from East Bengal to West Bengal to be included in the Electoral Rolls. It may also be necessary for us to carry out modifications in the delimitation of constituencies. It would not be right for us, after all the decisions we have taken on the Draft Constitution, to hold general elections even under the Government of India Act 1935 on the basis of separate electorates. I wish to warn members that what is said in the statement of objects and reasons about joint electorates with reservation of seats has only been said by way of illustration. A greater likelihood is that every attempt will be made to give effect to the decision which has been taken by the Constituent Assembly as regards the new Constitution."

Dr. Deshmukh moved an amendment for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee to report within four

days and strongly criticised the provisions relating to the powers of the Governor-General. He said that the Bill took the House by surprise and it sought to give extensive and unheard-of powers to the Governor-General. If the Bill was passed, the Governor-General would have the power to alter the composition of any of the existing Houses of Legislature without reference to Parliament. Where was the crisis or emergency for such wide powers in the hands of the Governor-General? He said that already the dignity of the Constituent Assembly had suffered, and there was a feeling that the House was being treated with contempt. The intentions of the Bill were not clarified. In his opinion, this measure was brought forward because the Government was being carried on in the most arbitrary fashion. He also criticised as an illustration the nomination of members to the Bombay Legislature to represent Baroda and Kolhapur. Not even a show of democracy, he said, was made in the nomination of these members.

Replying to the debate, Mr. Ayyangar said that the clauses in the Bill relating to general elections provided for a state of things which might emerge and which might justify dissolution of an existing provincial legislature and the ordering of fresh elections. He said that in the case of West Bengal one particular circumstance which perhaps more than any other might justify a dissolution of that provincial legislature was that it was not functioning in an honest democratic way. The motive for dissolution could only be that in place of such legislature we want to get together a legislature which will be less undemocratic and the only way such a new legislature may be constituted is to face it on the vote of the electorate.

We do not know what Mr. Ayyangar meant when he said that the West Bengal legislature was not functioning in a democratic way. If he had referred to the composition of the House with its special seats and separate electorates, we would have nothing to say beyond welcoming the measures for the eradication of the long-standing ills. Utmost care had been taken by those who had framed the Government of India Act 1935 to ensure that honest democracy never functioned in the Bengal Legislature. Sir Samuel Hoare had said that the formation of a democratic Government in Bengal would be nothing short of a landslide. The Poona Pact had effectively put the last straw on Bengal's back by increasing the scheduled caste seats threefold. The introduction of a large backward group on the ground of backwardness has not made the group progressive during the past 12 years but it has definitely succeeded in bringing down the standard of the legislature and the efficiency of the administration. The same composition still remains with an arithmetical reduction here and there without any regard to the special constituencies' relations to population. In no other Provincial Legislature of India, the total of communal and special constituencies outnumber general seats.

But even accepting for argument's sake the eagerness of the Government of India to remedy the evils of the West Bengal Legislature in order to enable it to function in an "honest democratic way," the measure to arm the Governor-General with unbridled powers cannot be justified. The alterations in the electorate or composition of houses can very well be done with the sanction of the Constituent Assembly.

The Section of the Bill under fire substitutes Sec. 201 of the Government of India Act 1935 and reads as follows :

"The Governor-General may, at any time by order, make such amendments as he considers necessary, whether by way of addition, modification or repeal, in the provisions of this Act, or of any order made thereunder in relation to any provincial legislature with respect to any of the following matters, that is to say,

(a) The composition of the Chamber or Chambers of Legislature;

(b) The delimitation of territorial constituencies for the purpose of elections under this Act;

(c) The qualifications entitling persons to vote in territorial or other constituencies at such elections and the preparation of electoral rolls;

(d) The qualifications for being elected at such elections as a member of a legislative body;

(e) The filling of casual vacancies in any such body;

(f) The conduct of elections under this Act and the method of voting thereat;

(g) The expenses of candidates at such elections;

(h) Corrupt practices and other offences at, or in connection with, such elections;

(i) The settlement of doubts and disputes arising out of, or in connection with, such elections, and

(j) Matters ancillary to any such matter as aforesaid."

### *Income Tax Committee Report*

The Income Tax Investigation Committee has submitted its report on steps to check tax evasion. It has suggested modification from time to time of the Income Tax Statute in order to close loopholes which "judicial construction cannot plug" and increase efficiency in administration. The Report says, "Most frequently taxes are evaded because proper administrative machinery has not been provided, or the machinery is not working properly. It is, therefore, necessary not only to increase the efficiency of the Department but also to improve relations with the public. The Income Tax Officer must show by his conduct that he is not the tax-grabber he is described to be, but a referee between the State and the taxpayer with the sole idea and desire that both get a square deal."

The Committee feel that in this task, business and professional interests can contribute by awakening public conscience against evasion, if they would show

by their action that an evader is not fit to hold any position of trust or honour in the community, particularly under a popular Government. The Committee seem to have ignored the psychological factors in this connection. The present rates of income tax make no discrimination between the earnings of a bachelor and a person with a dozen dependants. Cost of living and cost of children's education have risen so high that middle class income tax payers have been very hard hit. This applies to both fixed income and income from small and medium companies. Here the tendency for tax evasion arises out of sheer need. The small concession in the lower limit has given little relief because it is far below the rise in the cost of living. This accounts for the present tendency to appoint men on salaries free of income tax. Amongst the higher groups, the race for a steeply graduated income tax has pushed the incidence so high that only a small residue of one's earnings is left, the bulk of it being grabbed by the tax. This has a bad psychological effect when a disproportionate distribution is made of an earned income between the State and the earner, and specially when the earner finds that his hard-earned money is being squandered on unnecessary contracts and appointments. Tax evasion can never be prevented, however stringent and ruthless the tax collection machinery might be, unless these real and psychological grievances are removed. The present Income Tax system and its incidence are acting as one of the greatest hindrances to individual initiative in trade, profession and industry.

Wide powers for income tax officers to gather relevant information in order to deal effectively with persons suspected of having dealings with the black-market; prosecution of tax evaders in flagrant or repeated cases of violation of the law and, with the approval of the Government, even disqualifying them from membership of legislative and local bodies or from acting as trustees; enrolment of income tax practitioners and prescription of a code of professional conduct and discipline for them—these are some of the other suggestions made by the Commissions. The suggestions are welcome provided they were worked in an atmosphere of approval and active co-operation of the general public. Else, the only effect will be to increase the amount of the hush money.

Dealing with exemption of certain limits of income from tax the Commission notes that the existing Indian income-tax law is unrelated to the tax-payer's ability to pay. For example, a bachelor and a married man, a man with a large family and a man with no family are alike granted the exemption.

"A logical application of the principle of ability to pay," it is stated, "will certainly require something like the allowances system of the English law related to the domestic responsibilities of each tax-payer."

For this purpose it is suggested that if and when agricultural income-tax becomes a regular part of provincial finance, an assessee's whole income, whether agricultural or non-agricultural, will have to be taken

into account and a system devised by which both categories of income could be brought under a single machinery of assessment and recovery, though the proceeds might afterwards be shared between the Centre and the provinces.

In framing the income-tax law, the Commission adds: "Consideration has to be given not merely to the revenue aspect, but also to the possible economic effects of any course proposed to be adopted. For instance, in the case of 'residents,' if external income is excluded from taxation, it may tend to encourage the investment abroad of capital which may otherwise be employed within the country and to its advantage.

"On the other hand, in the case of non-residents, the imposition of a tax even on income derived within the country may affect the investment of foreign capital within the country; and if their foreign income also is to be taken into account (either as being assessable or at least an element in determining the rate at which internal income is to be taxed), it is, *a fortiori*, bound to affect the flow of foreign capital into the country."

As regards other categories of "non-residents," the report states that it might be necessary to consider the justification for, or propriety of, continuing the discrimination made in favour of British subjects and the appropriate manner of dealing with residents of French and Portuguese possessions in India and of Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, who may have sources of income in India.

The Commission feels that the Hindu undivided family needs relief, so that persons who would otherwise be prepared to continue undivided may not be driven to seek division with a view to escaping or minimizing taxation. It therefore recommends that when an undivided family is assessed as a unit, the non-taxable maximum, both in respect of income-tax and super-tax, should be at least twice that prescribed for individual assessments.

Where, however, the undivided brothers are four or more than four, the non-taxable maximum for both income-tax and super-tax should be thrice that fixed for individual assessments.

Referring to the system of advance payments, which was introduced during the war as an anti-inflationary measure, the Commission states that circumstances today being no better, it is unable to recommend repeal of the provision. It however refers for the Government's examination two suggestions received from the public.

The first is to substitute for the present provision another requiring "payment on accrued income as computed by the assessee himself while submitting his return of income." The other is that 50 per cent of profit for the year, based either on the last assessed income or on the assessee's estimate, should be subjected to advance payment of tax and carry interest at 2 per cent as at present. Any deficit in the figure

must be subjected to penal interest at 6 per cent and to penalties also in the case of gross underestimate or wilful negligence without any reasonable cause or excuse.

The assessees should, however, be induced to pay as high a figure as possible over the 50 per cent basic profit by being given some greater attraction than at present.

Dealing with complaints about delay in the disposal of assessee's claims for refunds, the Commission states that it should be possible to expedite this work with some planning and proper supervision. Where the staff is inadequate, it should be brought to the required strength. "It should be impressed on income-tax officers that disposal of refund applications is as important a part of their duty as that of making assessments and that serious notice would be taken of any dereliction of this duty," says the report.

In order to compensate for delay in making refunds, the report states that the applicant should be entitled, after the expiry of 6 months from the date of receipt of the application, to interest at 2 per cent on the sum found due to him, unless the applicant himself is mainly responsible for the delay.

### *National Income of India*

The Government of India has appointed a three-man committee to prepare a report on the national income of India and its various components. The terms of reference of the committee are "to prepare a report on national income and related estimates; to suggest measures for improving the quality of available data; collection of further essential statistics, and to recommend ways and means of promoting research in the field of national income." Under this committee's guidance, the national unit in the Ministry of Finance will work to compile authoritative estimates of national income. Three foreign experts have been invited to assist the committee which is expected to be ready with its report in about 18 months. The experts are Prof. Simon Kuznetz of the National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, Mr. J. R. N. Stone of the Cambridge University and Dr. J. B. D. Derkson of the U. N. Statistical Office.

Since 1868, when Dadabhai Naoraji computed the National Income of India for the first time, there are known to have been at least 11 estimates before Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao made his estimate in his basic thesis for the year 1931-32. Several estimates have since been made. Last year two authoritative estimates were made in two leading financial journals of India, one in *Commerce* and the other in *Eastern Economist*. In *Commerce*, India's national income was estimated as Rs. 49,328 million (the estimated value of output of goods and services of the Indian Union for 1947-48) plus Rs. 400 million (as "imputed income") making a total of Rs. 49,728 million.

The above calculation has been made for the Indian Union only and the partitioned areas of Pakis-

tan as also the acceding Indian States were excluded from the computation. Thus, the estimate took the population of the Indian Union as 233 million and arrived at the individual income of Rs. 213 for the year 1947-48. Taking account of the changes in prices that have occurred, the *per-capita* income in terms of pre-war prices works out at Rs. 70 as against Dr. Rao's estimate of Rs. 65 for 1931-32.

The latest estimate of the position has been made by Dr. Natarajan, Economic Adviser to the Government of Madras, in his publication on national finance. He is of the view, it is reported (his publication is not yet available) that India's national income has increased nearly fourfold during the past decade and today it stands at Rs. 56,575 million. The average *per capita* income in India, according to Dr. Natarajan, is Rs. 228-10 against Rs. 67-8-10 ten years ago. But the *per capita* real income, he says, is only Rs. 60-12 or 10 per cent lower than what it was 10 years ago.

The difference between the estimate that had appeared in *Commerce* and that of Dr. Natarajan is that, whereas the former had expressed "no improvement," the latter categorically says that it is in reality lower. It is further reported that in the estimates of Dr. Natarajan, Bombay leads the list among the Provinces in *per capita* income with Rs. 369-4-9; the C. P. comes second with Rs. 306-14-11 and Madras third with Rs. 254-8-1.

This is the position of unofficial estimates. The official estimate is yet to be made. We should take this opportunity to suggest that the National Income Committee would do well to classify the national income into different groups, *viz.*, agricultural, industrial, wage-earning, services on occupational basis, trade and commerce, business enterprise. Amongst the income-tax paying group, the super-tax payer's individual average income should also be separately shown. Among the services, separate items should come under educational, legal, medical, government servants, non-government business house employments, etc. The present method of arriving at a lump income by grouping together the income of the multi-millionaire and the poor cultivator and the primary school teacher, or at least a differentiation between rural and urban population is unscientific and does not give any correct idea of the economic life of the average people. A thorough study on province basis should also be made. Records ought to be available now to give some definite idea about the remittances made by the non-provincials working in a province to their home provinces.

### *States Finance Integration Committee Report*

Following is the summary of the Report of the Krishnamachari Committee on the Integration of State Finance. The Committee has expressed the view that integration of Federal finances in Indian States and Unions of States with those of the rest of the

country is not only essential and feasible but also part of the new relationship between the Centre and the States embodied in the Draft Constitution of India. The Report deals with Mysore, the six States Unions and Baroda but does not deal with other merged States, non-viable States or Kashmir. Hyderabad will be dealt with a supplementary Report.

The Report says: "The essential points in the new relationship are that there shall be a Union of India in which provinces and States shall be equal partners, and in which all power and authority are derived from the people. From the concept of equal partnership of States and provinces, it inevitably follows that the Central Government should function in the States over the same range of subjects and with the same powers as in the provinces. It is only in this way that the Union of India will gain in strength and its policies in effectiveness."

On broad economic and fiscal grounds, too, the Committee considers that an integrated system of federal finance, operating uniformly throughout the country, is not only desirable but essential.

According to the report, the process of integration essentially involves (1) a bifurcation of the present composite Governments of States and States Unions into two functional entities—“Central” and “provincial”; (2) the integration of the Central aspects and functions with the Central Government, *i.e.*, the assumption by the Centre of financial responsibility and control in regard to Central revenues, expenditure, services, assets and liabilities; and (3) transitional arrangements for gradual administrative transfer of certain Central function and for necessary financial adjustments to avoid dislocation of the financial structure of the States.

Central revenues include income-tax and corporation tax (excluding agricultural income-tax); customs duties including export duties, Central excises; railways; posts, and telegraphs and telephones; opium cultivation, manufacture and sale for export, taxes on stock exchange transactions (other than stamp duty); taxes on the capital value of assets (exclusive of agricultural land) and on the capital of companies; and salt.

• Central services include defence (Indian State Forces); aviation, broadcasting, meteorology, archaeology, geological survey, patents, copyrights and trade marks, registration of joint stock companies, national highways, currency, coinage and mint, and accounts and audit.

The Committee suggests that income-tax should be introduced in all areas by the next financial year, the assessment and collection to be made by the Central Government under the Indian Income Tax Act. As it cannot be immediately imposed at the full Indian rates, the Committee has evolved a scheme under which the present income-tax rates in the States and States Unions will be raised to the Indian level in two or three stages.

On the question of the divisible pool of income-tax, the Committee has stressed that there should be no departure from accepted principles and that there should be no separate pool for the States, except during the transitional period when the rates in some States will be lower than the full Indian rates.

Internal customs duties should be totally abolished from April 1 except in Rajasthan and Madhyabharat. In the excepted cases, the abolition of these duties should be gradual. The loss of revenue thereby will be covered by the direct or indirect gains resulting from integration, together with receipts from alternative sources, such as, sales tax.

All Central revenues and all federal services, together with the administration of the departments concerned, should be taken over by the Centre immediately. The Committee has, however, made an exception of the Travancore-Cochin anchal (postal) system.

Problems regarding staff, training, organization, etc., should receive the immediate attention of the Government of India.

The Committee thought it preferable that accounting and auditing should also be taken over. In this connexion the Committee has pointed out the urgent need to appoint at once a Deputy Auditor-General for States with appropriate staff, directly under the Auditor-General of India.

All assets and liabilities connected with Federal revenues, expenditure and service departments should be taken over by the Centre, on the basis of the bifurcation of the State Government into two functional entities.

It should be made clear, the report states that from the moment of integration, States and provinces would be treated alike in the matter of all grants, subsidies and other forms of financial and technical assistance from the Centre.

During the transitional period the general revenues of the Centre should receive a subvention from the Railway Budget in view of the fact that a part of the “revenue-gap” arising in the States (which will be reimbursed to them for some years) will be due to the loss of railway income to them.

The maintenance of the regular Indian State Forces, which have definite roles assigned to them in the matter of defence and internal security, should be a charge on federal revenues. This will not affect the existing arrangements for the administration of these forces.

The question whether privy purses should be met by the Centre or by the States themselves is left open. If privy purses are to be a Central liability, the Committee feels that transitional arrangements for gradual assumption of the burden by the Centre will in some cases be justified, particularly where the federal financial integration results in a net gain to the State.



The Committee has prepared schemes of federal financial integration for individual States and States Unions which include Mysore, the Travancore-Cochin Union and the Unions of Saurashtra, *Pepsu*, Vindhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhyabharat. These schemes are considered workable and equitable both to the States and the Centre. Their legal basis would be the "agreements" to be entered into with the States under Article 258 of the Draft Constitution.

Stressing the need for special machinery to watch the working of the sanctioned schemes of integration, the Committee has recommended that the President of the Indian Union should appoint a committee, consisting of a highly qualified non-official as Chairman, a member drawn from the States, and a representative each of the Ministry of States and the Ministry of Finance.

As a purely temporary measure, the Central Government may entrust the administration of certain Federal functions to the agency of States until necessary Central personnel becomes available.

Some of the advantages of integration are pointed out by the Committee. States and provinces will be equal partners in the Union of India. There will be parity between the States and provinces regarding the basis of contribution to the Central finances and a share of Federal revenues, grants and other financial assistance from the Centre. Development programmes in the States will be given an impetus by help from the Centre. Administrative standards and efficiency in the States will go up by closer contact with the Centre. The Indian Union will gain in strength and its policies in effectiveness by the exercise of uniform powers and functions both in the provinces and in the States.

### *Financial Adjustments*

One of the principles stressed by the Committee in regard to financial adjustments is that there can be no question of compensation for taking over Federal functions, Federal revenue or assets and liabilities. Taking the example of the integration of railways belonging to Indian States, the report explains that it is not a question of the rest of India purchasing them as a commercial investment for its own benefit. What is involved, states the report, is a process of pooling together the Federal resources of the people of the States with the Federal resources of the people of the rest of India, resulting in a merger of the Federal resources of the people of India as a whole for administration in the interests of all by a new Central Government of the Union whose power and authority are derived from all the units. In the circumstances, the Committee concludes, no question of compensation can obviously arise.

At the same time, the Committee realizes that the integration of Federal finances will give rise to mal-adjustments in the financial position of several States

and Unions which have so long depended largely on their Federal revenues. The remedy for this, states the Committee, lies in ascertaining the precise extent of the net overall dislocation likely to be caused and then providing necessary financial adjustments between the Centre and the States over a transitional period.

For this purpose schemes of integration for individual States have been prepared. In each case the net loss of revenue resulting from financial integration has been worked out, i.e., the loss from abolition of internal customs duties and from the transfer of Federal revenues to the Centre less the Federal expenditure to be borne by the Centre. The loss of revenue from internal customs duties is to be made good by the States themselves by the imposition of sales tax and other provincial taxes.

In respect of the balance of loss, if any, the Central Government has to guarantee payment of the whole amount or the share from the divisible pool to Federal revenues allotted to the State, whichever is higher, for an initial period of five years. Thereafter the guaranteed amount will gradually diminish until it is reduced in the tenth year to 60 per cent of the initial overall net loss (inclusive of the loss of internal customs duties), or the States' share from the divisible pool of Federal revenues of that year, whichever is higher. There is to be no guarantee from the eleventh year unless the time limit under Article 258 is extended to 15 years. Where the loss from the abolition of internal customs duties itself accounts for 40 per cent or more of the initial overall loss, there will be no such reduction.

In some States Unions like *Pepsu*, there is no loss to be guaranteed in this way. The loss on account of Federal revenues transferred to the Centre would be more than counter-balanced by the amount of Federal expenditure to be borne by the Centre. In such cases there will be a net profit to the States with a corresponding burden thrown on the Centre. The Committee's scheme for such States does not provide for any transitional adjustments in favour of the Central Government except in respect of the additional burden that may be thrown on the Centre if the question of privy purse is made a Central liability.

In its interim report on Travancore-Cochin, the Committee has computed that the net revenue loss to the Union consequent upon integration will be about Rs. 330 lakhs (including a net loss of Rs. 100 lakhs due to abolition of internal customs duties in Travancore).

The Committee's recommendation that the loss resulting from the immediate abolition of internal customs duties must be borne by the State Government has been accepted by the representatives of Travancore and Cochin.

Regarding the postal system in Travancore and Cochin, the report states: "The Travancore and Cochin Governments are anxious that their *anchal* system should be continued even after Federal finan-



cial integration in view of the large extent of rural areas served by it, and its relative cheapness. Our attention was drawn in this connexion to the strength of popular feeling in the two States against the curtailment of any of the facilities now afforded by the anchal department. The practical suggestion, which we strongly recommend for sympathetic consideration, is that the Indian P and T Department should allow the Travancore-Cochin Union to work the existing anchal services on an agency basis, even though for financial and budgetary purpose, anchal would have to be treated as a Central subject from the prescribed date.

"We realise that this proposal will require careful consideration by the Government of India. We would in any case strongly urge that in the event of a decision being taken to merge the *anchal* into the Indian P. and T Department, every effort should be made to maintain all the existing postal facilities in villages now served by the anchal."

The Committee has recommended the stoppage of further issues of Travancore currency and the gradual withdrawal of the local coins.

In its interim report on Baroda, the Committee recommends that the net revenue-gap in the finances of Baroda (Rs. 126 lakhs per annum), arising from Federal financial integration, should be made good (a) by the Bombay Government assuming responsibility from 1950-51, for Rs. 50 lakhs per annum, i.e., 40 per cent of Rs. 126 lakhs; (b) by the Central Government assuming responsibility for, and guaranteeing to pay to the Bombay Government from the date of merger, Rs. 126 lakhs per annum up to March 31, 1950, and thereafter a sum of Rs. 76 lakhs per annum for a period of 10 years, in the shape of (i) the share of divisible income-tax and other divisible taxes, if any, which will accrue to the Bombay Government on account of the addition of Baroda territory to the province; and (ii) an *ad hoc* revenue subsidy to the extent to which the divisible share should fall short of the guaranteed amount.

Regarding income-tax, the Committee's specific recommendations provide that the full Indian rates of tax will become effective only in respect of incomes of periods subsequent to the date of merger, the Indian law will be effective only in respect of incomes of periods subsequent to the end of the "previous" year relevant to the State's assessment year 1948-49, and that in respect of incomes of periods relevant to the State assessment year 1948-49 (and earlier) the State law and the State rates will continue to be effective.

A detailed memorandum on the Committee's main conclusions and recommendations in respect of taxes on income is annexed to Part I of the report of the Committee. The proposals made in this memorandum do not apply to merged States.

While income-tax is levied in Travancore-Cochin and Mysore, in other areas no income-tax is levied

or the tax has only recently been introduced. The Committee's main recommendation is that income-tax should be imposed in all States and Unions from the date on which integration becomes effective, under a common Federal law administered by the Centre and that the rates should not be lower than the present rates in the Saurashtra Union, which are already the lowest in India.

The memorandum deals also with legal matters arising out of the transfer of Federal subjects to the Centre and important technical problems arising in connexion with income-tax, remittances, double income-tax relief, immunities in respect of Rulers and political pensioners, industrial corporations and State Government enterprises, powers of the Indian Income-Tax Investigation Commission, royalties and other matters.

The process of gradual raising of rates to the Indian level requires a period of three to six years only.

The table shows the periods likely to be required in various States for raising the tax level to that of India: Cochin, for company rates 2, for other rates 2; Travancore, 3 and 2; Mysore, 2 and 4; Hyderabad, 4 and 3; Pepsu, 2 and 3; Saurashtra, 5 and 5; Madhyabharat, 5 and 5; Rajasthan, 5 and 5; Vindhya Pradesh, 5 and 5.

The two tables below show at a glance the effects of the Federal financial integration of States and States Unions.

#### INTERNAL CUSTOMS DUTIES (Rs. in lakhs : estimated)

	Net loss of revenue	Financial assistance from Centre
Mysore	—	—
Pepsu	—	—
Madhyabharat	147	Nil
Rajasthan	286	Nil
Vindhya Pradesh	39	16
Saurashtra	80	25
Travancore-Cochin	100	Nil

#### INTEGRATION OF "FEDERAL" FINANCES (Excludes Internal Customs Duties) (Rs. in lakhs : estimated)

State or Union	Net loss (excess of Federal revenue lost over Federal expenditure saved)	Net gain (excess of Federal revenue saved over Federal expenditure lost)	Guaranteed annual recoupment from Centre in first 5 years	Guaranteed recoupment from Centre in 10th year
Mysore	270	—	270	162
Pepsu	—	36	Nil	Nil
Madhyabharat	—	45	Nil	Nil
Rajasthan	—	23	Nil	Nil
Vindhya Pradesh	—	16	Nil	Nil
Saurashtra	232	—	232	187
Travancore-Cochin	230	—	230	180

### *States' Relations with the Centre*

Mr. Krishnamachari said at a press Conference at New Delhi that if the recommendations of the Committee were implemented, there would be no difference whatever between the provinces and the States in their financial relations to the Centre.

The Committee had recommended that the new relationship between States and the Union of India should rest on the following principles. The Union Government should have authority in States over the same range of subjects as in the provinces; the Centre should exercise its functions in States through its own administrative agency as in the provinces; and the States should contribute to the finances of the Union on exactly the same basis as the provinces and receive grants and other forms of financial assistance on the same basis.

Mr. Krishnamachari said that the abolition of the land customs line at the earliest possible date possible was a matter to which the Committee attached great importance. "We would have inside India the largest free trade area possible in the broader interests of the country. The sooner we realize that ideal the better for the country."

The Federal Government, he said, would get about 7,000 miles of railways from the States according to the Committee's proposals. It would take over, administer and get the income from those railways. Secondly, customs and other revenues of maritime States would immediately accrue to the Centre. The same applied to items of Central excise revenue.

On the other hand, the Central Government would take up certain obligations to pay those Central services which were now paid for by the States.

"It is just likely," he said, "that for the first four years there will be no appreciable increase to the revenues of the Federal Government, but from the fifth or sixth year onwards, when all these States would pay the full rates of income-tax. I anticipate that there will be a substantial accession of revenue—one-sixth of the total income-tax revenue of India or Rs. 20 crores—to the Federal Government."

The principle of integration would become effective from April 1, 1950. In the case of Cochin and Travancore, August 17, 1949 had been suggested but it may be delayed a little owing to administrative exigencies.

The Committee had sent its report on Hyderabad but it had not yet been printed. The Committee had not been asked to report on Kashmir.

All the States, except one, had agreed to accept the Committee's proposals. It was hoped that this State would, on further consideration, find it possible to modify its attitude.

On purely financial grounds the Committee had suggested caution in regard to abolition of zamindari in States.

Asked about the reasons, Mr. Krishnamachari said, "The same reason why the Central Government have recommended caution to the provincial Governments."

### *New Food Policy*

Mr. R. K. Patil, Commissioner for Food Production Government of India, at a Press Conference at New Delhi, called for a "total war" on the food front and wanted the people to adopt the slogan "Produce more food" and "Waste no food." He did not think it was impossible to make India self-sufficient in food by 1951. What was needed he believed, was concentration of national effort on food production on a much larger scale than hitherto. But in all our "total war" on food one big question remains unanswered—how does the Government propose to solve the food problem through rigid rationing while keeping 90 per cent of the population outside the ration scheme and by importing barely 3 per cent of the total requirement of food? In previous years, the expenditure on imported food was colossal but the proportion imported worked out at a very much lower figure even of this 3 per cent. In this Press Conference also we find that figures in tons have been given by the newly appointed high-powered Food Commissioner but the above relations which are essential for a proper assessment of the real food situation have been avoided. Creation of a row over food shortage every year about this time with forecasts of serious food scarcity and famine has become almost a routine matter with Food Administrators and every year passes without any appreciable difficulty. This aspect of the food situation needs special and closest attention.

Following is the summary of Mr. Patil's statement made at the Press Conference :

He said that the Centre planned to increase, in the next two years, food production by 4,400,000 tons which approximates to the quantity to be imported from outside this year.

Of this, 3,610,000 tons were to be grown through intensive cultivation; 300,000 tons by reclaiming weed-infested and other lands by means of tractors, 280,000 tons through tube-well irrigation; and 230,000 tons by diverting the acreage under sugarcane to foodgrains.

The scheme outlined by Mr. Patil contained details about the emergency set-up in a province as suggested by the Prime Minister in his recent broadcast. A Cabinet sub-committee consisting of the Premier and the Ministers of Finance, Agriculture and Irrigation, would be entrusted with the grow more food campaign in the area. It would be assisted by the provincial Director of Food Production who would be in charge of increasing food production in the same manner as the Commissioner for Food Production at the Centre.

Provinces had been asked to enact legislation to bring fallow lands under cultivation and to link up production with procurement. The Centre had suggested in consultation with provinces, that at least 60 per cent of the increased production under the

grow more food schemes must be procured by the respective Governments.

He made a comparatively specific and reassuring statement about the possibility of loans from the World Bank for agricultural projects. According to him, India was expecting a "substantial" loan from the International Bank for land reclamation by heavy tractors. The next two years target of land reclamation was 800,000 acres.

Liberal financial arrangements had been made so that "lack of funds cannot be an excuse for the failure of the scheme." The Central Government had decided to disburse in 1949-50 Rs. 25.10 crores as grants and Rs. 28.30 crores as loans to various provinces in connexion with development and grow more food schemes.

The grants will generally be limited to 50 per cent of the expenditure incurred by Provincial Governments on development schemes. In the cases of West Bengal, East Punjab, Orissa and Assam, the entire expenditure on approved schemes would, however, be reimbursed for the next two years subject to a maximum.

Mr. Patil outlined in detail the measures the Government contemplated to take for intensive cultivation which mainly aimed at the supply of more manure, better seeds and more water for irrigation. Improvement of the statistical organization, better storage of foodgrains and free issue of licences for firearms to cultivators for crop protection were some of the other points stressed by the Commissioner.

Mr. Patil thought that the success of the self-sufficiency plan was assured, "for, instead of hostility, the Government had the willing support of the country." But for this he said, it was necessary to create an atmosphere of urgency in the urban areas before it could percolate to villages.

Answering a question, he said the Government would see that prices of agricultural produce did not fall at any time below the "economic" level.

### *Government of India's New Mineral Policy*

The mineral policy of the Government of India is undergoing a change. Being irreplaceable assets, the used up minerals cannot be replenished and hence a careful planning both for conservation and for prudent utilisation is indispensable for the economy of any nation, specially for a country like India which is making rapid advances in industrial development. A brief indication of the conditions that prevailed in India in the past and which was the reason for the reorientation has been given by the Commerce as follows :

"Since ages, the Provincial Governments, being the owners of mineral resources of their respective provinces entrusted the responsibility of executing their plans of mineral exploitation to the revenue official. Without the advice of experts in the field the official was the sole authority on even such technical matters

as grant of mineral concessions fixing rates of royalty and area and duration of bases with the result that the revenue official of each province had his own policy implemented often differing from the policy of a neighbouring province, on a particular mineral deposit occurring on either sides of the Provincial border. Either abnormally long or uneconomically short periods of leases were granted, the rates of royalty often differing, as also the sizes of mineral bases. Over-liberal or stringent conditions and terms of bases were laid out, with the result that either wasteful methods of mining were resorted to or a large-scale and well-planned exploitation was discouraged. To do away with these anomalies, a new national mineral policy was felt necessary and a Mineral Policy Conference was convened in January 1947 to evolve such a policy.

"In order to get a clear idea of how the new policy has sought to make capital out of the vast resources of the Mineral Wealth of India, a brief analysis of the resources themselves is necessary. It is the popular impression that India has fabulous resources of minerals. But this was proved to be unreal by a leading Indian mineral expert, who was of opinion that India was, at best, self-sufficient in most minerals for its immediate and future needs. While it dominates the world market in certain minerals, in a few others it has to depend on foreign imports. It can glut the world markets with its iron ore, titanium ore, and mica in which it has large exportable surplus. To a lesser extent India can export manganese ore, bauxite, magnesite, refractory minerals, natural abrasives, steatites, silica, monazite, corundum and cement materials. The minerals in which it can be considered self-sufficient for its present and immediate future needs are coal, aluminium ore, gold, chrome ore, limestone, mineral pigments, sodium salts, alkalis, rare earths, beryllium and a host of others. As regards copper, silver, nickel, lead, zinc, tin, tungsten, molybdenum, platinum, petroleum, sulphur, fluorides, mercury, graphite, asphalt and potash, India has to depend largely or entirely on imports. It is thus seen that, although India's mineral resources are no doubt considerable and cover a wide range of necessities, its deposits of minerals of strategic and defence importance are adequate only in parts, while munition metal like tungsten and antimony are actually in serious shortage."

In the Conference of 1947, the need of Central control of mineral industry was unanimously accepted. This decision was confirmed in the Industrial Policy Resolution of the Government. With a view to implementing the new policy, a five-year expansion programme for the Geological Survey of India has been worked up. The School of Mines and Applied Geology at Dhanbad was reorganised for turning out more technicians every year. An Indian Bureau of Mines was created to act as a Body of Experts to the Government of India ; and as a further step, the

Indian Parliament passed the Mines and Minerals (Regulation and Development) Act 1948.

The scope of the Act extends to all provinces and acceding States and applies to all minerals. The Provinces and States will continue to own the mines and minerals and collect royalties and rents and grant concessions but under control of the Centre. Use of labour-saving machinery and over-production leading to unhealthy competition in prices have also come under the purview of the Act. But the Government of India propose to go slow in this process, tackling in the first instance only the most glaring instances of abuses. Some good has however resulted from the operation of the new policy. The quantity of high grade manganese ore exported to foreign countries has been reduced from about a million tons to 31,000 to 400,000 tons of high grade and 500,000 tons of low grade ores. Stocks conserved will be used in the country's growing steel industry. There is still scope for further reduction in manganese export. The export of another important mineral, kyanite, which used to be exported almost entirely, has been limited to 17,500 tons, including 7,500 tons of better grade ore. Similar steps have also been taken to conserve stocks of chromite. Another important step is the total ban on export of beryl, monazite and other minerals used for Atomic Energy. All these steps have been taken under advice of the Indian Bureau of Mines.

The export policies and standardisation of minerals like mica and manganese is being further revised. At present, almost 50 per cent of the raw materials exported return as finished products. Ways are now being explored for processing the ores within the country and exporting the finished products.

### *Reorientation of Shipping Policy*

Large-scale construction of sailing vessels, with auxiliary engines for India's coastal traffic has been suggested by Mr. K. B. Vaidya, Bombay Shipping Expert.

Mr. Vaidya believes that the shipping authorities would do well to divert all steamships of over 600 tons, to India's overseas trade routes.

This reorientation of shipping policy, he said, will release about 40 per cent of the present coastal shipping tonnage for overseas trade, reducing the purchase of ships from foreign countries and minimising the drain on the nation's sterling and dollar resources.

Mr. Vaidya pointed out that, according to present plans, India is to have three Government-sponsored shipping corporations, each having set a target of 24 ships of 8,000 tons each. Of this number, there are now 16 ships engaged in the overseas trade and 56 ships have to be acquired.

The purchase price of 56 ships—totalling 448,000 tons deadweight—he estimated at about Rs. 302,400,000.

"In the present situation, and even in the immediate future, India can ill afford to export that much

money out of the country for the purchase of these ships," Mr. Vaidya told the *P.T.I.*

"At the same time, we must develop our overseas trade, without which prosperity will not be achieved," he added.

Mr. Vaidya said that the solution lay in turning retrospectively to the "golden period" of Indian history when Indian sailing ships "sailed the seven seas."

He suggested that India must take to building sailing vessels, from 150 to 500 tons capacity or more, with Indian timber, employing Indian builders. Diesel oil engines, made in India, could be fitted to these ships and a large industry could be created on a reasonable outlay of capital.

He added that, on good breeze, the sailing vessels can make even seven knots ordinarily, and more in the case of some ships.

Mr. Vaidya estimates the total coastal traffic of India, Burma and Ceylon at about 7,500,000 tons annually, of which the shipments of Burma rice account for about 3,000,000 tons, leaving about 4,500,000 tons more or less as purely home traffic. Of this, sailing vessels at present carry about 1,200,000 to 1,500,000 tons, leaving more than 3,000,000 tons for steamships.

If all steamships of 6,000 tons or more at present engaged in the coastal trade can be diverted to foreign trade, a substantial share of the coastal traffic can be handled by powered sailing ships and the purchase of ships from foreign countries can be reduced to that extent, Mr. Vaidya said.

### *Road Development in India*

Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, India's Minister for Transport and Railway, told the Transport Advisory Council that anomalies due to double and in some cases multiple taxation of motor vehicles "are avoidable impediments to the healthy development of motor transport in the country." Mr. Ayyangar appealed to road executives under all Governments to implement their development plans 'vigorously.'

The Advisory Council has appointed a Committee to report how nationalisation of road could be completed speedily.

The Committee will consider the practical difficulties that are being experienced in implementing the draft code of principles and practice regarding nationalisation of road transport, and report on the modifications, if any, that may be necessary in order to finalise the provisions of the code and give effect to them without further delay.

The Committee will also consider the modifications, if any, required to continue the system of counter-signature of permits for inter-provincial traffic.

To ensure development of a rationalised system of road transport in co-ordination with the railways,

the Government of India issued a white paper in January, 1949, setting out their policy in the matter. So far as passenger transport was concerned, it was suggested that road transport companies be formed comprising the existing operators, railways and provincial Governments who would hold substantial share in the capital invested. The policy laid down was that road transport should cater only for short distance and door-to-door traffic, leaving long distance traffic exclusively to railways.

Most of the provincial Governments are now re-organising their motor transport services. The schemes under consideration generally contemplate the setting up of statutory transport corporations for the operation of the services in which the railways and the provincial Governments will be the main participants. In fact, some of the provincial Governments have already started the operation of bus services departmentally.

Regarding Madras, it was stated that the provincial Government had decided to nationalise road transport under the control of a statutory corporation, giving 20 per cent financial interest to the railways.

Bombay had also declared in favour of nationalisation of road transport and were in favour of establishing a statutory corporation, while in West Bengal a Directorate of Transport had been set up, the railways being given a minimum of 20 per cent financial interests.

In regard to U.P. it was stated that a Transport Planning Committee had been set up to settle the future set-up of the transport organisation. At present about 1,000 passenger buses and about 50 lorries were running in the province which, it was stated, had been divided into nine transport regions. Railways were being given a 25 per cent financial interest.

The East Punjab, C.D., Madhya Bharat and the Patiala and East Punjab States Union had all decided on nationalisation of road transport.

The Council also discussed standardisation of bus-body designs and levy of octroi duty and terminal taxes on goods in transit by road.

### *State Language in India*

The following is the text of the Working Committee's resolution on the language problem released to the Press and published on August 6 last :

"The question of language has been agitating the public mind and in the opinion of the Working Committee it is desirable to lay down certain principles which may be applied having regard to peculiar circumstances prevailing in particular areas.

"The question has to be considered from two points of view, *viz.*, educational and administrative. There is the further question of a State language for the country as a whole which will be the language also of intercourse between different areas having separate languages.

"There are at present Provinces or States where more than one language is spoken. Many of these

languages are rich and have valuable literatures of their own. They should not only be preserved but further developed and enriched and nothing should be done to act as a handicap to their growth.

"In Provinces and States where more than one language prevails there are areas which indisputably belong to one language or another. Besides such areas, there are areas on the fringe where one language gradually slips into another and for purposes of this resolution such areas may be termed bi-lingual areas.

"It is for a Province or a State to decide what its language is. In multi-lingual Provinces undisputed areas belonging to the various languages as also the fringe or bi-lingual areas should be demarcated and the language of each indicated by the Province or State concerned.

"For administrative purposes the language of the Province or the area concerned should be used. In fringe or bi-lingual areas if the minority is of a considerable size, *i.e.* 20 per cent of the population, documents which the public at large have to use, such as Government notices, etc., electoral rolls, ration cards, etc., should be in both languages. For court and administrative purposes the language of the Province or area will be used in all public offices. It will be open, however, to any person having another language to submit petition in his own language, which is officially recognized.

"For all-India purposes there will be a State language in which the business of the Union will be conducted. That will be the language of correspondence with the Provincial and States Governments. All records of the Centre will be kept and maintained in that language. It will also serve as the language for inter-Provincial and inter-State commerce and correspondence. During a period of transition which shall not exceed 15 years, English may be used at the Centre and for inter-Provincial affairs, provided that the State language will be progressively utilised until it replaces English.

"*Educational Purposes* :—At the primary stage a child shall get instruction in his mother-tongue which will be according to the wishes of the guardian or parents of the child. It will ordinarily be the language of the area or the Province. But in other places also and particularly in fringe areas and in large cities where people speaking different languages congregate, public primary schools giving instruction in the language of a minority will be opened or sections joined to other primary schools, if there is a reasonable number, say, 15 pupils in a class, demanding instruction in that language. But even in such schools and sections giving instruction through a minority language, Provincial language will be introduced at the middle stage even for children speaking the minority language.

"Instruction at the secondary stage will ordinarily be given in the Provincial language but where a sufficiently large number of pupils demand it, schools may be run or sections attached to other schools in a minority language, provided that this will be determined having regard to conditions prevailing in the locality, such as, whether there are any existing institutions—Government or private—giving instruction through the minority language, whether the finances of the Provinces can afford such independent schools, etc.

"At the secondary stage, study of the all-India State language should be taken up as a second language. At the University stage, the medium of instruction will be the Provincial language.

"For the purposes of this resolution Urdu shall be one of the languages concerned."

We wish very much that the sweet reasonableness that characterizes this resolution should appeal to those who have been fanatically pressing forward the claims of Hindi in the Devnagri script as the language of the State for immediate adoption. That the spirit is absent was demonstrated during the next two days when a convention was held at New Delhi by enthusiasts of Hindi. Resentment has been given expression to that an attempt should thus be made to dragoon the Constituent Assembly to give shape to the demands of this Convention which we do not think reflect the feelings and sentiments of the vast majority of the Indian Union. We know that learned men, heads of universities, scholars and literary men have chosen to accord support to the demands of the Convention. But we feel that the problem cannot be left to the dictation of an organised minority but must be left to the votes of the non-Hindi-speaking people, as the Premier of the United Provinces, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, so wisely suggested to this particular Convention.

### *Citizenship of India*

On the 12th August last after a two-days' heated discussion, the Constituent Assembly passed a resolution defining the conditions and requirements of citizenship in India true to its claim as a "secular State." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Union's Prime Minister, was in one of his angry moods owing to an "off-the-stage encounter" he had with Prof. Shubbanlal Saxena who has been a consistent critic in the Assembly of the Nehru Government.

The principle involved appears to have gained in added importance owing to the fact that about 3,000 Muslims have been permitted to return from Pakistan under "permanent permits" the granting of which came to be regarded as a slurring over of the logic of partition plan based on the "two-nations" theory. The opponents of this "appeasement" policy of the Nehru Government contended that true to this theory Muslims should have no place in India; prospects of no material gain should tempt them to forswear allegiance to this theory which the majority of them hugged to their bosom with such enthusiasm 26 months back.

Stated in these blunt terms, the contention may sound fanatic. But it would be dangerous to ignore the feelings and sentiments that lie at its back. Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar and Dr. Ambedkar, the Law Minister, tried to bring "the House back to a calm and impersonal consideration of the issues." We do not know whether or not they were able to secure genuine converts. But we cannot say that we have heard the last of these hot arguments. And the feelings and sentiments given expression to by Moulana Hifzur Rahman, a leader of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, the organisation of the Muslim divines in India, would keep these blazing; he is reported to have "pleaded for

unrestricted facilities for the Muslims returning either on temporary or permanent permits to register as citizens of India." We are sorry that the Moulana Saheb should have forgotten the immediate past and failed to understand the significance of the contrast between 3,000 Muslims being allowed to return to India and the number of "non-Muslims who wished to return to Pakistan" or being allowed to do so who could be "counted on our fingers' ends," to quote Shri Gopalaswamy.

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunjru tried to throw oil over troubled waters when he pleaded for those Muslims "who in their heart of hearts owed allegiance to this country." How many Muslims are there who come under Pandit Kunjru's generous claims on their behalf, the sceptic will ask? Apart from these psychological considerations, practical considerations should have taken note of the apprehensions expressed by Shri Rohini Kumar Chowdhury of Assam; he wanted "exclusion of persons from receiving this right who had agitated for Pakistan, and started a 'civil disobedience' movement in Assam two years ago and forcibly occupied Government lands." Dr. Ambedkar's reply to this argument opens out our possibilities fraught with danger to Assam, to Hindus and Sikhs.

"It is only with regard to those who have entered Assam before July 19, 1948, that they have been declared automatically so to say, citizens of Assam if they have resided within the territory of India. But with regard to those who have entered Assam, whether they are Hindu Bengalis or whether they are Muslims, after July 19, 1948, citizenship is not automatic at all. The first condition is that such a person must make an application for citizenship. Then he must prove that he has resided in Assam for six months. Thirdly, it is a very severe condition, he must be registered by an officer appointed either by the Government of the Dominion of India or the Government of India under the new Constitution."

The normal way should be what is the practice in other free lands. Citizenship should be given to aliens after tests of desirability extended over a long period. A time bar is called for in this connection to decide as to who is a resident and who is an alien.

### *Relations between India and Pakistan*

We have an uneasy feeling that the propaganda for amity between India and Pakistan is being over-done on this side of the border. Why this should be so, we do not know. If feeling be that the "big brother" cannot do less, the effort would be ineffective. Family separations should have taught us this lesson. And we would be thankful if the Pakistan Prime Minister's "Id-Day" speech imparted this much-needed lesson.

We know that there has been resentment, wide and deep, with the words of this speech:

"On this happy day of 'Id' let us not forget the three crores and a half of Indian Muslims—our blood brothers—who are not free today and who are not celebrating the 'Id' as free and independent people."

The Karachi *Dawn's* version of this portion of Mr. Liaquat Ali's speech runs as follows taking the offensive ring out of the words :

"On this happy occasion we should not forget 35 million of our brethren in India who are not as fortunate as we are and are going through trials and tribulations."

Our interpretation of Indo-Pakistan relations is not based on words however offensive but on the policy pursued by the Pakistan Government. The Kashmir affair, and the Evacuees' Property Ordinances, promulgated by the two States high-light the continuing estrangement between peoples who formed only the other day members of the same family so to say.

The following news wired from New Delhi on the 20th July last should warn us that Pakistan would continue to be a thorn on our side.

"It appears the Government of India wrote to all the Provincial Governments drawing their attention to the employment of a large number of Muslims of Pakistan domicile in oil fields, steel works and other vital installations. Most of these persons, it is stated, were engaged on a type of work which could be well done by Indians themselves.

Besides the employment of a large number of non-Indians which deprived equal number of Indians of occupation, it was considered undesirable from the security point of view to employ people who had no stake in the country and could not be considered to be a reliable element in times of emergency.

Thus, it is pointed out, is a legitimate step which any Government was expected to take against foreign nationals of doubtful integrity.

The publication of a confidential administrative directive in the Pakistan Press with date, number, code and all has strengthened the belief here that there are a number of Pakistan spies in India.

A few months ago a blue-print from an ordinance factory posted to Pakistan was intercepted. The plan sought to be smuggled out was not considered a serious thing in itself, but it afforded proof of the existence of a foreign gang in India engaged in espionage."

Muslim League members in the Central Government from October, 1946 to June, 1947 showed how expertly could they carry on "fifth-column" work. Now that some of these men are in the Central Pakistan Government, they are by right entitled to spy on India's activities. The only way of safety is "eternal vigilance." And we have our doubts about the alertness of our sentries. In support of our remarks we quote from what *Sanghatani*, organ of the south-east frontier of West Bengal, said in its July 17 issue :

"Various newspapers in our Province have drawn attention to the fact that there have been large inroads of Muslims from East Bengal owing to the scarcity of food-grains and other necessities of life in this province of Pakistan. This fact is undeniable. But that is no reason why Muslims from East Bengal should be allowed to crowd into West Bengal. As it is, Hindus have been forced to leave East Bengal, . . . and if on top of it Muslims also come, a crisis will overtake us ; a food crisis at first . . . The security of West Bengal is being put

in jeopardy. The Muslims, men and women, who have been crowding into this area in West Bengal have been choosing this frontier tract converting it into a greater Muslim majority area. It would be unsafe to allow citizens of a foreign State to crowd into our frontier area ; it endangers our security ; it also facilitates black-marketing in this border tract."

### Hyderabad

The trial of Qasim Razvi, the prime mover behind the Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen movement in the Nizam State on a charge of conspiracy for the murder of Soebulla Khan, editor of the *Inroze*, has put Hyderabad on the world's news-board again. The die-hards amongst the ruling junta of Hyderabad who had been planning for the eruption of an "Osmanistan" in the heart of the Deccan after the pattern of Pakistan, have not yet lost hope of staging a come-back. One of them Main Nawaz Jang, foreign minister of the Nizam in pre-Police Action days, has sought to interest the United Nations Organization in the fortunes of his decadent class. But inside Hyderabad there appears to be coming a change in the spirit of dreams and ambitions of the leaders of the Majlis organization. The following statement may not mean much in evaluating the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims in the State, but, as a slap in the face of the "two-nations" theory, administered by Muslims, it is worth notice. The signatories are Abul Khair Siddiqui, general secretary of the Majlis, and presidents and members of the Advisory Committees of the various branches of the organisation in the State.

"We are now convinced that communalism and religion should have no place in politics. Since we believe that communal politics should be ended, we consider it necessary that the Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen should be dissolved. The field of non-communal political activity is very vast and every Muslim can play a constructive part in it."

### Islamic Economic Conference

After the declaration of Pakistan as an Islamic State, arrangements are now being made to hold an Islamic Economic Conference. Invitations to the Islamic Economic Conference, to be held at Karachi towards the end of November next, have been accepted by Afghanistan, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Transjordan, Turkey and Syria. About 300 delegates, technical experts, economists, industrialists and observers are expected to attend the Conference, which is being convened with the active support of the Government of Pakistan. Its main purpose is to promote better economic collaboration, greater trade and more realistic planning on the basis of mutual co-operation between Muslim countries. Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Finance Minister of Pakistan, revealed in London that he had held discussions with the Governments of Egypt, Syria and Turkey last year and with representatives of Muslim countries in London during the course of his current visit.



### *Pakistan T.D.A.*

The West Punjab Thal Development Act 1949, which has just come into force, plans for the greatest irrigation project in Pakistan. It extends to the districts of Mianwali, Muzaffargarh, and Khusal Sub-division in Sahapur District, provided that the Provincial Government may, by notification, extend all or any of the provisions of the Act to any other part of the Province. It provides for "the speedy development of the area brought under irrigation by the execution of the Thal projects, and for the resettlement of refugees and others and for the levy of a development fee." Enforcement of the provisions of the Act in any local area has been vested in the T.D.A. (Thal Development Authority) appointed by the Provincial Government. The T.D.A. which will consist of not more than seven members whose term of office shall be three years will work on the model of the Tennessee Valley. No member of the Central or Provincial Legislature shall be eligible to become its member. The Provincial Government have been empowered to constitute Tribunals consisting of a President who shall be a person qualified to be a Judge of the High Court, and two assessors, to perform the functions of the Court in reference to the acquisition of land for the T.D.A. The whole project is expected to be completed by the end of 1953, when, it is claimed, the desert waste of Thal would emerge as one of the richest granaries of the East.

### *Foreign Possessions in India*

The problem of foreign possessions in India has assumed much importance since the liberation of British India. About 870,000 Indians are still under the rule of foreigners in this country. Of them Chandernagore had a referendum and decided to merge with India.

There are still four French possessions, namely, Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yanam and three Portuguese ports, namely, Goa, Diu and Daman. Besides the French settlements, there were small stretches of land scattered over different parts of India called Loges or Pettahs. But they were handed over to India by the French as a gesture of goodwill in October 1947.

By an agreement reached between the French and the Indian Governments in June 1948, the French Government accepted the principle of the right of self-determination for the people to decide their future political affiliations. The procedure to be adopted for deciding these is to be taken up in two stages: (1) fresh elections to the French Municipal Assemblies, and (2) a referendum soon after the elections, at a date to be fixed by the Municipal Assemblies and as per details worked out by the French Government in consultation with the Assemblies and the Indian Government. For this purpose, the Municipal Assembly should be treated as distinct from those of the four other settlements which would form one Assem-

bly. The latter Assembly alone has to decide the issue now, the Assembly of Chandernagore having decided to join the Indian Union. The referendum by the other Assembly will be held in December next, and it may be predicted that the people will express their desire to come under their own Government.

### *Sri Aurobindo's Birth-Day*

The celebrations organized by the disciples and admirers of Sri Aurobindo in connection with his 78th birth-day (August 15, 1949) leave the impression in the mind that the attempt being made for years to make us forget Aurobindo Ghosh as the political thinker and leader has been taken a few steps further. While deploring this attempt we will be glad if Sri Aurobindo is made the instrument of Divine Grace to heal the distempers of the world with his inner peace. For, we believe with the conscript fathers of our race that not in doing good to others but by being good we serve humanity best. This is the cardinal truth that has been the purpose of all spiritual strivings, the quest of all founders of religions, the faith that has been upholding them in the midst of the world and the flesh.

### *Orissa's Food Surplus*

The intensity of the "Grow More Food" campaign throws into bold relief the position of Orissa with a happy surplus to export for the relief of needy areas spread all over India. The Supply and Transport Minister of the Province, Shri Sadasiv Tripathy, in an article in the Independence Number of *New Orissa* has told us this proud story: The poorest of the Provinces going to the help of the more modernized! There is "no statutory rationing" in Orissa. Yet the Province while meeting its own needs could in 1947-'48 export about 1½ lakhs the principal recipients being Madras, Bihar, West Bengal, Travancore, Cochin, Bombay, New Delhi, Chandernagore and the Calcutta Central Reserve. And what has Orissa gained by this good deed? We will let the Minister speak:

This has brought us roughly about Rs. 6 crores besides the food bonus receivable from the Government of India. With a view to encourage procurement Government of India have decided granting a bonus of Re. 0-8-0 on every maund of foodgrains procured in the Province and a further sum of Re. 0-8-0 on every maund of foodgrains exported outside. The bonus is intended to be utilised primarily in meeting losses if any in the distribution of foodgrains and increasing production.

### *As Others See Us*

*India Today* (New York) published monthly by the India League of America which has Mrs. Pearl Buck and Dr. Lin Yutang as Honorary Presidents has in its June issue that has reached us only recently an article entitled "Feeding a Fifth of Mankind", that should save us from the sense of frustration that has caught us so viciously. It ought to enable us to take courage.

There is scarcely a single problem facing American federal and state efforts to aid farmers that does not have its parallel in India. And of course India is groping like the rest of the world toward a solution of the question of degree in governmental control of private enterprise, and seeking clarification of the relations to be encouraged between regionalism, community self-rule and centralized federal powers. Only those who recognize how complex American national life is can appreciate the courageous fight the Founding Fathers of modern India have been waging to promote a rapid general increase in their rural people's standards of living. Democracy, a complete freedom of speech, have been preserved meanwhile to an amazing degree, even when an avalanche of violent criticism besets the Government.

About jobbery and corruption there are other countries that have been fighting these anti-social activities. The following from the *News-week*, New York Magazine of August 1 last: Major General Douglas on the staff of President Truman gave publicity to "the sale and purchase of influence" widespread "in official Washington" which set the Senate investigating committee "poking into corners."

On the basis of information gathered by committee and Army Department investigators, Maj. Gen. Alden H. Waitt, chief of the Army Chemical Corps, and Maj. Gen. Herman Feldman, Quarter-master General, were temporarily relieved of duty, pending a full investigation.

At a Press Conference President Truman backed Vaughan completely. He didn't believe that his aide had been mixed up in the 5 per cent racket; he would certainly permit Vaughan to testify before the Senate investigating committee. He also had full confidence in the committee and would not interfere in its investigation.

### *China and the United States*

On August 5 last the State Department of the U.S.A. published a 1,000-pages "factual account of U. S.-China relations" with special reference to developments during the last five years. The book is entitled *United States Relations with China*. Mr. Dean Acheson, Foreign Secretary, has sent a 7,000-pages covering letter along with this account to President Truman. We are grateful to the U.S.A. Information Service for a summary of this letter which enables us to understand certain of the influences that are responsible for the debacle of Chinese Nationalism, its defeat at the hands of Chinese Communism. Mr. Acheson has made a reference to his country's "historic policy of friendship for China"; and we have known that except Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek almost all the leaders of the Kuomintang Party have been trained in U.S.A. Universities; this education of theirs in modern thought and technique under U.S.A. auspices forged new links that till the other day appeared to be permanent, enduring for as long a time as human foresight can penetrate.

The world has seen demonstrated before their very eyes how for about 10 years Chinese Nationalism

fought almost single-handed against Japanese Imperialism. It was the attack on Pearl Harbour (December 7, 1941) that ranged the United States on the side of China; made available to her the most modern of equipments of war and made it possible for her to win the war against Japan. The summary tells us that since victory-days "the U. S. Government has authorized aid to Nationalist China in the form of grants and credits totalling approximately 2 billion dollars,"—about Rs. 700 crores in value. In addition to these, large quantities of military and civilian war surplus property worth about Rs. 50 crores at its post-war value have been sold to the Chinese Government.

In spite of this stupendous help the Kuomintang Government has failed to stand up to the Chinese Communists. Military observers on behalf of U.S.A. Government "on the spot (in China) have reported that the Nationalist armies did not lose a single battle during the crucial year 1948 through lack of arms and ammunition." The reasons as explained in the summary stand thus:

"Its leaders had proved incapable of meeting the crisis confronting them; its troops had lost the will to fight; its government had lost popular support. The Communists, on the other hand, through a ruthless discipline and fanatical zeal, attempted to sell themselves as guardians and liberators of the people. The Nationalist armies did not have to be defeated. They disintegrated. History has proved again and again that a regime without faith in itself and an army without morale cannot survive the test of battle."

The why of these cruel developments is only hinted at in this summary; there is a reference to "the decay which our observers detected early in the war." The genesis of this decay from Sun Yat-sen to Chiang Kai-shek is not in the picture as presented to us.

### *Konda Venkatappya*

Full of years, in his eighty-third year, has departed from the field of mundane activities, this "elder" statesman amongst the Telugu-speaking people. A founder of the Andhra Mahasabha which is one of the visible symbols of Andhra awakening coincident with the "Swadeshi" movement during the first decade of the present century, the honours that were his due did not come to him, for he was too good for politics.

The men and women who lead public opinion in the Andhra Desa today, almost all owing fealty to Gandhism and all that it stands for, left this good man to the obscurity of a regional leadership, and Konda Venkatappya had not that urge that carries men forward to positions of distinction and profit. He was for a while one of the General Secretaries of the Congress, an acting President during the Civil Disobedience Movement. There ended his political career. But he remained a sentinel of national honour and honesty, and his letter to Gandhiji drawing attention to corruption amongst Congress legislators in Madras has become a classic.

### *Nripendra Chandra Banerjee*

The death of Prof. Nripendra Chandra Banerjee removes an idealist from amongst us who found his self-fulfilment during the age ushered in by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. A child of the Swadeshi and anti-Partition awakening Nripendra Chandra could not take the plunge as the revolutionary-terrorists of Bengal had done. He entered Government service as an educationist, as a lecturer in the colleges of Bengal.

When the Non-co-operation Movement showed us a new way of fighting the alien authority in India, in extorting from it Swaraj in India, Nripendra Chandra who was Vice-Principal of the Chittagong College joined it, indicating that the fire of 1905 burned in him yet. He held fast to his faith even when the Swaraj Party of Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru appeared to carry everything before them. He became editor of the *Servant*, the most dynamic of Non-co-operation dailies in India; then he became editor of the *Rangoon Mail*, refusing to be entangled in "parliamentary politics." Then followed times that were out of joints in which not all natures can play their part. The last few years were passed in comparative retirement. And the end came unexpectedly.

### *Pulin Behari Das*

The death of Pulin Behari Das in his 73rd year ends a life that since early youth had known no other love than that devoted to the freedom of India. When life was opening out to him something happened in Bengal that drove even old men like Ananda Chandra Roy, leader of the Dacca Bar, to declare openly: "We cannot die like rats in a hole." In the youth of Bengal, free from the inhibitions of prudence, free from the burdens of family life, this mood found its highest expression in the first decade of the present century. Of these Pulin Behari was a symbol, daring, audacious, determined to wipe with blood the stigma of political subjection, to brush aside the shame which British policy had put on the Bengalee as members of a non-martial race. And in P. Mitter, Barrister-at-Law, scion of a Bengalee Christian family, he found the master and the founder of the revolutionary cult of the Anusilan Samiti.

Pulin Behari Das was, however, the organiser and builder of this Samiti which in the hey-day of its power (1905-1909) numbered as many as 600 branches spread over Assam and Bengal predominantly, as revealed in the Rowlatt Report. The British Government recognized the portent that Pulin Behari represented, and so he was deported along with the leaders as Aswini Kumar Datta, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Shyam-sundar Chakravarty, "Raja" Subodh Chandra Mallick. He was released in 1909 along with them. But he could not be left free; the Dacca Conspiracy Case was started (1910) and he was sent to the Andamans for 7 years. During his absence his fellow-workers and followers were not idle; they spread the influence and activities of the Anusilan Samiti over



Pulin Behari Das

Bihar, the United Provinces and the Punjab forging fresh links with the "revolutionary patriots" of these areas.

By the time he came out the country has had a new baptism of blood symbolized in the Jallianwala Bagh of Amritsar. A new leader appeared with a new technique of battle. Pulin Behari Das, fundamentally differing from the call of non-violence as a creed and a policy, preferred obscurity, and devoted himself to the attempts at reviving the Kshatriya traditions among his own people. From 1921 to the day of his death (17th August, 1949) he devoted his life to training young men in the habits of health and strength, making them defenders of their honour and dignity as citizens of a free country. He believed and proved his faith—by organizing the Bangiya Byayam Samiti, Bengal Athletic Association—that strength of body and of mind weighed the most in crisis of human history. This was put to the severest test on the "Direct Action Day" of the Muslim League, when Muslim hooliganism broke out in Calcutta under the protecting wing of the Suhrawardy Ministry. The threat to Hindu life and honour was halted and beaten back; it was an inspiration to other sectors of the "resistance movement" in our city. The Anglo-Muslim conspiracy's back was thus broken.

When British authority was withdrawn from India, we expected that Pulin Behari Das would be called upon to organize the youth of West Bengal. But other counsels prevailed, and he was left to plough his lonely furrow. This has been to us a measure of the failure of the West Bengal Ministries in other fields of administration.

# EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRATIC HUMAN RELATIONS IN INDIA

By DR. SUNDERRAJ S. RAICHUR, Ed.M., Ph.D.

A major problem facing the world today is that of building democratic human relationships in all activities of life. India is no exception. On the contrary, the flood of change which is sweeping through the country has accentuated the problem. In this series of articles an attempt is made to explore ways of living together and managing human relations. The schools of India have the widest coverage of the youth of the nation. Hence suggestions are made for inter-group and inter-cultural education.

## A FRAME OF REFERENCE

The twentieth century has seen an unprecedented change in the history of man. The technological revolution resulting in the atom bomb has left us stunned. Our methods of production have made tremendous strides. The potential natural wealth of the world is immense. We also have the technological "know how" to change the raw materials to finished goods, to supply the demands of the world. Where we are lacking is in our methods of distribution. *This is a problem in human relations.* There is a great deal of undigested social, political, and economic change in the world today. The best of our statesmen are still shackled by the thought pattern of the last century. Narrow nationalism, the concept of balance of power between various blocs, outmoded economics, the myths of racialism, cultural superiority, economic imperialism, militaristic jingoism, cold war, and mediaeval diplomacy still rule our thought.

Our first frame of reference then must be in terms of the present world situation, our disturbed culture, undigested change and the need for educating the youth in spiritual values to match our technological progress.

The post-atomic era has ushered in the fact of one world and common humanity; our modern means of communication have annihilated space and distance. Our wars are global in scope. Trade depressions and natural calamities in one corner of the world affect the other corners.

Secondly, all our planning and thinking, has to be in terms of this great concept of One World. The world is not ready for such an ideology. The United Nations has been brought into existence by people who do not fully believe in it. There is not much sincerity in our efforts to build the United Nations. Youth the world over, including Indian youth, have to be educated to be world-minded.

The twentieth century has also seen three great revolutions. Two of them, one led by Lenin in Russia

and the other led by Sun Yat Sen in China, were based on violence. The third one, a non-violent revolution in India, led by Mahatma Gandhi, was based on spiritual values. There is a clash of political ideals represented by these revolutions. Various "isms" are claiming the allegiance of youth the world over. Different countries are working their own ways of life under the name of communism, socialism, and capitalistic democracy. All these experiments in social living are striving to attain the ideals which they have set before themselves. There are strong points as well as shortcomings in each of them. The present political fanaticism of all the "isms" results from a lack of criteria to judge their merits and demerits. The criteria can only be in terms of spiritual values. India, as all other countries, may become a battle-ground for these conflicting ideologies. The youth of India need help to evaluate all these "isms." India, as all other countries, is working her own way of life which will meet her genius, needs, capacities, and interests. The significance of the Indian way of life as it develops should be explained to students. There is no reason why any "isms" should be copied blindly, nor should there be any dogmatism about the Indian way of life. It is the duty of the State and the public schools to develop in students concepts, skills, and understandings, as well as ideals, attitudes, and appreciations of the Indian way of life.

The third frame of reference, then, is to develop in students a wholehearted allegiance to the democratic way of life, as it develops in India.

India occupies a pivotal position in the southern part and south-eastern portion of Asia. Because of her strategic position, and other reasons she is bound to play an important part in the history of Asia. King Asoka, in the heyday of his power, sent emissaries of peace to south-east Asia. As a result, today we have Buddhists in Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Siam, Indo-China, China, Japan, and several other countries. India has a definite duty toward other subjugated nations of Asia. The corner-stone of India's foreign policy is the complete elimination of political, economic, and cultural imperialism, wherever they may exist.

The next frame of reference has to be in terms of the duty of *Free India* to its neighbours in Asia, particularly those under Western domination. India has no desire of creating a bloc of Asiatic nations. Her wholehearted devotion is to the creation of limited world government. She has no designs on other nations. At the same time, it is quite evident that India must have cultural and economic contacts with

other countries of Asia, if the Orient is to catch up with the Western World.

After having been static for over three hundred years, India is moving at a tremendous pace. Great upheavals are taking place in her political, social, and economic life. Radical, but necessary laws, and sweeping, but much needed reforms, are being introduced. Abolition of untouchability by law, equality before the law without reference to caste colour or creed, guaranteed by the Fundamental Rights, are cases in point. As on the world stage, so also in India, we see signs of undigested social, political, and economic change. Traditional customs, musty dogmas, and medieval religious practices are fast losing their stronghold. The impact of science and modern technology has radically affected our social structure. Our disturbed culture is adapting itself to a new day. This is all as it should be, if India is to keep pace with the rest of the world.

Our fifth frame of reference is in terms of the responsibility of the public schools in helping youth to understand and digest the social, political, economic, and cultural upheavals. In other words, there is great need for a radical change in the thinking of our young people.

The last frame of reference deals with democracy as a way of life and as a common social faith. It also deals with the problems of democracy in India. Political democracy, in the sense of justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity, suggests innumerable problems in our society today. Then there are the problems of the ballot box: political lethargy, political leadership and law-abiding citizenship. Social democracy presents an array of problems of communal harmony: sectarianism, provincialism, the caste system, and unequal status of sexes. Economic democracy entails problems of disparity in wealth between the rich few and the poor many; a decent standard of living for the oppressed masses; labour and management; landlord and tenant; and equality of opportunity for all. Cultural democracy has to deal with the problem of the development of various linguistic areas, their literature and culture; a synthesis of diversities in culture; and the place of religion in modern society. Sectarian religions have been the bane of India's life. Traditional religions have remained unaltered for ages. Medieval priestcraft, with its strange myths, superstitions, and taboos in eating and drinking and social intercourse, has shackled our minds. If Indian society has been static for over three hundred years, it is partly because our religions have been static. They have failed to incorporate new ideas about man, the universe, and the changing culture. The democratic way of life which India is developing can give an impetus to the religions of India to adapt themselves to the new day.

There is a tendency in modern India to view religion as an anachronism and a medieval superstition. The masses of the people of India are, however, incurably religious. There is nothing to be gained by ignoring religion. Religion has to be met fairly and

squarely. Efforts should be made to make available to the average reader the latest findings in the study of religion by anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, historians and philosophers.

These formidable problems present a great challenge to statesmen, scholars, social workers and above all to teachers. For men and women interested in human welfare no field of endeavour is more important than the field of human relations.

## II

### BASIC CONCEPTS

Education for democratic human relations is concerned with behaviour directly related to racial, religious, linguistic and socio-economic group conflicts. These conflicts are due to behaviour patterns based on pre-scientific ideas on race, religion, culture and certain basic inequalities in society. The weapons to deal with them are (i) findings of scientific enquiry, particularly in the field of anthropology and sociology and (ii) the democratic way of life which the Draft Constitution of India envisages.

Knowledge is the key to freedom. The relevant knowledge about group conflicts can be centred around race, culture, religion, majority and minority groups, acculturation, prejudice and inter-group and inter-cultural education.

### THE MYTH ABOUT RACE

The leading anthropologists are all agreed that there is no such thing like a pure race, much less a superior or inferior race. There are three main groups called the Negroid, Mongoloid and Caucasoid hailing from a single common ancestor. The scientists prefer to call the major groups, "stocks" rather than races. There is no Aryan race. Friedrich Muller coined the word Aryan to indicate a large group of languages spoken both by Europeans and Asiatics. Race is not synonymous with any language, culture or rationality. Thus there is no "Indian race", "Aryan race" or "Anglo-Saxon race." The Caucasoid is not superior to the Negroid, nor the Mongoloid to the Composite type. There are superior and inferior individuals in each principal stock. The size of the brain has nothing to do with intelligence. The largest known brain belonged to an idiot! Franz Boas says:

"If we were to select the most intelligent, imaginative, energetic and emotionally stable third of mankind, all races would be represented."

Contrast these scientific evidences with some of the modern race myths of the day—the Aryan race, and the superiority of the White race over the Black race. These myths form the storm-centre of inter-group conflicts.

India was a melting pot of different races between 3500 B.C. to 1000 B.C. We of India and Pakistan, are:

Austrie speakers 5 million	1.3 p.c.
Dravidian speakers 71 million	20. p.c.
Tibeto-Chinese speakers 4 million	0.85 p.c.
Aryan in speech 257 million	73. p.c.

The four great linguistic families represent all the major stocks with a preponderance of the Caucasoid (Mediterranean) stock. There is no race problem in India, although the difference between castes and out-casts was originally based on colour and the desire of the Aryan immigrants to preserve the purity of their stock.

#### CULTURE

Culture is the total way of life of any society. When a social group lives its culture, the result is civilization. Culture is the means, i.e., language, the tools, customs, knowledge, institutions, distinctions and standards of social groups. Human beings everywhere live in social groups. The culture of any group shapes the personality of an individual and determines his way of life. The basic necessities of man everywhere is the same. But culture determines the special kind of food we eat, the clothes we put on and the kind of houses we live in. It also controls our social and spiritual growth by determining our family, social, political and economic relationships and our religious beliefs. The following are some of the important concepts on culture, which teachers and students ought to know.

Cultural diversity is the result of natural environment, tradition and difference in occupation. Culture is a learned behaviour. It is not inherited by an individual from his race, nation, class or family. Culture is not static. It is always changing through interaction with other cultures. Sometimes, as in traditional societies which are cut off from other social groups, culture remains unchanged. The Indian culture after flourishing for many centuries became static, due to lack of contact with other cultures. The impact of the industrial civilization of the West on India and the rapid growth in modern means of communication have set our static culture in motion. There is no one superior culture. The higher culture is the result of borrowing and invention of all stocks. The Europeans are today advanced in science and technology. But this advance is not due to the colour of the skin or their superior intelligence. They borrowed, imitated, as well as invented, what is now the new technology. They borrowed the principles of architecture from Egyptians, smelting of iron from the Negro, the use of gun-powder from Chinese and the use of Numbers from Indians. The U.S.A., the greatest borrower of culture, is today a leader of nations.

The atomic age has ushered in an era of inter-cultural co-operation. The East can learn modern science and technology from the West and share her rich cultural and spiritual heritage.

#### RELIGION

Religion is an important part of all cultures. It is the chief determinant of the Indian culture. India

is the mother of four religions—Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, and Sikhism and the foster-mother of three—Christianity, Islam and Zoroastrianism. The masses of India are incurably religious. On the negative side the religions of India have become static. They have failed to incorporate the latest findings of science about the nature of God, the universe, man and social relations. Static religions have been the bane of India. If racism is the storm-centre of group conflicts in South Africa, the United States of America and Europe, religion has been the cause of inter-group disharmony in India. In recent years, religious fanaticism has been stalking through the land. The partition of India into the Union of India and Pakistan, with the consequent communal riots have left behind a trail of ill-will, hatred and prejudice which must cause anxiety to all right-thinking people. Communal disharmony must be eradicated through inter-group and inter-cultural education. Mere appeals by national leaders or social workers will not solve the problem. It is of supreme importance for the youth to have correct concepts and understanding of the nature and function of religion in everyday life. Religious prejudice must be eradicated through education. Above all opportunities should be provided, so that the various religious groups may fraternize and have more super-personal relationship. The following are some of the basic concepts of religion which every youth ought to know.

It is almost a hopeless task to find a suitable definition of the term 'religion'. There are endless varieties of contradictory definitions. The following definition by Edgar S. Brightman is given as a sample definition :

"Religion is concerned about experiences which are regarded as of supreme value; devotion toward a power or powers believed to originate, increase and conserve these values and some suitable expression of this concern and devotion whether through symbolic rites or through other individual or social conduct."

Scholars both in the East and West have made many studies about the origin, nature and history of religions. The historical, anthropological and sociological studies confirm the developmental nature of religion. Religions have to meet the problems, needs and exigencies of life. It is also conceded that all religions operate at two levels, structural and functional. The structure of religion consists of institutions, theology and ceremonies. Religion at the structural level may be called traditional or sectarian religion. It has to do with the preservation of certain traditions, doctrines and dogmas, written or unwritten. The written traditions are the scriptures, usually considered to be a revelation from God. It has also to do with set days, e.g., Sundays or Festival days. Sectarian religions tend to be static and stagnant, as they do not keep pace with the changing times. They are a carry-over of the medieval views of God, man and the universe, full of strange myths and superstitions of the

dim past. They also fail to see that religion operates in human experience, with the result they become divisive, dogmatic, orthodox and fanatic. Religious bigotry has thus come to be one of the major concerns of modern man, perhaps only next to political fanaticism and racism.

Religion also operates in total human experience. It is a valuational type of experience. It has a vital function in personal and social living. It is an integrating process in individual and total human experience. This may be called functional religion. It has no labels, cultural or geographic boundaries, set days or institutions. It emphasizes operational values common to all cultures. These values undergird the concepts of democracy and world government.

Another important concept which has evolved over the ages in the West is the theory of the separation of Church and State (religion and politics): Religion at the structural level and State have their own respective areas where they function. Sectarian religions deal with the peculiar beliefs or disbeliefs of a social group. The State guarantees to such groups freedom of worship. The Draft Constitution of India aims at establishing a Secular State where religion and politics are kept far apart.

### III

#### TOWARDS CULTURAL DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

The relation between a majority group and minority groups can take three different forms. They are:

- (i) Cultural uniformity through total assimilation of majority culture by minority groups;
- (ii) Cultural pluralism which results in the development of religious, linguistic and cultural islands, similar to French Canadians in Canada or to Ulster in Ireland.
- (iii) Cultural Democracy, where both the majority and minority groups conform to the democratic way of life and yet preserve their old cultural practices, only modified by the new cultural practices.

#### CULTURAL UNIFORMITY THROUGH ASSIMILATION

(i) The latest example of assimilation is the "Americanization" programmes of the U.S.A. in the early 1920's. The majority group which happened to be Anglo-Saxon was afraid that the Little Italies, Little Polands, Little Frances and other ethnic groups would "Balkanize" the United States, destroy national unity and endanger the Protestant religion. Hence they sought cultural conformity to the dominant cultural pattern. It is generally conceded that the assimilation experiment, although successful in some areas has caused religious strifes, ethnic hostilities and racial antagonisms. An early example of assimilation is that of the early Aryan settlers in India who succeeded greatly in imposing their way of life on the Austrians and Dravidians. Although some writers consider the Aryan solution as the best method of meeting the then race problem, it

has left to the posterity the problem of caste hierarchy, a traditional society and the great unassimilated masses of the so-called untouchables and the anthropological specimens—the aborigines. The basis of assimilation is that the stronger (not necessarily the larger) imposes its way of life on the weaker (not necessarily the smaller) group. In modern times assimilation will fail even if attempted because no one culture is entirely superior to the other.

(ii) The other extreme view is that of cultural pluralists. They emphasize the view that individuals and minorities have a right to be different from the majority group. They advocate the right of minorities to preserve the traditional values, beliefs and folkways. They leave it to the minorities to conform or be different. Such has been the official policy of the United States towards the American Indians who lived in the reserved areas. If the same policy were extended to other minority groups the whole of the United States would be Balkanised.

Both these theories express the Polar points of view. A middle course that would insure national integrity and provide cultural variation is the principle of cultural democracy. The Draft Constitution of India aims at establishing cultural democracy in India.

The constitution seeks to establish constitutional democracy, which is based on the principles of majority rule and minority rights. The principle of constitutional democracy is applied to minority groups whether based on religion, language or community. The social, cultural and religious rights of individuals and groups analogous to the civil rights are specifically embodied in the Constitution. The Fundamental Rights relating to Equality states in part:

9. (i) The state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex or any of them.

10 (a) There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters of employment under the state.

(i) "Untouchability" is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of "untouchability" shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

The rights relating to religion is embodied in article 19 (i). It reads in part:

Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise, and propagate religion . . .

The Cultural and Educational Rights embodied in Article 23 reads in part:

23 (i) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script and culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

23 (3) (a) All minorities whether based on religion, community or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.



The basic concepts of cultural democracy in India are summarized below :

1. India is a secular State where religion and politics are kept far apart.

2. The national unity of India depends on certain democratic beliefs, loyalties and practices embodied in the Draft Constitution which forms the new democratic way of life. All citizens of India should conform to it.

3. The majority group and the minority groups have the obligation to change their old culture patterns wherever they conflict with the new way of life.

(iii) Individuals and groups whether they belong to the majority or minority groups have the right to freedom of conscience and freedom of worship and the right to perpetuate traditional values, folkways and customs so long as they do not conflict with essential democratic principles.

The theory of cultural democracy does not presuppose a static society. On the contrary it seeks to establish better inter-cultural and inter-group relations and aims at directing them towards democratic goals. The new way of life itself is not static. It is bound to change with the advance in scientific knowledge and international pressures.

If cultural democracy is to be translated into practice then both the majority and minority groups should co-operate with the state.

The terms majority and minority are used both quantitatively and qualitatively. The numerical majority group is the Hindu community. It is not a majority group qualitatively. A qualitative majority or minority group is one which uses its power and prestige for its own use. There is no such majority group in India, although individuals belonging to such groups may tend to use power to favour their own religionists.

The numerical minorities are racial, religious and ethnic groups. The small minority of Austro speakers,

Munda groups including Santali, the Khasi in Assam and the Nicobarese are being influenced by the contiguous cultural groups and Christian missionaries. The Government plans to give them facilities, so that they may become worthy citizens. The religious minorities are the Moslems, Christians, Sikhs and Parsees. The minority rights incorporated in the Draft Constitution has greatly allayed the fears of these groups. The present agitation for linguistic provinces needs to be closely watched. Although, the claims for the formation of linguistic provinces has considerable justification, yet the loyalty of all citizens must be to the country

first and then to the linguistic groups. Another form of linguistic loyalty is the spirit of provincialism, which tends to be a closed society, putting the interest of the province before that of general welfare. The loyalties to the innumerable vertical caste groups within the main four horizontal caste hierarchy is also a problem, not conducive to national loyalty. The last two groups may be called qualitative minority groups for they tend to use power and prestige for their own use, without sufficient consideration for general welfare. The economic conflict between labour and management is another group-conflict which needs consideration. Both the management and the labour can act in such a way as to jeopardize the interests of the whole country. The business community has tended to be a qualitative minority group putting its interest before that of the country. The present inflation and high cost of living can be controlled, if the big business in the country can co-operate fully with the State. Sardar Patel in his recent speech in Bombay warned the management and labour against their present policy, which has not aided the government policy of increased production.

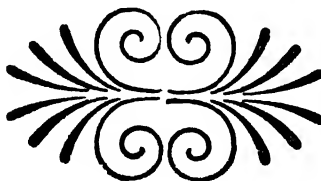
The various problems which are raised here present a challenge to the teachers. The basic concepts of cultural democracy provides objectives of education which can be integrated in the total programme of studies. Under the present educational set-up the main aim of education is preparation of students for the various examinations. The curriculum is rigid and does not allow integration of objectives of inter-cultural and inter-group education or education for citizenship. But the whole educational system is undergoing radical change. Within the narrow limitations, a great deal can be achieved, if the teachers in various subjects search for areas of experience both in the classroom and outside, which enable them to get across the basic concepts of cultural democracy. Even the awareness that schools exist to prepare students to live in a changing society and understanding the nature of the far-reaching changes would be a great help.

The following three objectives of education for democratic human relations are suggested :

(1) To introduce students to the beliefs, loyalties and practices of the democratic way of life and thus foster national unity.

(2) To help students both of majority and minority groups to conform their group behaviour to the democratic way of life.

(3) To develop appreciation and understanding for the cultural differences in India.



# AMERICA ADMIRES GANDHI

By PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

DURING my tour of the United States of America I have still to come across a man even in the remotest countryside who does not know about Mahatma Gandhi. A porter or a "red cap," or a taxi-cab driver, or a labourer working in the interior would ask me as to whether I belonged to India, and then would almost spontaneously exclaim: "Gandhi was a great man: I admire his courage." "Gandhi did so much good to India, but he was killed. Who killed him? Was he mad?"—would be other types of remarks. Some one else would observe: "Gandhi was a good old man, I love him for his frankness!" It is interesting to know that immediately after the assassination of Gandhiji, the American press and radio were almost hysterical with the rude shock, and day after day the American papers and the Radio Broadcasting stations were full of details regarding his remarkable life and work during the last few decades. The man in the street in America, out of love and admiration for Gandhiji, very often calls him 'Mahatma' and not 'Mr.' He really feels that the Mahatma stood for something which the world needs today. The way he struggled ceaselessly against the British Empire without arms and army elicits heart-felt admiration from the average American.

Besides these common 'folk' in the United States, there are a good number of intellectuals like Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Mrs. Pearl Buck, Louis Fischer and Prof. Einstein who have the greatest regard for Mahatma Gandhi. I had the opportunity of meeting most of these personalities who are very eager to know more about Gandhiji's writings and activities. There are also a number of organisations like the American Friends Service Committee, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters' International which hold him in very high esteem and seek his inspiration and blessings in their work for peace and brotherhood. They all feel intensely that Gandhiji's India has to give a bold lead to the war-weary world in matters of violence and militarization, and sometimes they are sorely disappointed to know that, like other countries, India is also spending about half of her revenues on defence. Still they pin hopes on Gandhiji's spirit guiding India along the right path so that the world may learn a new lesson of non-violence and love and thereby become a better place to live in.

I had the occasion to meet quite a good number of University professors and other well-wishers of India. They inevitably expressed their sincere view that an ancient nation like India should not try to 'ape' the West. Instead, she should evolve her own

glorious culture and give to the Western countries a "new way of life" which they so urgently need. The great educationist of this country, Prof. John Dewey, who is now nearing ninety, stressed the same hope that India would "elicit the best in her culture" for the guidance of "the newer and younger nations." Prof. Schumpeter, Head of the Economics Department, Harvard University, went to the extent of remarking: "America has made a mess of herself and humanity. If India copies her, she will kill herself."

Curiously enough, despite the excessive centralisation in national life, there is visible in the United States a definite trend towards decentralisation which Gandhiji so much emphasised in all his writings. In the sphere of industrialisation, several big factories, like the Ford's, are distributing their plants in the neighbouring countryside in order to avoid congestion and labour troubles. With the plants for greater "rural electrification," smaller industries in villages are getting better chances to develop and prosper. Several enlightened American individuals and groups are attempting to establish Community Centres in the countryside of which the United States could be legitimately proud. The Quakers have founded an admirable educational community known as Fendle Hill near Philadelphia. We had a chance to stay there for three nights and it was a pleasant surprise to find that the daily life of self-supporting manual labour and co-operative effort was much the same as in Gandhiji's Ashrams in our own country. Dr. Arthur Morgan's experiments in community life at Yellow Springs, Ohio, are also remarkable. He is endeavouring to establish model village communities with decentralised cottage industries run efficiently with the help of electricity and modern scientific small machines. I had also the privilege of meeting Dr. Borsodi who has been working very hard during the last few decades to bring about decentralisation in the economic field. He gave me in great details scientific reasons why the consumers' goods industries should be decentralised and not centralised as today. He has recently published a book entitled *Education for Living* which deserves to be widely read in India. There are other people in America who agree with Dr. Borsodi's principles and call themselves "decentralists." Although their number is at present quite small, they have a definite place in the progressive section of educationists in America. In the domain of consumers' distribution as well, there are unmistakable signs of decentralisation. In a very recent issue of the *New York Times* an editorial comment pointed out how the New York City Departmental Stores are

steadily spreading themselves into the suburbs and the countryside, because the consumers find this arrangement eminently suitable to their convenience. The businessmen in big cities are naturally worried about this tendency. But the logical conclusion of excessive centralisation is, perhaps, decentralisation. I feel that America has now reached the saturation point in centralised organisation, and science itself would gradually compel her to disperse and decentralise her economic and also political life. Although the population of America is only about 150 million as compared with our population of 335 million, there are at present five million unemployed in the United States. 'Recession,' which is only a polite and less alarming name for "depression" has already set in, and America will, whether she likes it or not, inevitably have to slow down her mechanisation and decentralise the industries. Such decentralisation would be necessary even for solving the growing problem of strikes. The Atom Bomb also cannot long remain only in America's hands, and it will make it impossible for any country to concentrate her economic or social life in big cities.

The United States today suffers from a strange "Communism-hysteria." The Press and the Radio are full of alarm and hatred towards Communism and Russia. Even in the Universities, professors are being asked to sign pledges of 'loyalty' and disbelief in 'sub-

versive activities.' The intelligent people who are fully aware of the evils and inherent weakness of Capitalism are worried about the future prospects of American economic life and are deeply thinking about adopting an 'alternative' and a *via media* between Capitalism and Communism. They naturally look towards the East, specially India, for a new light and mode of life. They believe that the Gandhian philosophy of decentralisation is full of immense potentialities not only for India but for the whole world. But if India herself tries to copy the economic and industrial pattern of the West, the high hopes that people set on her will be dashed to pieces.

America is, undoubtedly, a great country; she is young and full of vitality. Her scientific advancement is very remarkable. People, despite all the mechanisation, are extremely hard-working. But she lacks "balance" and "mature wisdom" which older and experienced nations are expected to possess. India has much to learn from the United States in science and technology. But America, in turn, is in dire need of a philosophy of life which India can impart to her. I, therefore, feel that a closer cultural co-operation between America and India will be of great mutual benefit. America admires Gandhi. Let India be worthy of Gandhi.

Camp : New York

-O:-

## UNESCO—ITS CONSTITUTION AND PROGRAMME

By R. C. BHATIA

SUCH is the importance for peace and international co-operation of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation with a membership of forty and odd nations, that an objective study of its constitution and programme is most appropriate. The basis of its formation can be traced back to the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education held in London in November, 1945. This followed the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, where the basic principles of the United Nations Charter were hammered out. The Education Ministers' Conference was convened by the British and French Governments. The Conference, which was attended by representatives of forty-three nations, adopted its constitution in the middle of November, 1945.

The preamble of the Constitution adopted by the Conference, among other things, laid down that since wars began in the minds of men, it was in their minds that the defences of peace must be constructed. The wide diffusion of culture and education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace were indispensable to the dignity of men. This constituted a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual

assistance and concern. The preamble went on to say that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of Governments would not be a true peace until it secured the unanimous lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world. The peace, therefore, must be founded upon an intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind. This organisation was created for the purpose of advancing through the Educational, Scientific and Cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind, for which the United Nations was established, and which its Charter proclaimed.

The first article of the UNESCO constitution declared that the purpose of the organisation was to contribute to peace and security promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture, in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law, and fundamental freedom which had been affirmed for the peoples of the world without distinction of race, sex, language or religion by the Charter of the United Nations. UNESCO objectives would be accomplished by advancing the mutual

knowledge and understanding of peoples giving fresh impulse to popular education and the spread of culture and maintenance of increased and diffused knowledge through collaboration.

The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted in its October-December 1946 session a draft agreement between UNESCO and the Economic and Social Council. This brought UNESCO into direct relationship with the United Nations as a specialised agency.

A session of the General Conference consisting of delegates from each member nation is held at a particular place every year. The session chalks out the policies and the methods to implement these policies for the next year. Up till now the UNESCO has met thrice in a general conference. For the first time it met in Paris in November-December 1946, secondly in Mexico in November 1947, and lastly at Beirut in the Lebanon in November-December 1948. The delegates at the General conference elect an eighteen-member Executive Board. This board holds a quarterly meeting to deal with problems arising during the year that require official action by the Governing Body. The International Secretariat of this organisation located in Paris is known as the UNESCO House. It is meant to implement the UNESCO's programme of action. The Secretariat is under the charge of a Director General nominated by the Executive Board and appointed by the General Conference. The first Director General was Dr. Julian Huxley, an eminent British philosopher. The present Director General is Mr. Torres Bodet, a Mexican poet and former Foreign and Education Minister in that country. The Indian Philosopher and Educationist Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan is at present the Chairman of the Executive Board. Every member nation has been asked to set up a National Commission to implement UNESCO programme in its own country. In India, a 78-member National Commission held a meeting in New Delhi recently for this purpose.

The programme of UNESCO falls broadly under six main heads. They are, Reconstruction, Communication, Education, Cultural Interchange, Human and Social Relations and Natural Sciences.

Work in the field of reconstruction consists of encouraging and assisting restoration of the educational, scientific and cultural life of war-devastated areas like China, Indonesia, Palestine and war-scarred Nations of Europe. The aim is to effect a transition in reconstruction by a long-term development programme of education, science and culture in all such countries and in under-developed areas in particular.

Communication includes projects designed to give a fillip to understanding across national frontiers by various devices. This is to be achieved by interchange of ideas through radio, films and press. For this purpose, a projects division was set up at the Beirut session last year. It will increase production, distribution and use of articles, periodicals, films and broadcasts which should help in leading to better international understanding.

There is also a proposal to launch a weekly 15-minute news broadcast to reach the masses all over the world and also to create an international bureau of ideas. A meeting of the UNESCO Radio Programme Sub-Commission was also held recently to devise broadcasting programmes for promoting international goodwill and understanding. It is proposed to utilise the various national broadcasting systems and the proposed UN broadcasting service for this purpose.

In the field of education, the UNESCO aims at raising educational standards all over the world. The means to be adopted for accomplishing this include the sending of Educational Missions to survey and improve the systems of education of the various countries. An international teachers' charter is under preparation. A World Universities Bureau is also to be set up this year.

In pursuance of the objective of cultural interchange, UNESCO is working in the fields of philosophy, museums, arts and letters and the translation and wider exchange of great classical books. It has prepared a book coupon scheme to permit the purchase in any member State of the literature of any other, despite existing currency restrictions. The Indian Government has been appointed the agent for this country under the scheme. It is proposed to award the United Nations Fellowships to trained social welfare workers to study and observe in foreign countries the methods of social welfare in operation there. During 1947 and 1948, stipends were received by seventeen and eighteen member States. In 1949, it is proposed to award stipends to about thirty member nations.

Human and social relationship among nations and individuals is sought to be strengthened by the study of the causes of tensions, prejudices and ignorances which keep them apart. The means to overcome international barriers also come under this head. A United Nations Department for social affairs has been set up.

To promote greater co-operation among the scientists in the world, the International Council of Scientific Union with its ten Federated Unions dealing with the various branches of science has been set up. The principle aim of UNESCO in the fields of science is to make known to the general public information on new scientific and technological discoveries and to spread understanding of scientific methods, and attitudes. In fields of agriculture and medical sciences, UNESCO's work is carried over in close co-operation with the Food and Agriculture organisation and the World Health organisation. UNESCO has set up for science co-operation offices located in, the Middle East (Cairo), East Asia (Nanking and Shanghai), South Asia (Delhi), and Latin America (Montevideo).

Summing up, UNESCO can become a valuable instrument and platform for world peace, if its member nations have a proper appreciation of the principles underlined in its constitution and the preamble to that constitution.

# THE KEystone OF THE ARCH OF FREEDOM

## A Shackled Press and a Great Government Go Ill Together

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"... but man, proud man !  
Dress'd in a little brief authority,—  
Most ignorant of what he is most assured,  
His glassy essence,—like an angry ape,  
Plays such fantastical tricks before high heaven  
As make the angels weep."

—SHAKESPEARE

ON the eve of the First World War—to be more precise, on the evening of August 3, 1914—the late Sir Edward Grey (afterwards, Viscount Grey of Falloden), the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, confided to an intimate friend in lugubrious tones : "The lamps are going out all over Europe ; we shall not see them lit again in our life-time." The phrase has since become immortal. His prognostication came out only too true. After a day or two the lamps *did* go out all over Europe. They went out for full four years.

Then, after two decades, they went out once again—this time not only over all Europe but over all Asia as well. The second extinction was much more horrible even than the first and lasted much longer. Though the lamps were re-lighted four years ago there is no guarantee that they will not be extinguished again, thanks to the rapidly growing estrangement between the two rival sections of the former allies—the eastern and the western.

### "NO MONROE DOCTRINE"

But, however alarming it may be, that is not the subject of my present article. For one thing, I should like, as far as possible, to deal with Indian subjects only—though I am certain that the distinguished editor of *The Modern Review* has no intention of imposing a sort of "Monroe Doctrine" on his contributors, whereby their themes are strictly delimited and they are prevented from encroaching on what are regarded as the close preserves of their esteemed colleagues ; and, for another, those lamps have not *yet* gone out, albeit threatening to do so at any moment. Obviously, there is no meaning in meeting trouble half-way—in crossing our bridges, as the saying is, before we come to them. The latest moves on the international chess-board are really alarming, though the "cold war" (thanks be ! ) has not yet developed into a "shooting war."

### THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES

But, howsoever the international situation may shape itself in the near future, there is not the shadow of a doubt that *our own internal problems* are fast approaching a crisis of the very first magnitude ; and that the lamps, in Sir Edward Grey's memorable phrase, have nearly all gone out. Our so-called "popular" Ministries, both in the Centre and in the provinces, have succeeded in arming themselves with sufficient powers to ride rough-shod over public opinion and to

silence effectively any one who has the temerity to question their wisdom to the slightest extent.

That ugly brat, Nature's supreme misfit, Caliban, had the audacity to tell his master, Prospero :

"You taught me language ; and my profit on 't"  
Is, I know how to curse."

One cannot but recall these pregnant words of his when commenting on our Congress Ministry's latest attempt to edit, so to speak, our very inmost thoughts and feelings.

The only candid inference that can be drawn from all these unedifying debates and discussions is this. Freedom has been fought for, and won, in order (as is becoming increasingly clear with the passage of time) to rivet the fetters of slavery the more strongly on our wrists and ankles ; those very fetters which we had been fortunate enough to shake off but a few years ago. Our only "profit on 't," in Caliban's words, is, presumably, to sink lower and lower into the mire of political degradation—the *Swadeshi* variety, that is !

### "THE BROWN MAN'S BURDEN"

Let us hasten to tell the powers-that-be that, in the famous retort of Queen Victoria, "we are not amused" at gaining freedom on these highly quixotic terms. We most unequivocally refuse to accept the doctrine of what I may, with legitimate excuse, call "the Brown Man's Burden." When we fought for freedom we fought for freedom *a outrance*, not for the exchange of one bureaucracy for another. A rose, we have been told, smells as sweet by another name ; by the same token, slavery stinks equally noxiously whether it is borne under the British *Raj* or under the Indian. Our friends of the Congress persuasion should be made to understand that there is *no sanctity* attached to despotism merely because it happens to be theirs. The vast majority of their fellow-countrymen did not, let me suggest, vote them into power during the last elections so that, without any questions asked, as it were, they might step into the seats vacated by their illustrious predecessors and begin to wield the rod of authority in an (if possible) even more *inhuman* fashion than they (their illustrious predecessors) had been in the habit of wielding it.

### SARDAR PATEL'S UNFORTUNATE REMARK

Our distinguished Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, had occasion, two years ago, to deplore vehemently, on the floor of our august parliament, the rapid proliferation of our dailies and weeklies. Belonging as I do to the noble profession of journalism it is, manifestly, not fair for anyone to expect me to bewail that rapid proliferation. In any human calling there are bound to be black as well as white sheep, but by no process of reasoning can it be argued that because of the existence of the former a more or less permanent

ban should be placed on the species as a whole. The law of natural selection operates here as effectively as it does elsewhere, and, in the ordinary course of events, it can be relied upon to do its work with its customary thoroughness without recourse being had to extraneous agencies to speed up the action. In the best of circumstances, these extraneous agencies can but alleviate; they cannot cure. In addition, once these extraneous agencies begin to function there is every temptation for those in power to depend upon them almost exclusively—to the great detriment of the free play of public opinion.

#### FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

It is never of any use for anyone to besanctify the reputation of journalists as a class. Even on the (fanciful) assumption that they are born with a double dose of original sin, they have, it must be conceded, a distinct and distinctive part to play in the political life of the country of their birth; and a Government that is only too eager at all times to look upon them with an over-plus of suspicion, if not of actual hostility, does so at its own peril. Every journal is a mirror in which the sentiments of the members of its party are reflected; and it is really foolish to suggest either that those sentiments, or that party, should not be encouraged—unless, indeed, we are called upon to believe that, with the attainment of liberty (read or *ersatz*) what is commonly known as "liberty of expression" should, as a matter of course, be discountenanced altogether. There is ample justification for my expatiating on this tremendously important subject at such length, as the new "powers-that-be" seem to be vying with the old in suppressing what little freedom of expression we still possess. The Congress fought a valiant battle against the serried ranks of oppression when it was, so to speak, in the wilderness: it bent up its every mental as well as corporal agent to the terrible feat of bearing aloft the banner of that very freedom of expression which, as I have suggested, it seems determined now to suppress with all the resources (none too inconsiderable) at its command.

#### THE OLD PRIEST—AND THE NEW PRESBYTER

Verily and truly has it been proved once again that the new presbyter is but the old priest—"writ large." This is by no means the first occasion that a demagogue has been in such unseemly haste to forget his demagoguery the moment he has come into power.

"The devil was sick, and the devil a monk would be;  
The devil was well—and the devil a monk was he!"

I have been an active journalist for more years than I care to count, and I can assert, without the least fear of contradiction, that at no time within living memory has the liberty of the press, or of the public, touched such a low watermark as in the year of grace 1949, and, generally speaking, in the post-independence era. "May God save us from our friends!" is the exclamation that readily rises to our lips. The Congress, of late, has taken a leaf out of the Fascist book and,

now that it has tasted the sweets of office, it is inclined to be even more Fascist than ever. It has begun to forestall criticism on this score by dubbing the parties that it does not like as Fascist, evidently on the well-known principle that the best way of defence is to be on the offensive yourself, to carry the war into the enemy's camp.

#### THE POT AND THE KETTLE

But by merely calling the kettle black the pot does not cease to be black itself—on the contrary, the probability is that, being such an undisputed authority on blackness, nothing can vie with it in that respect. The Congress, then, will do well not to imagine that it can hope to ward off adverse comment on the part of the intelligentsia by thus roundly abusing the attorney on the opposite side—that kind of shock tactics will assuredly not "bring home the bacon," in the vulgar phrase. It would, in my opinion, be far better employed were it to set to work expeditiously in restoring its own house to a modicum of order, or decorum, instead of, as it is unfortunately doing now, rushing about pell-mell exploring the dust and dustiness of other people's habitations. It should, in other words, endeavour to cast out the glaring beam in its own eye before venturing to pass opprobrious remarks on the insignificant moles in those of its opponents. "Liberalism is not a creed but a frame of mind," said the late Mr. Augustine Birrell. So, let me remind Congressmen, is Fascism, too. *Wherever dictatorship is—there Fascism is also.* That is the Law as well of most of the Prophets.

#### WHITHER?

Such an avowedly ironical situation must set us "furiously to think." Whither is the frail barque of our supposed independence drifting? Is it being navigated to a safe haven of refuge, or is it being allowed to fight its way through its manifold watery dangers unaided by a reliable helmsman's hands? Have the toiling millions not to be permitted to have their say in matters vitally concerning themselves? Was *this* the pole-star of our leaders' ambitions? When we contemplate these and allied matters,

"From the soul's subterranean depths upborne,  
As from an infinitely distant land,  
Come aurs and floating echoes,"

that, not to put too fine a point upon it, we have been "sold a pup" by these same leaders.

There is, manifestly, a limit to banking on a one-time popularity. One has heard of such a thing as "the law of diminishing returns"; and the question that the Congress must, without losing any more valuable time, ask itself is: "What shall I do when my already shrinking capital is completely exhausted?"

I can tell its leaders that its capital is nearing exhaustion. Probably it is a shrewd suspicion of its approaching bankruptcy that has been egging it on to vie earnestly with the old Lloyd Georgian "steel frame."

## IN BOMBAY

To cite only one example of the disabilities of the Indian press—after “Poorna Swara” (*horresco referens*!)—I shall attempt to describe in a few words the measures introduced last year by the Bombay Government with the (laudable) object of gagging both the press and the public.

Specific powers to control the Press were to be assumed by the Government by a Bill to amend the Bombay Public Security Measures Act of 1947. The Bill also proposed to extend the life of the Act from two to three years and widen its scope for detaining persons “likely to act in a manner prejudicial to public safety.” Pre-censorship may be imposed in regard to a particular subject, or class of subjects, as also a ban on bringing into, or the distribution, or sale, of any newspaper or periodical in the province. Another clause in the Bill reads as follows :

“Any police officer not below the rank of the Superintendent of Police in Greater Bombay, or the Deputy Superintendent of Police elsewhere, authorised in this behalf by the Provincial Government by general or special order, may, if he is satisfied that any person is acting or is likely to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety, the maintenance of public order, or the tranquillity of the Province or any part thereof, arrest or cause to be arrested such person without warrant and direct that he shall be committed to such custody as such officer may deem fit for a period not exceeding fifteen days ; and such police officer shall forthwith report the fact of such arrest to the Provincial Government.”

Even an Anglo-Indian paper had been constrained to remark on this at the time :

“This amounts to a police *Raj*, and it is pertinent to note that even a foreign bureaucracy did not give the police such wide powers even at the height of the last war.”

## THEN AND NOW

Governing a country with the help of emergency legislation and ordinances is no sort of democratic rule. The British had a try at it after the famous “Quit India” resolution of the Congress in 1942. What they could count upon were, at the most, “Pyrrhic victories.” When, however, these “lawless laws” were submitted to the scrutiny of the higher courts the stuffing, invariably, was knocked out of them. It was not that the Government’s existing legal machinery was not capable of coping with any extraordinary situation that might arise. But the ruling caste loves power *qua* power (it is almost a case of art for art’s sake), and it had no hesitation in inventing laws and ordinances at its own sweet will and pleasure. As I have pointed out, they came to nothing then ; they cannot, I dare to say, fare any better in the hands of our present “popular” (save the mark !) Government.

In Bihar, in East Punjab, in Bombay, and in Bengal our new *Ma Baps* have come in for some scathing remarks at the hands of the respective High Courts. Nor, let us be perfectly candid about it, have those

strictures been in the least undeserved. It is true that they have had no effect, so far, on those in authority. It is curious how history has a knack of repeating itself even in this field. The Federal Court as well as the Bengal High Court did not mince matters when some cases were brought before them in 1942 and in 1943 by way of appeal against the Draconian legislation of those in power then. Public memory is proverbially short, so I am recapitulating a few instances of Government passing ordinances in haste and repenting of them at leisure.

## THE BATTLE OF THE ORDINANCES

These “Ordinances” are, more often than not, the very negation of law and only bring into contempt that which it is their avowed purpose to uphold. It was the notorious “Talpade” case that knocked the bottom out of them. The Federal Court held the celebrated Rule 26 of the Defence of India Act, under which thousands had been detained in the country, to be *ultra vires*. Then, to demonstrate that it was not without its resources, the Government rushed through a “validating” ordinance, whereby the *status quo* in the matter of these detentions was sought to be maintained, Federal Court or no Federal Court.

The second round was fought in the Calcutta High Court, in a case arising out of the *habeas corpus* application made on behalf of nine security prisoners detained under Rule 26, which held that this “validating” ordinance was, *in its turn*, invalid, as, according to its view, the Governor-General did not possess *the right to amend an Act of the Indian Legislature*. (An interesting sequel to the Calcutta High Court’s ruling was that the released prisoners were immediately arrested under Regulation III of 1818). (Compare what happened in Calcutta only the other day !)

I should like to draw the attention of my readers to the observations of Mr. Justice Sen of the Calcutta High Court, who was one of the three judges constituting the Special Bench which heard the *habeas corpus* application on behalf of the nine security prisoners mentioned above.

## SOME PRINCIPLES DEFINED

He said :

“It is not for us to criticise the wisdom or the propriety of the Defence of India Act or the Rules made thereunder. Our duty is to determine their validity, and, if they are found valid, to administer them according to law. We realise that, in times of emergency, the Executive have to be given extraordinary powers, which may have the effect of keeping out to some extent judicial scrutiny of acts done by the Executive. But when, through some unexpected crevice in the barriers of judicial action, a cry against an illegal act does reach this Court, it becomes our duty to be vigilant and to see that the liberty of none of His Majesty’s subjects is touched *except in strict compliance with the law*, and neither the clouds of war nor the dust of political upheaval must be allowed to obscure our vision or blur that strict scrutiny which we must always bring to bear upon any action which savours of oppression or injustice.”



## JUDICIARY vs. EXECUTIVE

Justice Sen went on to add :

"I am tempted to quote the observations of Lord Atkin (in the Nigeria case) which are very apt in this case : 'In accordance with British jurisprudence, no member of the Executive can interfere with the liberty or property of a British subject except on condition that he can support the legality of his action before a Court of Justice, and it is the tradition of British justice that judges should not shrink from deciding such issue in the face of the Executive'."

What, one wonders, has our "popular" Government to say to this ?

IF THE SALT LOSES ITS SAVOUR . . .

Before closing my article let me reiterate this

-:O:-

## THE SOCIAL OUTLOOK OF BERTRAND RUSSELL\*

By Prof. GOBINDA CHANDRA MANDAL, M.A.

BERTRAND RUSSELL began his career as a mathematician. His devotion for mathematics was so deep and sincere that he felt the subject to be an embodiment of truth and supreme beauty. He had not the least of toleration for any obscurity of thought. He considered straight-thinking as the first law of morality. "The rigid impersonality and objectivity" of mathematics was a great attraction for him. The aim of philosophy according to Russell should be to reach the perfection of mathematics. Mr. Will Durant, therefore, very rightly states that

"It is remarkable for Russell to come down from a realm of abstractions upon the surface of this planet and begin to reason very passionately about war and Government, and socialism and revolution."

\* Hon. Bertrand Arthur William Russell, F.R.S., known as 2nd Earl Russell, born at Torlock, 18th May, 1872, second son of the late viscount Amberley, educated at Cambridge, high wrangler and first class in Mathematics and elected a fellow of his college, 1895, married Miss Alys Pearsall Smith, 1894; studied social democracy of Germany in Berlin, 1896, visited Mathematical Congress at Paris with his friend Alfred Whitehead, 1900, wrote his first important book *The Principles of Mathematics*, wrote jointly with Whitehead *Principia Mathematica* and appointed Lecturer at Trinity College, 1910, at the time of the World War I, took active part in a campaign against conscription, fined £100, deprived of his lectureship and afterwards sentenced to six months' imprisonment for propagating pacifist views, went to China to lecture on philosophy, 1920, divorced by his first wife and married Miss Dora Black, 1921, divorced by his second wife and married Patricia Helen Spence 1935-1936; went to the United States and lectured there at many Universities, 1938-41, deprived of his lectureship at the College of the city of New York in 1940 and at the Barnes Foundation in Merion, Pa. in 1943 for his views on morality. Some important publications : *Principles of Mathematics*, 1910; *Our Knowledge of the External World*, 1914; *Principles of Social Reconstruction*, 1917; *Mysticism and Logic*, 1918; *Roads to Freedom*, 1918; *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy*, 1919; *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, 1920; *The Problem of China*, 1922; *Prospects of Industrial Civilization*, 1923; *The Conquest of Happiness*, 1930; *The Scientific Outlook*, 1931; *Education and the Social Order*, 1932; *Freedom and Social Organization*, (1814-1911), 1934; *Sceptical Essays*, 1935; *Power, A New Social Analysis*, 1938; *An Enquiry into Meaning of Truth*, 1940.

1. Will Durant : *The Story of Philosophy*, p. 360.

golden rule of public conduct. *Freedom of expression is the first, and the most essential, of all the freedoms.* It is the keystone of the structure known as a nation's independence. Without it there can be no nation and there can be no independence. As long as the people are denied it the independence that they are supposed to have won for themselves is a sham and an imposture. *Liberty of expression is the keystone of the arch of freedom.* Let there be any monkeying with that keystone, and the arch itself topples over with a deafening crash. It is up to our Congress leaders to see that that does not happen—neither the monkeying, nor the eventual crash.

They should constantly ask themselves : "If the salt loses its savour, wherewith shall it be salted ?"

## THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

Russell's social philosophy was the outcome of the Great War I. It was war which produced in him a rebel against the existing social institutions.

Back of this rebellion lay a simple horror of all bloody conflict. Bertrand Russell who had tried to be a disembodied intellect was really a system of feelings.<sup>22</sup>

War was the one single social phenomenon which stirred him to the depth of his being, it acted upon his mind intensively and led him to the discovery of a social philosophy which is profound, comprehensive and more capable of "standing erect in a time of crisis than the philosophy of traditional liberalism has shown itself to be." The one object of his research was to find out the "springs of human action" and he discovered them to be incapable of being laid down in the form of a mechanical law of social movements. They are embodied in the very impulses of life. Here we find altogether a new view of the historical movements. They are neither determined by ideas nor by economic realities but mainly by human impulses. Indeed the keynote of Russell's philosophy is his recognition of the fundamental impulses of life. Thus he points out :

"In all men who have any vigorous life, there are strong impulses such as may seem utterly unreasonable to others. Blind impulses sometimes lead to destruction and death, but at other times they lead to the best things that the world contains. Blind impulse is the source of war, but it is also the source of science and art and love. It is not the weakening of impulse that is to be desired but the direction of impulse towards life and growth rather than towards death and decay."<sup>23</sup>

"Our fundamental impulses are neither good nor bad, they are ethically neutral. Education should aim at making them take forms that are good. The

2. *Ibid.*, p. 361.

3. *Principles of Social Reconstruction*, pp. 17-18.

old method still believed by Christians was to thwart instinct; the new method is to train it."<sup>4</sup>

Russell would, therefore, like his principles of social reconstruction to be based upon full regard for these fundamental impulses. He goes farther and divides them into those that are creative and those that are possessive.

"Some of our activities are directed to creating what would not otherwise exist, others are directed towards acquiring or retaining what exists already.

"... The best life is that in which creative impulses play the largest part and possessive impulses the smallest. The best institutions are those which produce the greatest possible creativeness and the least possessiveness compatible with self-preservation."<sup>5</sup>

All these lines signify the death of the logician and the birth of a social philosopher who is deeply interested in humanity. Russell is here all for humanism. The running after abstract perfections is now at an end. Now begins the searching of life with all its shortcomings. The fundamental approach of Russell to the problems of social life can best be regarded as psychological and this approach runs through all of his social writings. Such an analysis begins in his *Principles of Social Reconstruction* (1917), and attains maturity in a later contribution *Power* (1938).

#### ATTITUDE TO MARXISM

Russell read Marx assiduously and he has largely drawn upon the Marxian Philosophy. Marxism is so powerful a movement in the social and political field in modern times that a reference to Marx in connection with social studies is irresistible. This is particularly true in connection with the social studies of Russell who has been so largely influenced by the writings of Marx. Russell has got a deep understanding of Marxism, which is evident from the following analysis made by him:

"Marx's doctrines like those of other men, are partly true and partly false. There is much that can be controverted, but there are four points in his theory that are of such importance as to prove him a man of supreme intelligence.

"The first is the concentration of capital, passing gradually from free competition to monopoly.

"The second is economic motivation in Politics.

"The third is the necessity for the conquest of power by those who are not possessed of capital. . . .

"The fourth is the necessity of acquisition by the state of all the means of production, with the consequence that socialism must, from its inception, embrace a whole nation, if not the whole world."<sup>6</sup>

Russell does not accept Dialectical Materialism. He points out that the Marxian theory of historical development does not take any note of the intellectual causation of economic processes. His own study of the causation of history is this:

"Industrialism is due to modern science, modern science is due to Galileo, Galileo is due to Copernicus, Copernicus is due to the Renaissance, the Renaissance

is due to the fall of Constantinople, the fall of Constantinople is due to the migration of Turks, the migration of Turks is due to the Desiccation of Central Asia."<sup>7</sup>

As regards the theory of surplus value Russell says that Marx's conception of value is either ethical or it is nothing but a verbal definition. If it is ethical then it has little relation to economic facts or tendencies and if it is a mere definition then most of its propositions are reduced to triviality.<sup>8</sup>

Both Russell and Marx are socialists but from two different standpoints. They arrive at the socialist decision along two different routes. Marx is a socialist because he visualizes that socialism is the inevitable destiny of human history, Russell is a socialist because he realizes that the system of Private Property does not provide the common man with outlet for creativeness.

#### POWER-ANALYSIS

Russell's criticism of the Marxian interpretation of history is further developed in his *Power* of which mention has already been made. The impulse to which Russell has referred in his *Principles* is not defined there. It is represented there as a vague mystical force. The veil of mysticism is lifted in *Power*. Here the fundamental impulse is named and clearly defined. It is the love of power. It is the impulse to power which acts as the motive force in all social changes.

"The orthodox economists as well as Marx who in this respect agreed with them were mistaken in supposing that economic self-interest could be taken as the fundamental motive in the social sciences. The desire for commodities when separated from power and glory, is finite, and can be fully satisfied by a moderate competence. . . .

"When a moderate degree of comfort is assured, both individuals and communities will pursue power rather than wealth; they may seek wealth as a means to power or they may forego an increase of wealth in order to secure an increase of power, but in the former case as in the latter their fundamental motive is not economic. . . .

"It is only by realizing, that love of power is the cause of the activities that are important in social affairs, that history whether ancient or modern can rightly be interpreted."<sup>9</sup>

Power, however, may take various forms and may involve various types of organization. The ways in which power is exercised or organized are not always the same. They have varied from age to age and from society to society. Thus, according to Russell, power is classified as Traditional Power resting mainly upon habitual obedience of the people, Naked Power resting mainly upon ruthless application of force, and Revolutionary Power resting partly upon a new belief and partly upon force. Traditional power in its turn was manifest in past times in two important forms, namely, Priestly Power and Kingly Power. Priestly Power was associated with superstitious beliefs of the primitive man in metaphysical or magical forces.

4. *Sceptical Essays*, p. 210.

5. *Principles of Social Reconstruction*, p. 234.

6. *Freedom and Organization*, pp. 252-253.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

9. *Power*, p. 10.

A group of persons, namely, the priests were supposed to possess extraordinary capacity of doing good or harm to the society either by virtue of religion or by magic. They most often combined the practice of medicine with religious functions. They were supposed to counteract the evil effect of the malevolent magic upon a person. It was, therefore, natural for them to enjoy a supremacy over other members of the society. The Priestly Power declined through its misuse by bold men for secular and selfish purposes. In Europe, the doctrinal revolt of Protestantism accompanied by economic motives led to the final collapse of Papacy and the rise of Kingly Power towards the end of the 16th century. The monarchies thrived by subserving nationalism and commerce. Revolution broke out only when they failed in their service to these two causes.

"Traditional Power when not destroyed from without, runs almost always through a certain development. Emboldened by the respect which it inspires, it becomes careless as regards the general approval, which it believes that it cannot ever lose. By sloth, folly or cruelty it gradually forces men to become sceptical of its claims to divine authority."<sup>10</sup>

This scepticism in course of time develops into rebellion.

Naked Power arises out of irreconcilability of two contending creeds one requiring to be suppressed; it arises also in a situation where there has been a decay of old beliefs not being followed by the birth of new ones so that the pursuit of personal ends becomes the general rule.<sup>11</sup> Revolutionary Power arises with the growth of new creeds strong enough to establish a new government which is in full sympathy with those creeds.<sup>12</sup>

Thus we find that in the analysis of social changes Russell attaches greater importance to mental processes than economic forces, while Marx lays greater emphasis upon economic forces than upon mental processes. Creeds and beliefs have been considered by Russell to play a role largely independent of material circumstances, while Marx considers them to be entirely determined by the latter. While Russell emphasizes the importance of Personality as a historical force, Marx emphasizes the classes. Russell's analysis is based mainly upon introspective philosophy, while the Marxian analysis is based upon the study of certain broad phases of history. Russell's analysis is directed towards explanation of the details of history, while Marx is concerned with some broad historical tendencies.

#### SUGGESTIONS REGARDING ORGANIZATION OF POWER

After having pointed out that power is the motive force in social relations, Russell approaches the practical question of how power should be organized. Love for power being an essential impulse of life, he is far from suggesting the idea of curbing it altogether. He rather concerns himself with the problem of taming power, because he feels that without a taming of power there

cannot be any peace in this world. In this respect, he is in favour of the highest form of democracy. But democracy alone is not enough. The taming of power is not possible without economic equalization or socialism. This was visualized by Marx and is reiterated by Russell. Socialism, again, cannot automatically lead to a taming of power. Socialism by concentrating all powers in the hands of the government may give rise to a new type of despotism. Russell has been led by this consideration to accept the principle of Pluralism along with socialisation of the instruments of Production.

"If concentration of Power in a single organization—the State—is not to produce the evils of despotism in an extreme form, it is essential that Power within that organization should be widely distributed, and that subordinate groups should have a long measure of autonomy. Without democracy, devolution and immunity from extra-legal punishment, the coalescence of economic and political power is nothing but a new appalling instrument of tyranny."<sup>13</sup>

Bertrand Russell is a socialist but he does not believe that socialism is the panacea of all evils. He looks upon it as an essential step towards removal of poverty and economic injustice. But his appraisal of socialism does not go any farther. Socialism may secure distributive justice; it may secure for labourers the fruits of their toil. But it does not of its own accord guarantee the liberation of creative impulses which is an essential condition of the joy of life. "It is not only more material goods that men need, but more freedom, more self-direction, more outlet for creativeness, more opportunity of the joy of life, more voluntary co-operation and less involuntary subservience to purposes not their own." It is the task of a social organization to produce these conditions. The very existence of the state as an embodiment of supreme power is inimical to liberty. The vastness of the state creates a feeling of impotence in the individual. It works as an obstacle to the instinctive growth of the individual. The concentration of power in a single organization leads invariably to war, oppression and tyranny. According to Russell, the best way to freedom of the creative impulses is decentralization of power. Liberty and authority can be harmonized by securing power for voluntary organizations each having a specific purpose of its own. The state should remain only for securing settlement of rival interests. Under such conditions only it is possible for an individual to assert himself in the larger affairs concerning his life, because though he is not an effective member of the state, he is an effective member of his own group which has now got a real share of power within its domain.

"The supreme Principle both in politics and private life should be to promote all that is creative and so to diminish the impulses and desires that centre round possession."<sup>14</sup>

But so long there is only one repository of power in the society it is, by its very nature, likely to be

10. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 308.

14. *Principles of Social Reconstruction*, p. 236.

used as an instrument of possessive impulses even though it is a socialist power. Russell, therefore, suggests that the best measure for social reform is the establishment of an industrial federal democracy.<sup>15</sup>

The impulse to power can work in a creative way only when it is shared by all the groups of which the society is composed. This means that power in the state should be organized federally each group enjoying autonomy within its own sphere. Russell's love for syndicalism is explicit in these suggestions.

The conditions which inspired the social philosophy of Russell at the time of the first Great War persist even now at the end of the second Great War. Therefore the principles which he has suggested are still very fresh. But what is the tendency in practical policies of the states at the present moment? Unfortunately little has been done up to this day towards devolution of power upon voluntary associations. It still remains for the friends of liberty to champion the cause of political and economic decentralization which alone can ensure the fullest growth of one's personality.

Russell has presented himself all through his writings as a passionate lover of freedom. In social and political matters he has placed freedom above all things, because the growth of personality is not possible

without freedom. His conception of freedom is not narrowly economic or political. It is comprehensive enough to cover all the spheres of life. The freedom of his conception is freedom from all sorts of restrictions including those conventions, customs and rules of Puritanism which inhibit the expression of our impulses. All his social philosophy is inspired by his burning love for humanity, peace and freedom. For the sake of humanism and pacifism and for the sake of freedom he struggled, he courted imprisonment and had to lead the life of an outcast. He rejects the Bolshevik idea in spite of the economic good which it has brought to humanity and in spite of his own socialist convictions; this is because he thinks that the Bolshevik programme is motivated more by hatred than by the positive love for humanity.<sup>16</sup>

Russell is never a pessimist. His social philosophy is characterized by his great optimism regarding the possibilities of man. He has great confidence in the capacity of social and educational systems for training the emotions of man and remaking his character.

Russell's contribution to social philosophy would remain fresh so long any love for freedom and any enthusiasm for life would be kept burning in the heart of mankind.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>16</sup> *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism.*

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## THE RAGHUBIR LIBRARY

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt.

THE classic land of Malwa was once the fountain-head of Indian learning and culture. Will it again be a magnet to draw scholars from all parts of a free India? Such a glorious future for the province, in one particular branch of historical studies at least, has been made possible by a library now in course of rapid growth, of which the world knows nothing. It is the Raghubir Library, located at Sitamau, the capital of a small Rajput State lying 70 air-miles north of Ujjain. The town is off the railway track, but a regular bus service running through it from Mandsaur on the B.B.C.I. line 20 miles west of it, to Suvasra on the B.B.C.I. line 20 miles eastwards, makes the place easy of access.

The creation of this library is due to the patriotic zeal, foresight, and persistence of an enlightened prince, Dr. Raghubir Singh, the eldest son of the Maharaja of Sitamau. After passing the Law and M.A. examinations of the Agra University, he took a D.Litt. degree by a learned historical thesis on *Malwa in Transition*, (1936), which has become the standard authority on the subject. Since then he has varied his experience by serving as an administrator of his father's State and doing military duty as an emergency-commission Major in the Indian Observer Corps during the late war with Japan. He has built this library up by judicious planning, expert advice,

and alert watching for rare books as they come into the market in Europe.

The mediaeval history of India down to the very dawn of the modern age with the establishment of British paramountcy in 1803, cannot be written without a knowledge of the Persian language, and for the 17th and 18th centuries of Marathi as well. The greater portion of the Persian sources are still unpublished, and their manuscript copies are rarely available in India. The oldest, completest, and best-transcribed copies of most Persian histories and State-papers of the Muslim period are preserved in the public libraries of Europe, and our patriotism naturally feels hurt at so many of our best historical material having gone out of our country. But in one way it was a blessing. If they had not been acquired and sent to Europe so early, but left in Indian hands, they would in most cases have been totally lost during the long years of anarchy, warfare, and the decay of our noble families that maintained libraries and writers. To take one instance only: Sir Henry M. Elliot, the Foreign Secretary of Lord Dalhousie, wisely used his rare opportunities to collect a large number of MSS. on the Moghul Empire and sent them to London just in time to escape the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, in which they would most certainly have been destroyed during the fighting in Delhi, Lucknow, Agra and all over



# SHRI NATHJI

By S. I. CLERK, B.A.

SHRI NATHJI is heaven on earth for Vaishnavya Hindus. And indeed, the idol of the temple here is really exquisite. Unfortunately (or fortunately) we are not allowed to take photo of the same. However, there are any number of paintings of the same executed by the local artists and some of the better ones do reveal at least a part of the exquisiteness of the idol.

favour a human soul, he brings it out, gives it a divine body like his own and plays with it eternally (*nitya lila*). In this play the devotee receives from the Lord Bhajananda or Svarupananda which is referred to in the Taittiriya Upanishad and the Bhagvata. This divine bliss is the gift of Lord to be had only at His pleasure. This idea of gift of divine grace is called *pushti*. Under

the *pushti marga* the Lord is worshipped because the worshipper ardently loves Him and not because He is the Highest Unity. The worship of the devotee is *suddhatmaka* (consisting of love) and the Lord is called Gopijanavallabha (the beloved of the Gopis).

The form of the Lord that is worshipped in the *pushti marga* is known as Shri Govardhannathji, popularly called Shri Nathji. The image of Shri Nathji was revealed to Vallabhacharya on the hill of Giriraja and was later brought to Nathdwara. It represents the highest form of the Lord known as Purna Purushottama. At Nathdwara we have eight Darshanas of the image



A bird's eye view of the town of Shri Nathji. The roofs are flat on account of scanty rainfall in Marwar

Shri Nathji is in Marwar, the motherland of the valiant and chivalrous Rajputs on the bank of the river Banas, some thirty miles from Udaipur. The city proper is about eight miles from Nathdwara railway station on Marwar State Railway, eighty-four miles from Marwar railway junction. With an annual rainfall of about twenty-five inches, the climate at Shri Nathji is fairly pleasant, particularly, from January to March.

The followers of Vallabhasampradaya in particular, flock to Nathdwara in thousands every year. Vallabhacharya (1473-1531 A.D.) was asked by Lord Krishna to appear in the form of Agni on this earth and to

offer a correct interpretation of the Upanishads and the Brahmasutras which were misrepresented by Sankaracharya. Vallabhacharya propounded what is generally known as Suddhadvaita system of Vedanta accepting four basic works, viz., the Vedas, the Bhagwad-Gita, the Brahmasutras and the Bhagvata. He taught *pushti marga* according to which when the Lord desires to



Chowpaty Bazar and one of the entrances to the main temple. Cows freely commingling with human beings in the streets

in the course of the day—Mangla, Shringar, Gwal, Raj Bhog, Utthapan, Bhog, Arati and Shayan. At each Darshan, the image is dressed in new clothes and offered different types of food—*thor* (made of wheat flour, sugar, etc.) and butter in Mangla, milk, etc., in Gwal, full dinner of all possible varieties of vegetarian food and fruits in Raj Bhog, and fruit dishes in Bhog.

After Shayan the Lord goes to sleep and some food is kept overnight near Him in case He gets up at night and feels hungry. The expression and the manifestations of the idol look different at each Darshana. From this point of view, a visit to Shri Nathji is worth while.



A street scene in Shri Nathji. The decorative gate in the background is an attractive piece of architecture

Apart from this, life away from the idol of Shri Nathji is little better than that in any other place of pilgrimage in India. People are about two to three hundred years backward in thought and action. Everywhere there is religiosity and bigotry rather than true religion, love and peace. The priests are incivil and insulting in their attitude and behaviour towards the devotees. They are also corrupt. As the time of each Darshan is short (the temple closes immediately one Darshan is over and the idol cannot be seen till the next Darshan) there is always a mad rush of people in the temple to pray before the image. To maintain order, the priests even beat the pilgrims including women with a piece of cloth kept for this purpose on their shoulders. We have seen women being roughly handled and abused by the temple staff right in front of the image. The whole show is simply disgusting for its utter contempt of human life. The idol too must be crying to be free from the clutches of the utterly uncultured and inhuman priests.

Another point worth noting in connection with Shri Nathji temple is the wastage of food that occurs here every day. From almost all over India, food parcels in large quantities are being sent to this temple by the devotees. Consequently, there is so much *prasad* (food



A craftsman making lac bangles. The white end of the stick in his hand is lac which is heated in the fire in front and shaped into a bangle. Various sorts of coloured lac are used for making different types of coloured bangles

after it is offered to the Lord) that the priests are paid for their services in the temple not in cash but fixed quantities of *prasad* which they sell to the public through agents. All this results in a criminal wastage of food. Perhaps a proper organisation may enable the *prasad* to be utilized in feeding the needy poor.

The presence of the pilgrims has given rise to a number of arts and crafts in Nathdwara, such as bandhani, sari printing and dyeing, lac, cocoanut shell and metal bangles, scents, manufacturing coloured wooden toys, painting religious pictures, etc.

The bandhani and sari printing are done according to the well-known traditional methods and the designs are fairly attractive. However, the colours are not at all fast and they leave their marks on the wearer's body because of perspiration. The cloth used is also not of the finer quality (unless one goes in for silk) obviously because of cloth control and rationing.



The lac, cocoanut shell and metal bangles are cottage crafts here in which both the husband and wife

Finally, we have the craft of painting. The style of the paintings done here is absolutely distinct and is



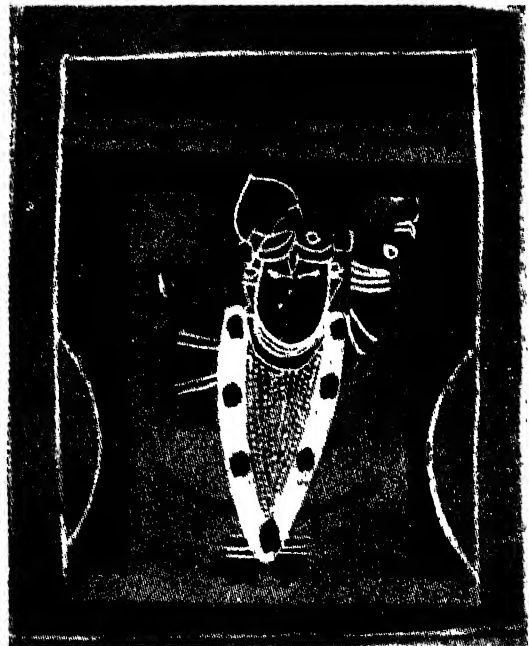
Shop-cum-factory-cum-home of a bangle-maker. The customer in the front witnesses the entire process of manufacture of the bangles she has selected. The finished goods are ready in about half an hour. The mural paintings on the walls are interesting specimens of spontaneous folk-art

work together. The process does not require much skill and yet the finished products do have a peculiar beauty of their own. Moreover, these bangles are very cheap as compared to glass and plastic ones and hence they are popular both among the local women and the pilgrims who buy them not only for their own use but also to give as mementos to their neighbours, friends, and relatives upon return back to home. A pair of lac bangles costs anything from four to eight annas. Lac is obtained from the nearby villages. Colours are also locally prepared from earth and vegetable dyes, etc., and metal strips are imported from outside.

Coloured wooden toys are popular throughout Marwar. Udaipur appears to be the leading centre of manufacture of these toys. At Shri Nathji too there are a few craftsmen. These toys are made on lathes (mostly run on electricity in Udaipur). Usually, toys such as small cooking utensils, fans, aeroplanes, motor cars, railway engines, etc., are very popular. Face powder boxes, and *pan supari* boxes are popular among the adults. Brilliant colours are used on these toys and these attract the children.

Another interesting craft is the manufacture of various kinds of scents. It is difficult to comment on the quantity of the scents produced here. The production is on a limited scale only. In all probability, government aid would enable the craftsmen to improve their products both qualitatively and quantitatively. With proper push and packing, etc., the final product can be sold in our big cities, such as Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, etc.

known as Nathdwara school of painting. It is an offshoot of Rajput painting. The theme is mainly Shri Govardhannathji. Puranic, epic, lyrical (Krishna legends and Nayakas) and musical subjects are also common. As for portraiture, Vaishnava Maharajas are the main subjects. Common with the Rajput style, the most remarkable quality of the Nathdwara painting is its almost enamel-like glowing colour, though the actual painting has a dead matte surface. Purest of reds, yellows, greens, pinks, and browns are relieved by pure whites and velvet blacks. Gold colour was introduced later, through foreign influence. Against masses of plain colours the buildings, trees and figures stand out almost solidly. The composition is architectural and not calligraphic as we have in the famous Jain paintings. Reference may also be made here of the mural



The idol of Shri Nathji painted by an unknown local artist

paintings made on the exterior walls of most of the old buildings in Nathdwara. The colours and the drawings are very striking indeed.

Today the form of the traditional style is still maintained in the paintings done by the present generation of the artists in Shri Nathji. Colours are said to be prepared at home from herbs, minerals and stones. And the work of an old artist, Nandlal, is really exquisite. Virtually, he does nothing except painting pictures of Shri Nathji, Eklingi (idol in a temple about fifteen miles from Shri Nathji on way to Udaipur) and Vaishnava acharyas. For this he may be considered the best among the local artists.



A craftsman's wife helping her husband by fixing metal chips on bangles

Apart from Nandlal's work, we must admit that the majority of the artists here have absolutely no originality either of conception or technique. They imitate and repeat the themes of their ancestors *ad nauseum*. Painting in Shri Nathji is a hereditary craft rather than an art which insists on individual originality. On account of keen competition and paucity of any originality, the finished pictures are very cheap in price. We believe that government should do

something for the craft of painting in Shri Nathdwara to keep up the tradition. The promising young student artists may be given proper training either through scholarships or loans.

On the whole, life in Shri Nathji is same as that in any other place of pilgrimage in our country. Ignorance, bigotry, religiosity and poverty are rampant in the town. There is plenty of wealth and education among the followers of Vallabhacharya. It is difficult to understand their complacency about the almost sub-



An artist making in traditional style a painting of Lord Krishna and the Gopis. Nathdwara school of painting is an offshoot of Rajput school of painting

human conditions prevailing at Shri Nathji. Instead of frittering away their wealth in blind charities which only enrich and corrupt the priests, we wish they can organize the whole show properly and make Shri Nathji a veritable 'Heaven on Earth' where even the followers of other religions too can experience love for God.



# THE NEW BRITISH COUNTRYSIDE

## The Revival of Agriculture

By W. J. BLYTON

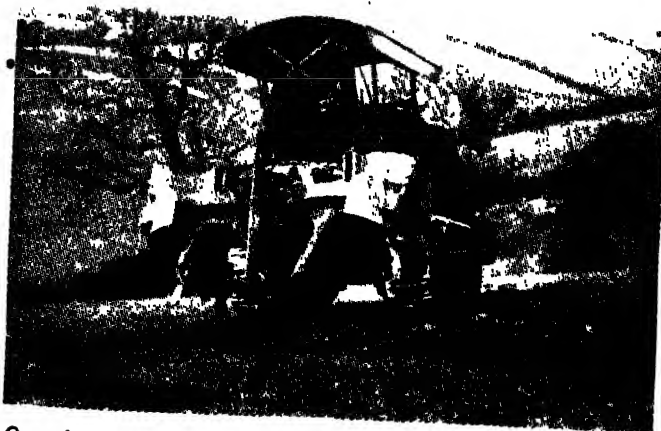
A modern "peasantry" is visibly growing in England, of man and woman—townsfolk who have chosen Scotland and Wales; a keen, frugal, hard-working type country life, and members of the traditional farming



A harvest of sugar beet, a crop which Britain has increased a hundred-fold since the beginning of the last war



A typical farmer of Britain and rural crafts. The newcomers join those who, like their ancestors before them, have lived and worked on the soil all their lives.



One of the huge gyro-tillers which are being used to turn up land which has not hitherto been used for crops

There are few villages or districts in Britain so lonely as to be out of reach of a village Institute, a Women's Institute, local library, church, inn, radio or cinema. All can receive the daily newspaper on the day of publication. Few farms go without one of the expert farmers' weekly journals, with their articles by scientists and practical agriculturists. The work in the English country, as on the land anywhere, is hard and constant; but the amenities are not absent, and as a change from manual labour there is plenty of occupation for the mind.

Alongside the land workers, of course, there live cartwrights, blacksmiths, corn merchants, lime quarriers,

wood-men, and mechanics—all a needful part of the rural organism. The mixture of old and new will strike any visitor to England in these days. Though more tractors are working in the fields than ever before, partly displacing horse-drawn plough and reaper, there still remains many ancient features which have been familiar for centuries—old skilled workers, barns over three hundred years old, farms built in the days of Queen Elizabeth, Shakespeare and Drake. Millions of British townspeople, who have forgotten much of their forefathers' rustic knowledge, still enjoy those rustic origins and are proud of them.

Admittedly, there is now little of the traditional folk-song or folk-dance, and little "harvest home" merry-making, but the harvest festival—a religious service of thanksgiving for the gift of the harvest—persists every September and October in village and in town.

This is changing Britain, and the writer is himself one of a number who have left professional city life to earn their living by farming, and, with his trained family, works hundreds of acres all the year round. It means plain living, economy, three hundred and sixty days duty in the year, study of weather and soil and



The farmer has ploughed even pasture lands for crop production

Farm work can be seen in progress today on the threshold of the famous rural homes of Cromwell, Milton, Nelson, Scott and Tennyson; ploughing near a nine-hundred-year-old castle built by the Normans; sowing in the shadow of the walls of a mediaeval abbey; and reaping beside a Tudor home.



One of the best harvests on record in Britain

seed, hardiness, simple pleasures, enjoyment of air and nature and strong love of home.

Our agricultural friends in Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Poland and Denmark will find in Britain a country which can assist their own revival by sending good strains of livestock and seed and implements. These changes have been forced on Britain by events; nevertheless the changes are wholly to the good.



# ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY REPORT OF BANKURA DISTRICT

By R. CHAUDHURI

I personally inspected the ruined Deulbherya Jain Temple, P.S. Chhatna (18 miles off from Bankura, B. N. Railway station), along with Mr. B. K. Aich, B.Sc., and Mr. J. C. Chatterji of Indpore P.S. on February 12, 1949.

(2) *Kuvera* (Fig. I) : The God of wealth, engraved on a piece of black granite stone (2½ ft. × 2 ft.). Some are of the opinion that this is a Brahma Murti, but I think that they are not correct. (Reference regarding this may be available in the Indian Museum,



Sri Chandi (Devi Murti—Fig. III)

I came across many relics of the Jain gods and goddesses of Brahmanical faith and I became impressed with the account of the ancient history of religious life of the people of this district.

I found the following relics at Deulbherya : (1) A full image of Mahavira. (2) One image of Kuvera (god of wealth). (3) One image of Chandi. (4) One big stone wheel (local opinion regarding the wheel : this was one of the wheels of the chariot of Mahavira). (5) Four pillars (*stambha*) ; these are the railings (*vedika*) or the points of gate-way (*torana*) of the ruined temple (6 ins. × 6 ins. × 4 ft.).

The first three were kept in a new temple made by the late Mr. Ramananda Chatterji, Editor, *The Modern Review*, with the help of Mr. R. C. Dutta, I.C.S., the then District Magistrate, Bankura, 1936.

(1) *Mahavira* : Nude image of Mahavira (in standing posture), under the cover of a serpent and followed by twenty-four sub-images in different sizes (these statuettes may be the Jain Tirthankaras). 7 to 8 Century A.D.—Engraved on a piece of black hard stone (3 ft. × 2 ft.).



Kuvera (Fig. I)

Calcutta and Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta). 8th Century A.D.

(3) *Sri Chandi* (Fig. II) : This is a bust stone figure of Chandi standing in a peculiar pose with eight arms while she is in action. The image is carved out on both sides of a piece of round black granite stone slab (1 ft. × 8 ft.).

(I saw only one image of Nataraj of this type in Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta).

From the iconographical point of view (the style of their construction and sculpture) these images are not in any way inferior to the images of the time of the Pala dynasty (mediaeval period) collected from North Bengal.

## II

*Sri Chandi* (Fig. III) : This is an old relic of Sri Chandi (Devi Murti), offering blessings, found in Deulbhira (J.L. No. 135), P.S. Indpur in an old ruined Buddhist Temple.

Engraved on a piece of brown speckled sand-stone (1½ ft. × 16 ins.). 7th Century A.D.

### III

During my study of iconography, iconology, archaeology and the Jain and Buddhist religions I have noticed that each and every Matha is followed by other images also in the district of Bankura.

(a) Images of Kuvera.

(b) The Ambica, Sri Durga, Sri Chandi, (Sakti as the principle of world-force) or some other female images of the serial.

(c) Ganesha.

### REFERENCES

(i) I saw two Kuvera Murtis, one at Parsvanath Jain temple in Ambicanagar, P.S. Ranibandh and another at Deulbherya temple, P.S. Chhatna.

(ii) Four Sakti Murtis, two are in the Deulbherya temple, in P.S. Chhatna and Deulbhura temple, P.S. Indpore, the third one in the Parsvanath temple in Ambicanagar.

### IV

These are ancient historical places of importance. In order to get full knowledge of Deulbherya and Deulbhira temples a detailed survey and further excavations are very much useful and essential.



Sri Chandi (Fig. II)

## PAKISTAN SECURES AMERICAN AID IN AUGMENTING HER AIR-POWER

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS

By this time it is realized by the Indian public that in 1948 Pakistan's program was to further balkanize partitioned India by (a) invasion of Kashmir, (b) aiding the Hyderabad revolt and (c) creating a Moslem uprising in India (through the 30,000,000 Moslems still in India). These failed because Indian Army and Security forces proved to be superior to those of Pakistan and the disrupting elements in India.

Recently we pointed out that Pakistan with the aid of the British Government and anti-Indian elements in Britain was busy in augmenting its air-power by adding British bombing planes and British and Polish pilots to its air forces. Now we find that Pakistan has secured support from the American State and War Departments to strengthen its air-power.

Mr. Ansel E. Talbert, in an article entitled "U. S. Assisting Pakistan and Turkey in Air," published in the *New York Herald Tribune* of July 24, 1949, among other things, supplies the following revealing information on the subject :

"With approval of the Air Force and the State Department, the Government of Pakistan has signed a contract with the Hawthorne Flying Service calling for the training of twenty Royal Pakistan Air Force flying cadets in P-51 Mustang fighter aircraft.

"The training will be the only commercial contract military flight training being carried out in the

United States. It will be centered at the Hawthorne Flying Service's base at Jacksonville, Florida but will include courtesy visits to such air defense establishments as Mitchell Field, L.I.

"A minimum of sixty hours of flight training for each Royal Pakistan Air Force cadet in Mustang type aircraft is guaranteed by the contract. The course will include formation flying, night flying, camera gunnery, cross country and other fighter phase flying. Ground school instruction will amount to about 120 hours with a considerable additional amount of skeet shooting.

"The Pakistan cadet detachment, which already is in this country and has undergone some preliminary training, is under the command of Lieutenant Zafar Chaudry. The Hawthorne Flying is headed by Beverly Howard, one of the most famous acrobatic pilots of the United States. Under his direction during the recent war it trained several thousand cadets of the French Air Force and other air forces of the United Nations."

It may be surmised that Pakistan has secured financial aid from the United States for augmenting its Air-Power. Has the Government of India made any arrangements to secure American support to strengthen its national defence, especially air-power? If not, why not? Pakistan's increasing Air-Power may become a serious menace to India. India must have a strong Air-Power.



## TIBETAN BANNERS

By TINKARI MUKERJEE,

*Dy. Keeper, Government Art Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta*

SURROUNDED by huge mountain ranges or by impassable deserts and swamps on almost all its frontiers, Tibet with an area of some 470,000 square miles has for centuries maintained an art tradition of a very high aesthetic order. These physical factors are mainly responsible for the isolation of the country and have protected it from foreign exploitation.

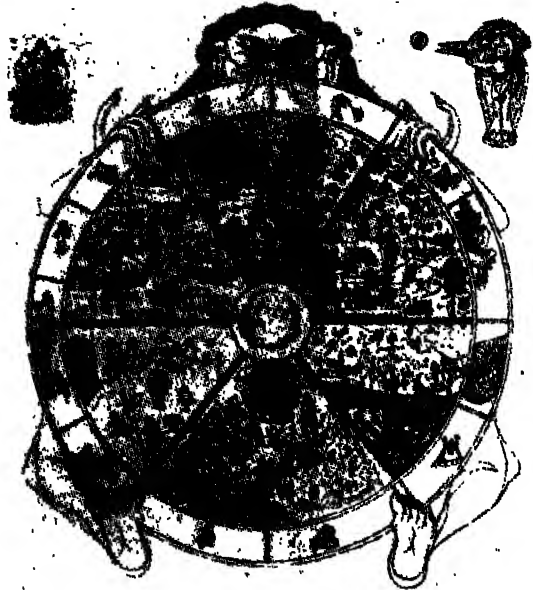


A portion of a painted banner representing King Asoka

Tibetan art mainly finds expression in sculpture and painting. Tibetan paintings or Tangkas as they are called represent iconographically Tibetan religion and are hung up in all Tibetan monasteries and private dwellings where they are worshipped with the numerous gods and goddesses of Tibet. "To what inner riches all these paintings bear testimony! The most exalted spirituality set in a wealth of colour, of which the gold-shot given is like finely coloured duck-weed in a dark moat over which the quiet mid-day sun is playing."

Like every art of the world Tibetan banners had their origin in religion. History furnishes us with ample illustrations of religion moulding the aesthetic sentiments of the people but in the east the effects of Buddhism on art are much more striking. In ages long gone by when there were no railways and when the mode of communication was not so easy as it is now, the communities of different religions used to send, for the propagation of their faith, preachers to different coun-

tries with religious picture-scrolls and idols. These Tibetan banners, it is presumed by many, are the survivals of this ancient method of spreading religion by painted pictures. Instances are not rare in the history of India sending out its religious preachers to China, Japan and the neighbouring countries where they finally settled introducing Buddhist thought and



A Tibetan banner representing the wheel of life

influencing the art of the country they settled in. Even today it is not an uncommon scene to come across, in remote Indian villages, artists spreading out their scrolls of pictures depicted in brilliant colours the episodes of gods and goddesses and expounding them before their amazed villagers.

Tibetan banners may from the point of view of execution be divided into three classes: (1) Embroidery, (2) Applique, (3) Painted.

In embroidered banners the subject to be depicted is done entirely by numerous stitches of embroidery. They generally take a longer time for completion than painted ones and require much patience and fortitude. It is a wonder to see Tibetan artists passing hour after hour in their arduous task, shut up in their cell with occasional sips of tea mixed with butter.

In applique banners the subject to be depicted is formed by sewing together small pieces of dyed cloth of various colours and shades in accordance with some preconceived colour scheme. In technique these banners resemble the famous Kalga works of the Burmese. Sometimes these embroidered and applique banners are set with turquoises which by their bluish lustre impart a peculiar beauty and tone to them.



The cloth used for painted banner is either canvas or cotton. Before painting is done the cloth is made wet and while damp, is stretched over a wooden frame. To keep it tight and properly stretched its margins are stitched to the frame. A paste of lime and flour with occasional addition of glue is made. The paste thus prepared is then smeared over the surface of the cloth stretched on the frame and it is allowed to dry. When dry the surface is rubbed and slightly polished by a stone and is thus made ready for artistic treatment.



An applique banner depicting the celestial Buddha Ratna Sambhava of golden yellow colour

*Courtesy : Indian Museum*

Outlines of drawings are then made on it by a charcoal crayon which are afterwards filled up by brilliant colours in accordance with the colour scheme of the artist. The cloth is then cut out of the wooden frame and stitched with embroidered cloths all round which are imported from China and containing in most cases designs of dragons and flowers in wires of gold and

silver. The banner thus mounted is then stitched to two wooden rollers at the two ends. The four ends of the wooden rollers in most cases are fitted with metal knobs embossed with some designs. "These banners are painted by a certain class of Lamas who kept alive the Indian Buddhist art traditions in painting as well as in wood carving which were introduced from Nepal by the Tibetan King, Srong-tsan-garpo in the seventh century A.D. The Tibetan Buddhist images in metal, cast or beaten, are not as a rule made by the priestly class, but by lay workers, mostly Nepalese." The colours used in these paintings have a deep symbolic meaning and the artists use them in full consideration of the qualities attributed to the subjects of their paintings.

The subject depicted in these banners are episodes from the lives of gods and goddesses depicted in Lamaism which has been characterised as "a priestly mixture of Sivaite mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan demonolatry overlaid by a thin varnish of Mahayana Buddhism." Sometimes personages who made themselves famous by their noble deed of serving the faith also find a place here with their wives who are conceived with their godly attributes. In this category come the kings and queens, ministers and religious preachers of Tibet attributed with godly qualities and are painted on the banners. The Tibetan King Srong-tsan-gampo by his service to the country has been canonized as an incarnation of Avalokita. His Chinese queen has been defined as "White Tara" and the Nepalese queen as "Green Bhrikuti Tara" and they are painted in these banners and held in great veneration. The gods of Sivaite and Tantric cults brought from India have their places allotted also in these banners.

The demons and their consorts who play a very important part in Tibetan pantheon are not less worshipped than gods on account of their supernatural power with which they are attributed. They are painted with their respective weapons in such a way as to inspire awe and they are offered homages so that their wrath may not visit the Tibetan families. Astronomical and anatomical banners are also not rare and they bear testimony to the fact that the Tibetans in their zeal for religion have not neglected these important branches of science. Sometimes these banners bear the impression at their back of the entire left hand of some incarnate Lama and they are considered specially holy.

The most educative of these banners are those which depict the "wheel of life." To these banners the Tibetans attach the greatest importance. They in a nutshell try to explain the Buddhist theory of the endless cycles of life and the causes and effects of deeds. An interesting account of these banners have been provided by Wadell as under :

"The most striking of the Tibetan thankas is that known as *Sipa Khorlo* or the cycle of existence. This depicts pictorially the causes and consequences of birth, death and rebirth. Like every *thanka* it

has a symbolical meaning and is met with as a wall painting in the porches of most monasteries and temples as well as a religious banner in the private chapels of the people. All wheels of life are the same in main essentials and differ only in minor details of dress, etc., of the persons portrayed. The *Sipo-Khorlo* is symbolical of the cycle of transmigration in which man must revolve until he attains emancipation by devotion to religion and thus attains Buddhahood.

"The *Sipo-Khorlo* is shown as a circle symbolic of the endless succession of rebirths held in clutches of the God Shinje Chho-Gyal, the king of the dead within whose power every member of the human race must eventually come. Outside the wheel of life are usually shown four Buddhas one in each corner of the *thanka* exemplifying those who have freed themselves from the cycles of rebirth. Within the outer circle of the wheel are two smaller circles. The first of these is a smaller one within which are shown a cock, a pig and a serpent, each of which grasps in its mouth the tail of that immediately in front of it. These three signify the three original sins—lust, mental darkness and hatred. So long as any person clings to these, emancipation from the cycle of rebirths is impossible. The second circle is close within the outer one, the two forming a band with a large space between it and the centre circle. In this outer band are depicted the twelve causes of rebirths or *Nidanas*.

"The space between the centre circle and that next to it is divided into six compartments by lines drawn from the centre the divisions thus formed showing the various regions in which rebirth may take place. Judgment of the souls is done by the King of the Dead, Shinje Chho Gyal. According to their merits and demerits in their last worldly lives they are sent either to hell or to a higher sphere than that in which they last took their birth."

These Tibetan banners do not give us an insight into the life of the Tibetans, i.e. to say, they do not represent pictorially the Tibetan society. Moghul miniatures record in picture the court lives of the Moghuls but the case is quite different with these banners. Besides religion they do not presume to deal with anything earthly. Incidentally however some individuals or some scientific matter find a place in them but they are considered important in so far as they are connected with religion. Apart from religion they have no value for the Tibetans.

These banners with brilliant colours and executed in details have a peculiar charm. As has been pointed out by Vincent A. Smith :

"The colouring is often rich and harmonious, shades of indigo blue in particular being combined with black in a very effective manner. The execution of details, too, is often finished with characteristic Indian minuteness."

To the uninitiated these Tibetan banners appear as extravagances of imagination but to them who can properly understand their underlying meaning they are

a source of never-ending joys. In fact, these banners are not the phases of "undeveloped aesthetic thought—an art lacking adequate power of expression—but a deli-



An applique banner depicting the Sakya Buddha seated in the attitude of Dhyana-Mudra on a lotus throne

Courtesy : Indian Museum

berate conviction based on a deep religious sentiment which feels the reticence necessary in the presence of mysteries too deep for the power of man to realise."

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# MAURICE MAETERLINCK

By PROF. SUNIL KUMAR BOSE, M.A.

"NOTHING in this world is so athirst for beauty as the soul, nor is there anything to which beauty clings so readily."

These words may be said to be the consecrated formula of Maeterlinck's philosophical faith. They are also an attempt at a very difficult synthesis, that between philosophy and art. As a matter of fact, in Maeterlinck's works, philosophy and art stand on a doubtful frontier and this also is certain that the gush of his philosophical passion produces the necessary creative impact upon the contours of his aesthetic self-expression. The pattern of his art is a configuration behind which the stuff of his faith is undergoing a rich imaginative transformation in terms of beauty. As a matter of fact, his art and philosophy are inseparable. But Maeterlinck is not a doctrinaire philosopher of the stereotyped variety preaching truths from the height of his sublime rationalism, in complete disdain of the simple things of life. He is rather a mystic, and instead of ratiocinating on the complex problems of life, he would rather let his thirsty soul be lit up by revelations of truth, by glimpses of beauty, by the richness and grandeur of simple living and simple things. This is the cue to the understanding of Maeterlinck. This also is at once the strength and the weakness of his art ; strength, because it imparts to his works a unique and original character ; and weakness, because it makes his dramas deficient in human conflict. But if we are to look for Maeterlinck, we must do so here and nowhere else. "We all live in the sublime. Where else can we live?" "Beauty and grandeur are everywhere ; for it needs but an unexpected incident to reveal them to us." These are some of the truths which, treading along the twilight track of intuition, Maeterlinck has arrived at.

But this equilibrium was not reached all at once but it came in the process of growth. This optimism, this fine spiritual balance, is a gift of time, an achievement of years. Young Maeterlinck stood riddled by two elusive enigmas of the Universe, Death and Destiny. That is why in his earlier plays he staggers before the shadow of Death and is haunted by the brooding sense of fatality that seems to consume the very vision of Beauty into its womb of unredeemed darkness. Eclipsed by the awful shadow of stark Destiny,—love and beauty seem but to be a fragile futility. Much later, while writing *The Blue Bird*, Maeterlinck makes the giant Destiny shrink down into comparative insignificance in the inspiring presence of Light (knowledge). But in this period of his life, Destiny is remarkably potent. But from *The Treasure of the Humble*, a collection of

philosophical essays, this tragic frustration of life yields place to a synthetic and serene vision of beauty and tranquillity making life resonant of the murmurings of the Infinitude. Maeterlinck the optimist bursts out of the hard shell of the defeatist.

To this Maeterlinck, life itself is full of beauty and significance. To Wordsworth, the meanest flower that blows can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears. And Maeterlinck exclaims : "How truly wonderful is the mere fact of living." To him the simplest and the most familiar things of life bring an apocalypse of beauty which not only cures us of the drudgery of our daily mundane existence but makes the inner core of our life a-glow with the light of sublime living. He says : "Our veritable birth dates from the day when for the first time we feel at the deepest of us that there is something grave and unexpected in life." Like a neo-Platonist, he aims at diving below the surface, at penetrating the veil, at attempting to a more comprehensive conception of beauty and the spiritual satisfaction implied in it. The fine grace and charm of life is in its mystery. Shrouded in mystery, things around are beckoning to us. Maeterlinck would, therefore, dive beneath the dumb surface to hear the eloquence of its expressionless depths. We are such stuff as mystery is made of ; mystery is, in us and around us. The mystery of the things, the whisperings of our soul, the flickerings at the frontiers of the subconscious and the conscious, these are what Maeterlinck would set out to explore and embody.

Normally it is difficult to call this a dramatic temperament. A drama is a hard, concrete, three-dimensional affair. It is not flux, fancy or a flash. It is plot, characterisation and architecture. To bring such a temper to the building up of a dramatic material is not without the danger of a definite set-back in interest. But Maeterlinck, in spite of his mystic temperament, borderland feelings and vague realisations, has overcome the obstacle in an admirable way, and the manner in which he has brought the impact of his philosophy to mould his dramatic pattern constitutes his originality and achievement.

Maeterlinck's conception of tragedy however does not follow the Aristotelian or Shakespearean grooves. In obedience to his own imaginative urge, he had to develop something of a tragic theory. In an essay entitled "The Tragical in Daily Life," he says that the province of the tragical is to reveal

"how truly wonderful is the mere fact of living, and to throw light upon the existence of the soul, self-contained in the midst of ever-restless immensity ; to hush the discourse of reason and sentiment, so

that above the tumult may be heard the solemn and uninterrupted whisperings of man and his destiny. . . . The mysterious chant of the Infinite, the ominous silence of the soul and of God, the murmurings of eternity on the horizon, the destiny or fatality that we are conscious of within us though by what tokens none can tell, do not all these underlie King Lear, Macbeth, Hamlet?"

The function of tragedy therefore is to focus these mysterious suggestions into the forefront and to make the characters instinct with them. Moving incident is not Maeterlinck's trade. To him an old man sitting motionless in an armchair lives a deeper life than the lover who strangles his mistress, the captain who conquers in the battle, or the husband who avenges his honour. Hence follows the theory of what is called 'static theatre' which was Maeterlinck's supreme pre-occupation in the early part of his career. "I do not know," he says, "whether it be true that a static theatre is impossible. Indeed to me it seems to exist already." The essential stuff of drama being action, the idea of static theatre seems at the first instance to be self-contradictory. But Maeterlinck's achievement consists in this that he has synthesised the apparently irreconcilable elements by virtue of his imaginative power, supreme suggestiveness and the gush of his sincere passion. And as for action, it is more psychological than physical, at least, in his earlier plays. In propounding his tragic theory, he has significantly cited precedents from the ancient drama, specially from its accredited master, Aeschylus, whose dramas are conspicuous less by eventfulness than by sentiment and a sense of fatality.

In his earlier plays, therefore, Maeterlinck has established a type by itself in which, physical action being minimised, symbolism and suggestion have become only means of communication. Repelled by the theatricality of the stage, revolting against its over-emphasis upon gross action, he has resorted to this type of drama in which the theme is the state of the soul, and the dialogue is, not the loud rhetoric of the commonplace stage, but an inner dialogue, whose vehicles are gestures, pauses and suggestive setting. And symbols are bound to be the only language where silence reigns supreme. To approach Maeterlinck is to approach the very sanctuary of silence and solemnity. He does not believe that words can adequately express any significant part of our inner experience. " . . . Speech is of Time, silence is of Eternity," he says. With such a peculiar predicament, he naturally produced a drama like *The Blind*, in which, on an eerie island, in a mysterious wood, with stars gleaming overhead, a number of blind men and women under the guidance of an old priest grope pathetically to find their objective, symbolising man's blind and erratic search for truth, for the summum bonum, under the dictates of a priestcraft which is defunct. It is a picture-play with words and actions melted down in the crucible of symbolism. In the earlier play *The Intruder*, it is Death, man's stern destiny, that waits inevitably at the door, ready

to intrude into the inmost sanctuary of life, its sacred recess of love and affection. Members of a family sit in a gloomy room, talking in a matter-of-fact manner, revealing yet in their very accents a heaviness of heart, an aching anxiety, an impeding sense of fatality, on account of the suffering of a young wife, a member of the family, who is lying seriously ill due to childbirth in another room. The dry matter-of-factness of the setting but deepens the tension that pervades the room. Death the intruder is at the door. A Sister of Charity enters to announce that the wife is dead. The plot is simple, the dialogue plain and the characters few. But the atmosphere is tense, the effect is piercing, and the tragedy is crushing. Though a gradual development from mere pictorial presentation to a dramatisation can be traced in the dramas from *Princess Malein* to *The Seven Princesses*, still these plays are mainly mood-pictures, evocations and embodiments of evanescent feelings and fancies.

Maeterlinck's genius however did not stop here. In the maturer periods of his life, he made sallies into newer and uncharted fields and dealt with materials not normally affined to his temperament. With the progress of his mind, his theory of drama also underwent remarkable change, so that he modified it in the following terms: "You must not attach too great importance to the expression; it was an invention, a theory of my youth, worth what most literary theories are—that is, nothing. Whether a play be static or dynamic, symbolic or realistic, is of little consequence. What matters is that it be well-written, well-thought-out, human, and if possible, superhuman, in the deepest significance of the term. The rest is mere rhetoric."

*Monna Vanna* represents this changed attitude to life and art, and is certainly a marked departure in tone and technique. From the shadowy regions of the subconscious, from the mysterious corridors of dreams and fancies, Maeterlinck steps out into the world of concrete affairs, into the white heat of human conflict. In the 15th century, Pisa having been besieged by the Florentine army under Prinzivalle, a hired mercenary, Guido, the Governor of Pisa, sends for terms of peace from the enemy. Prinzivalle agrees to betray his masters and help Pisa on condition that Guido's wife Monna Vanna shall come to his tent one night. In the interest of the besieged people, Monna Vanna agrees and goes to his tent, but Prinzivalle proves the nobility of his love for the lady by honouring her. Pisa is thus relieved of the enemy menace. But Guido would not believe in the nobility and sincerity of Prinzivalle but condemns him. Monna Vanna pleads with her husband in vain. She, therefore, prefers to save her noble lover than stick to her ignoble husband. What is brought out in this drama is the richness of humanity set off against the conventional rules of conduct. Two other plays, *Mary Magdalene* and *The Burgomaster of Stillemonde*, show with equal success that Maeterlinck is not altogether a solitary sojourner in the land of legends, dreams and fairies, that he has also a sense of realism

that yields to none in its gripping power and that he has the mastery over the difficult technique of a dramatic action with a human conflict.

These plays are naturalistic in their trend, but not all his later plays, not at least *The Blue Bird* and its sequel, *The Betrothal*. The former has been the keystone in the arch of his worldwide reputation. It is a children's classic as well as an adult's guide to moral and spiritual regeneration. Tytyl and Mytyl, under the advice of Fairy Berylune, go out in search of the blue bird, and having made very difficult adventures in imaginary and romantic lands, come back disappointed in their quest. The thin veil of the story cannot conceal the meaning the writer wants to convey. The blue bird is the symbol of happiness, which, though sought for in the distance, in the past, in the present, can be found only about oneself in little acts of kindness and love. But ultimately happiness lies in quest and not in conquest. Perhaps one of the most interesting scenes in the drama is the church-yard scene where the children discover that "there are no dead," and is comparable to one in Tagore's *Falguni* in which the strenuous search for Eternal Old Age ends ultimately in the discovery that he is a myth and does not exist.

*The Betrothal* is equally interesting as a story and as full of a solemn significance. The little Tytyl of the previous play is now 16 years of age and sets out once more, under the guidance of the same Fairy Berylune, in quest of his life's mate, a bride. This time there is the gigantic figure of Destiny to lead him by the hand, but Light (knowledge) taking the leadership of the

expedition, makes Destiny shrink into insignificance. The choice of the bride has to be made from among six girls. And then there is the Veiled Form whom Tytyl can not recognise. Tytyl has to go to the land of Ancestors and Children to be able to make the right choice, and at the end, the Veiled Form is found to be the little sick girl of the neighbour Berlingot in *The Blue Bird* and the choice falls upon her.

*The Blue Bird*, in spite of the rich dramatic materials incorporated within it, is a fanciful play and so is *The Betrothal*, both being symbolical and allegorical. Yeats' *Countess Cathleen* is a mystical play of the same type. Tagore's symbolical dramas are remarkably successful. The question now is whether and how far these plays can be put on the stage like any other play. Many of Tagore's symbolical drama have been staged with remarkable success. A drama like *The Post Office*, having comparatively less of physical action and being much simple in texture, has often been admirably presented. Even the rich and complicated poetry of *The Red Oleander* is capable of representation. Of Maeterlinck's plays *The Blue Bird* set up a wonderful record by being presented by the Moscow Art Theatre. Maeterlinck thinks that "the theatre is the place where most masterpieces die." Still it must be admitted that the symbolical plays are a class apart and that they have their own technique of presentation and own peculiar appeal. From this point of view, their presentation may not appear altogether a vandalism against the sanctity of art as many are disposed to think.

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## THE BALANCE OF POWER IN EASTERN ASIA

By G. L. SCHANZLIN

ONE of the most fateful decisions made towards the end of the Second World War was the division of Korea into two zones of occupation, the Russian and the American. It committed the United States to a policy of defending a portion of the Asiatic Continent against encroaching Sovietism. What makes political thinking so vague in these days is this very fact of warring between two politico-economic philosophies, personified as it were by two great powers. On the face of it the accepted view has it that the capitalistic half of the world, represented almost solely by both Americas, and the communistic half, represented by Russia and her satellites, are engaged in a life or death struggle for global supremacy. All other interests, no matter how largely they may figure in actual reality, are subjoined in either group under the respective two slogans, Communism and Capitalism. All other considerations, military, political, economical, humanitarian will have to wait for their turn till the one question is decided, which of the two systems shall prevail in Asia.

the western code of political economy, or the revolutionary innovation which Moscow proposes and propagates?

Outside of a few South American republics bordering on the Pacific, the chief nations looking out upon its broad expanse are Russia, China, and the United States. In the cases of the United States and Russia it cannot be said, that the part of their territories which faces the Pacific is the most important part of each. The vital section of Russia, the very seat of her power is still west of the Ural Mountains, just as the corresponding portion of the American territory is east of the Rocky mountains. It has become customary to think of the basin of the Pacific as one holding untold possibilities for progress and development in every field of human endeavour, but that time clearly is not yet. The Old World, Europe and Western Asia are still the field of greatest effort. Yet in the Second World War the Pacific has been next to the most important theatre of military action, and the shift in Balance of Power in all of that region has been signi-

significantly great. While no real peace is in sight neither in Europe nor in Asia, the situation on Asia's Pacific shores has been in danger of being overlooked as compared with the struggle for position that is going on in the zone of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean has become an important international oil region of the globe, and the strife of competition of the great powers runs high.

Great Britain has been able to keep her hands pretty well free from other Asiatic entanglements. Hongkong, being an island, will be in no immediate danger from the secondary red flood of communism, which has swept over the greater part of China. Her old policy of holding islands, like Malta, Cyprus, Sokatra, Ceylon, Hongkong and others is likely to justify itself even in the air age; it has certainly justified itself in the last war. Even Aden in Arabia, although on the mainland, partakes of the advantage of an isolated position, strongly held, hard to attack and easy to defend.

It may have been wise strategy on the part of Great Britain to give up her chief territorial possession in Asia, the great Indian Empire. It was a step of tremendous importance in world conditions and power-politics and the reasons for such a step were no doubt many or at least several. The fact remains that Great Britain has at present no large territorial possessions in Asia to defend, such as could easily be invaded. Sea power augmented by air power or *vice versa*, air power supplemented by sea power, will of necessity require strong bases, and wherever such bases are far enough away from opposing bases situated on mainlands, they will be great assets.

A book was published in 1944, *Bases Overseas* by George Weller, a book which has probably not received the attention which it merited at that critical period. The subtitle is "An American Trusteeship in Power."

But the principles laid down by Mr. Weller, while he applies them largely to what he saw were the needs of America at that time of great opportunities, go far beyond any application for any particular country at any particular time. He is strong in insisting on systems of bases in proper relation one to the other, for mutual support. The United States, by taking over the islands north of the Equator have taken the opportunity to extend such a system of bases reaching across the whole width of the Pacific from the American west-coast to Okinawa. How far the zone of American controlling power extends north of Okinawa, how many bases America will hold in the Japanese archipelago the future will show.

As it happens, by the partition of Korea, America has stepped in the shoes of Great Britain by having

become responsible to hold and defend a section of the Asiatic mainland. It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between occupied territories, with definite time-limits of occupation, and territories, which have been clearly marked to become more permanent holdings due to strategic reasons, like the Carolines, the Marianas, and perhaps all the other groups of Micronesia. The larger islands of Japan, with Korea, will probably belong to the former group, the Micronesian islands to the latter.

On the mainland the one great disturbing element has come into the situation by the rapid Communist invasion of the main provinces of China down to and beyond the Yangtse, covering the whole Chinese coast from Tientsin to Fuchow. Whether, or how this will affect the strategic position of America in the northern Pacific remains to be seen. As the case stands now in mid-summer of 1949, the half of Korea, south of the 38 parallel, presents the only section of the coast of Eastern Asia, which is not in communist hands with the exception of the coastlines of the three southernmost China provinces, Kwangsi Kwangtung and part of Fukien. How able the Chinese communists will prove to be at organisation of the huge territory which their force of arms has given them, remains to be seen. How far they will be willing to fit their commonwealth into the larger communist sphere of Russia itself, politically, militarily, economically or ideologically, on all such questions and problems we probably shall remain in the dark for some time to come.

Curious light has been shed on Russian methods of expansion, by the book of James F. Byrnes, former American Secretary of State. None of the many personal accounts by prominent American leaders during the war period has shed as much light on the psychology of Russian statesmen notably Molotov, as Byrnes' *Speaking Frankly*, Harpers, 1947, in that most enlightening chapter 14, "What Are The Russians After." The intrigue, which preceded and led to Hitler's attack of Russia, have been brought out by Mr. Byrnes in a fashion that is exceedingly frank and candid. There is no pussyfooting or mincing of words in the account.

As regards the division of Korea, however, Mr. Byrnes is extremely reticent, and one can only wonder, how Mr. Acheson, the present successor of Mr. Byrnes, will handle the ticklish problems which have arisen out of the concessions made to Russia at that time. It is to be hoped, that economic considerations, the needs of hungry millions, reasonable and rational thinking and planning, on both sides of the "Iron Curtain", will undo some or most of the insane situations which war created.



# CULTURE AND EDUCATION IN THE U. S. A.

By VAJUBHAI PATEL B.A., B.T., M.A. (Columbia)

"CULTURE is activity of thought and receptiveness to beauty and human feeling. Soaps of information have nothing to do with it. A merely well-informed man is the most useless bore on God's earth. What we should aim at producing is men who possess both culture and expert knowledge in some special direction. Their expert knowledge will give them the ground to start from and their culture will lead them as deep as philosophy and as high as art."—Prof. Whitehead.

## WHAT IS CULTURE ?

Matthew Arnold once described Culture as an acquaintance with the best that has been known or said. Taking a broader view, we may say that culture is the habit of mind of people which perceives and estimates all matters with reference to their bearing on social values and aims. Thus the culture of a nation is a mixture of popular philosophy, tradition, history, myth and legend and it is not possible to draw a line between any of them. Every incident and story and moral in them is engraved on the popular mind and gives a richness and content to it.

In order to have a proper understanding of the culture of the American people we will have to study their history, the pioneers and the revolutionaries, the "rugged individualists" and the stalwarts of free enterprise, the aristocracy of paper and patronage and the builders of Four Freedoms and Peace. We will have to examine their basic ideals and governing concepts, their hopes, fears, aspirations, their literature and philosophy and all other activities of life which are conditioned by these ideals and concepts.

## AN APPRAISAL OF THE CULTURE OF U.S.A.

The culture of U.S.A. is dominantly an Anglo-Saxon Christian culture. It is in the process of synthesis, involving many confusing and some conflicting tendencies. There is not yet sufficient unity with respect to ends and means. Such a blending of peoples, cultures, ways of living, as it is in U.S.A. would hardly be otherwise. The reason is, the U.S.A. is not only a New World, but a Young World.

American history is of a short span.

"The life-time of an American 90 years old at present would have spanned several great eras. In his childhood he would have heard his parents tell stories of hardships during America's war for Independence. He would have seen with his own eyes an America of forests and wildernesses, transformed into a world of machines of electrical and chemical inventions and of great cities. He would have witnessed ship-loads of poor but ambitious men from Europe, cross the Atlantic and rush ashore to release their boundless energies, clearing forests, digging mines, building rail-

roads and high-ways, constructing factories, founding great cities and accumulating huge fortunes. The machine was first used to save men's labour, but it soon did things impossible for human hands."—Yang, *Chang Kun Meet the U.S.A.*, p. 47.

It is indeed amazing to find the nation of farmers growing so rapidly into a gigantic nation of workers. The proud industrial America did not appear until the end of World War I. In 1860, urban population made up 19.8 per cent of the nation. Thirty years later it was still only 35.1 per cent, not until 1920 did it reach the half-way mark, with a percentage of 51.2.

## POSITIVE FACTORS

During the course of this short history of their amazing growth we find that until the end of the 19th century the culture of U.S.A. was that of pioneers. Their life was moulded out of individual initiative, ambition, courage, daring and great physical and mental hardships. The pioneers of necessity made their own culture to fit the conditions under which they lived. From the very beginning the quantitative measures of values assumed a definite place in the mentality of the people. As Adams has very tersely put it :

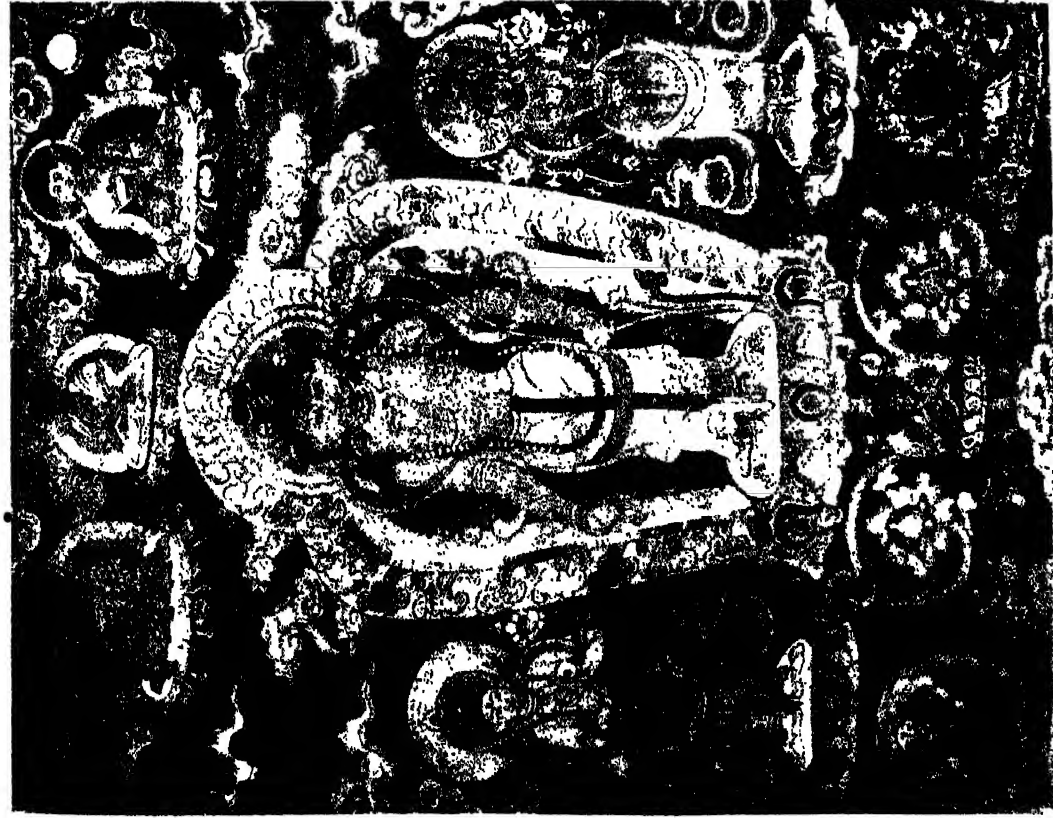
"The concept of bigger and better things, the size and wealth came to be a symbol of success and the sense of qualitative values was lost in the quantitative and the spiritual in the material."—Adams, James Truslow, *The Epic of America*, p. 216.

Thus the frontier remained a dominating moulding force in their life. Similarly the political and social concepts were also evolved by these pioneer conditions.

Their "democratic ideal asserts the worth and dignity of the individual human being and the fundamental moral equality of all men. It proclaims a faith in mind and reasoning, in the capabilities of ordinary people, and in the indefinite perfectibility of human society. It also believes, in material security for all, equality of opportunity for personal growth, reasonable equality of economic condition, general participation in the process of government, safety of life and liberty of person, access to the sources of relevant knowledge, unfettered exchange of ideas and opinions, freedom of thought and conscience, and rule by majority of decision."—Count George S., *The Prospects of American Democracy*, p. 319.

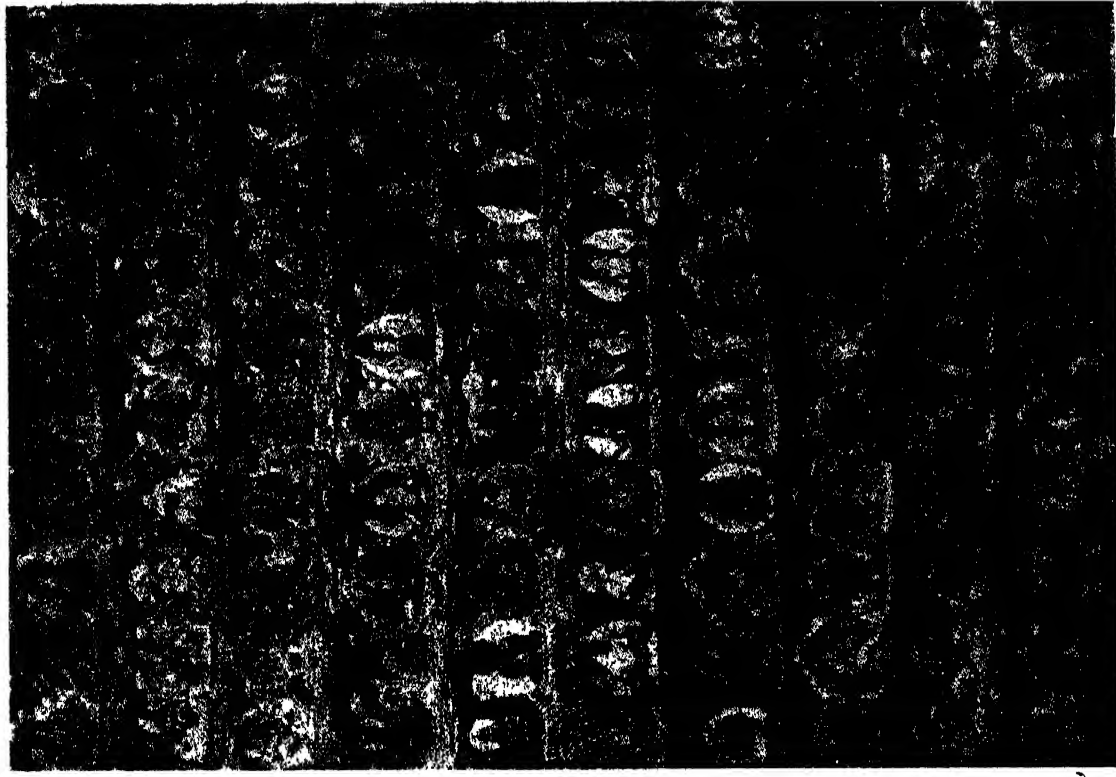
We find this faith proclaimed in an imperishable form in that sublime document, the Declaration of Independence. True, this charter of democracy has been often grievously violated, but it is a matter of common knowledge that in times of stress, the American people return to it almost instinctively for inspiration and guidance. What is important is the commitment to and striving for democratic goals. Therefore, the Declaration stands today as one of the most deeply cherished spiritual possessions of the American people.





An embroidered Tibetan banner ornamented with turquoises

*Courtesy : Indian Museum*



A painted Tibetan banner (Tibetan Pantheon)

then higher education. The elementary school enrolment increased from 16,000,000 to 24,000,000 between 1900 and 1930. But then it declined due to birth-rate decline and immigration restrictions. Now it is fairly stable. The educators are concerned to see that children get training appropriate to their development in a unitary and integrated plan of education.

We find phenomenal rise in public high schools within the last 40 years. High school enrolments from 500,000 in 1900 to 1,000,000 in 1910 and 2,000,000 in 1920 and over 4,000,000 in 1930 and approximately 7,000,000 in 1940. Formerly the high school education was dominated by the college programme but now we find the trend definitely toward providing a common background of outlook and knowledge and experience for all. There is provision for individual differences in interests, abilities and needs. They are met through (i) guidance, (ii) differentiated schools, (iii) differentiated curricula, (iv) differentiated methods, (v) differentiated standards and (vi) co-operative work study plans. We find today the core-curriculum in many schools. There is a trend for general education movement.

#### AIMS OF EDUCATION

Today the traditional aims of education are re-interpreted in the light of new conceptions of human nature and of democratic society. Educators realise that education must rely on a fundamental democratic philosophy of society, curriculum should be built and carried out through democratic methods of study, discussion, co-operation and aimed at a definite social programme. Curriculum is thus shaped by the needs of society and interests of pupils. From the point of view of culture it is apparent that education must stress the vital connections between the schools and the culture of the surrounding community in larger society. As Prof. Counts says:

"Fundamentally and comprehensively considered, education is a process of inducting the young and immature into the life and culture of the group—into its ways of acting, thinking and feeling, into an appropriation of its material and spiritual possessions—its folk-ways and mores, its institutions and social arrangements, its skills, knowledge and appreciations, its arts, science and philosophy. Through this process the individual human being is formed and a particular society is perpetuated."—Counts, George S., *The Prospects of American Democracy*, p. 296.

This conception of education is a progressive and enlightening force in society. In this connection it is pertinent to mention the principles of the new education or the progressive education. In this age of scientific realism, under the intellectual democratic leadership of John Dewey, a new and progressive outlook for American education is formulated by educators like Kilpatrick and others. It attempts to devise a theory of education that can adequately assimilate the new social and intellectual trends of the present day. It is apparent that an adequate theory of education must take into account the best evidence that has been presented by modern science, social science and psychology.

Human nature, according to modern science, is viewed not as something fixed and eternal from all times, but as a mode of reaction developed in and through the surrounding culture. This new conception of human nature and individuality has led a tremendous movement at all levels of education. We find that a scientific and experimental attitude has largely permeated the educational practice in U.S.A.

These principles of New Education demonstrate the truth that (i) Education is life, not merely preparation for life, (ii) Subject-matter is a means and not an end, (iii) Respect for the dignity and worth of individual personality is the first requisite of good teaching, (iv) Pupil participation in proposing, choosing, planning and executing and evaluating is the second requisite of good teaching, (v) The function of the school is not only to transmit the culture but also enrich the culture through more effective living of its graduates, (vi) The standards of success and promotion should be stated and applied in terms of pupil growth in knowledge, skills, attitudes and competence in social living rather than in terms of mastery of a prescribed subject matter.

I think that one of the contributions of education in U.S.A. to other countries of the world is this scientific study of education.

#### NEGATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF EDUCATION IN U.S.A.

There are certain fundamental defects in the educational practice in U.S.A. which we must take note of in this connection. The programme of enormous inequalities continues to exist still today in the quality and amount of education available to various groups in population. We find that the average expenditure per pupil in the whole country in 1940 was \$80.00 but the expenditure was less than \$50.00 in nine southern States, more than \$100.00 in eight other States. Mississippi had only \$25.00 less than one third of the Nation's average and less than one-fifth spent by New York State. Great inequalities are still apparent in the provisions of educational opportunities for Negro children as compared with White children.

Then there is the lack of proper balance between the centralised and decentralised control and support of education. Educational Policies Commission of N.E.A. and Problems and Policies Committee of American Council of Education deplored centralizing trends of Federal Government and its tendency to control education but they insisted that the Federal Government must participate in the support of education.

There are certain other unsolved problems in both theory and practice of education in U.S.A. but this is not a place to go deep into the matter. Similarly it is needless to discuss here the type of higher education which remains least affected by modern trends so far. But I can't help quoting here a good passage from Prof. Counts' one of the best books, by way of general criticism of the educational practice that is available there *vis-a-vis* the culture of U.S.A. :

"While the school has taught children the mechanics of reading, it has not taught them to understand what

they read in the newspapers and magazines. While it has acquainted them with many important facts about American history, it has not given them an intelligible picture of the nature of democracy and its changing forms during the past several generations. It has burdened the minds of children with endless details of governmental forms and practices, but has failed to give them an understanding of the underlying forces in economy and society. It has required of them scholarship of formal and academic type, but it has not given them practical insight into the social order, nor sense of responsibility for participating in its democratic guidance. It has taught them to salute the flag and take oaths of loyalty to the Constitution, but has prepared them to understand neither. In a word in spite of its many and genuine achievements, it has failed to give to the rising generation that penetration into American history, institu-

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tions, culture and society essential to intelligent citizenship. In the words and spelling of William Manning, it has failed to give its charges 'knowledge' necessary for a free man."—*Ibid*, p. 248-9.

But this should not make anybody pessimistic about the future of education in U.S.A. The reason is, they have in their heritage the source of a great education. They have unsurpassed faith in the work and power of learning. They nurtured that faith at every stage of their growth. The founders of the Republic notably Franklin, Jefferson, Madison and Washington believed that their strength depended on the spread of enlightenment. Hence today when they are confronted with difficult personal and social problems, they are inclined to turn to education as an unfailing solution.

## INDIAN EMBASSY TO THE VATICAN

By P. O. PHILIP,

*Formerly Secretary, National Christian Council of India*

INDIA has been declared to be a Secular State ; and the constitution, so far adopted, is based on the high principle of neutrality to all religions, and at the same time of absence of antagonism to any religion. But it is difficult to reconcile with this declared policy the action of the Government of India in appointing an envoy to the Vatican and in return receiving in New Delhi the Pope's Nuncio with the status of an ambassador.

If Great Britain and some of the countries of the British Commonwealth have ambassadors at the Vatican, it is because they do not profess to be secular states. The status of the Church of England as the established Church and the legal right that the British Parliament still has to veto certain ecclesiastical actions show that the church and state in that country are not separate. The United States of America, by constitution and usage, is the outstanding example of a modern secular state which, at the same time, guarantees religious liberty to all its citizens and treats all religions alike. Soviet Russia is at the other extreme a blatantly secular state which permits religious organisations to exist or function only on its own terms.

India will never become a secular state like Russia. Nor will she adopt the pattern of Great Britain which in spite of its democratic form of government still shows favours to one form of religion, 'namely, that represented by the Church of England. India with her many religions has before her the model of America which maintains as a state strict neutrality to all religions—Protestantism in its various forms, Roman Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity, Unitarianism, Judaism, Oriental Cults and also Agnosticism and Atheism. In fact, there is much in common between the provisions made in the constitution of India and the corresponding clauses in the constitution of U.S.A.

The constitution proper of U.S.A. merely provided at first that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." The First Amendment to this enacted 160 years ago declared that "the Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The effect of this Amendment has been understood throughout American history, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, as "erecting a wall of separation between church and state." Church as church was left outside the jurisdiction of government. It was to stand on its own feet, independent, free, self-supporting, flourishing or perishing in the broad domain of liberty.

The principle stated in the First Amendment forbids the making of any law, and therefore the taking of any executive action which involves the interlocking of the official functions of the state with the official or institutional functions of any Church. Accordingly, any kind of aid from state funds to educational or other institutions conducted by any religious body is denied. But in recent years, with the immigration of large numbers of Roman Catholics from the predominantly Roman Catholic countries of Europe and Latin America and with the organised activities of the political side of the Roman Church centred in the Vatican, efforts are being made to nullify the principle of religious neutrality of the state. Through propaganda and political lobbying, they try to effect breaches here and there in the wall of separation that now exists between state and church and finally to bring it down. The main conflict is now around the question of giving support from state funds to Roman Catholic schools. The Roman Catholic approach is along two lines of argument : first, that

"separation of church and state" is not a constitutional doctrine, but only a "shibboleth" of recent origin derived from the vicious secularist misinterpretation of the constitution and the First Amendment; second, that Roman Catholic schools are "public" schools in that they do the educational work which ought to be done by the state and should therefore share in the benefits of any appropriation of state funds for public education. It is not possible in this article to go into the arguments and counter-arguments advanced in this campaign, vigorously carried on by the Roman Catholic Church and opposed with equal vigour by Protestants, Jews and others. In the course of this conflict some important pronouncements have been made by the High Courts of some of the states of the U S A and by its Supreme Federal Court on a few of the issues raised on the place of private denominational schools in the national system of education. The subject is of such great practical importance in India just at present that it deserves to be studied carefully in all its aspects by those who have the responsibility for shaping her future educational policy.

In this article, it is proposed to deal with only one specific question that stems from the wider issue of separation of church and state. It is the appointment made in 1940 by the late President Roosevelt of an envoy to the Vatican. It happened as an outgrowth of the policy developed by him during the last war under which he appointed a number of men as his personal representatives with the rank of ambassadors to various positions, such as the Flynn mission to Australia, and the Murphy mission to occupied Germany. The sending of an envoy to the Vatican has also been considered by the American public as a step taken by Roosevelt before the 1940 election for influencing Roman Catholic votes. The plea put forward publicly, however, was that an envoy to the Vatican would be of help during war in enlisting the moral support of large groups of men of goodwill throughout the world. He was able to evade the constitutional requirement that ambassadors shall be appointed "by and with the consent of the Senate" by making financial provision for the mission to the Vatican, as for other special missions, from a general fund set apart for use of the President in secret diplomatic activities and for which he does not have to give an accounting.

As soon as the establishment of this ambassadorship to the Vatican was known, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, representing Protestant and Orthodox Churches with a membership of over 27,000,000, adopted a resolution protesting against a procedure which gave to one Church "a preferential status in relation to the American Government." Scores of Church bodies passed similar resolutions. It was said in reply to such representations that the appointment was temporary and would be given up as soon as peace was established. The promise was not only not fulfilled, but President Truman continues the arrangement to this day.

An organisation called Protestants and Other Americans United, was recently formed under influential leadership for challenging the aggressive course pursued by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in undermining the wall of separation between church and state, especially in matters of education. Some time ago, it issued a manifesto in which the following statement occurs on the embassy to the Vatican:

"An ambassadorship to the papal head of the church, represented at the time it was set up as a temporary measure, has been in existence for seven years. President Truman, in 1946, assured a Protestant delegation that it would be discontinued at an early date. But the powerful political pressure which the hierarchy is able to bring to bear against the fulfilment of this promise plainly makes it necessary that a strong and determined public opinion shall express itself in support of its fulfilment."

"We are not deceived by the disguise under which the appointee to this ambassadorship was labelled as the President's personal ambassador. The Pope himself made it perfectly clear in the extraordinary ceremonial by which he received the incumbent that his presence at the Vatican marked a distinct departure from our government's long-established policy. We held that this ambassadorship constitutes an interlocking of the functions of the church and state which is contrary to the principle of their complete separation."

"Protestants and Other Americans United, speaking on behalf of an aroused body of American citizens, demands that this un-American ambassadorship to the head of a church be abolished. We resent, on behalf of all non-Roman churches, the privileged access to the ear of the state which this relationship creates. As patriotic Americans, we call upon all our fellow citizens who cherish the principle of religious liberty which is implemented by the separation of church and state, to join us in condemning this unconstitutional entanglement of a particular church with the American state and in demanding its prompt abrogation."

This acute controversy in America over the establishment of a temporary ambassadorship to the Vatican and the reasons behind it should receive the careful study of Indian public men.

The sending by India, a secular state, of an embassy to the head of one religious community alone cannot be understood. Why is the Government of India, pledged as it is to strict neutrality to all religions and vigorously opposed to communalism in all its forms showing this special favour to the Roman Catholic religion alone among the numerous religions of India? Our Government does not certainly concede the claim made by the Pope that the religion of the Roman Catholic Church is the only true religion. Does it then accept the Vatican and the world-wide Roman Church as a theocratic-cum-secular state whose influence in world politics is still a force to be reckoned with? If so, is not India going back to a conception which prevailed in Europe in the Middle Ages and which progressive modern states have long since discarded? The Indian public will welcome a clarification of the policy of the Government in this matter.

# SANSKRIT AS THE STATE LANGUAGE OF INDIA

By Dr. ROMA CHAUDHURI, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)

THE Constituent Assembly is soon going to discuss the knotty question of a suitable State language for India. In this connection, the claims of the rival provincial languages, like Hindi or Hindusthani and Bengali, are being put forward by their respective protagonists, generating, thereby, a great deal of unnecessary heat and vehemence, which are best avoided in these days of inter-provincial rivalry and strife. It cannot be denied that Bengali, by far the richest and the sweetest of all provincial languages, has the priormost claim of being adopted as the State language of India, if a provincial language be so selected. But it is absolutely foolish to hope that Bengali, the language that is being driven out even from those places where the inhabitants are pre-dominantly Bengali, will ever be selected as the National Language of this vast sub-continent of ours. The more realistic view would be to choose between Hindi or Hindusthani, and a universal language that is not confined to the narrow boundaries of any one province, but is the common bond between all those provincial languages.

The name of Sanskrit suggests itself at once as the only language that can take the place of English, the present universal language of India. But the great distinction between Sanskrit and English is that Sanskrit is most intimately connected with almost all the provincial languages, while English is not. Almost all the provincial languages have evolved out of Sanskrit by a natural, gradual process; and hence Sanskrit has been rightly called the common 'granny' of all those languages. A very large majority of the words of Bengali, Hindi, Malayalam, Telugu, Kanarese, Marathi, Assamese, Gujarati, etc., are purely Sanskrit words or derivations from it. Rules of grammar, pronunciation, etc., are in most cases borrowed (of course, in simplified and changed forms) from Sanskrit. The expansion and development of those languages depend entirely on Sanskrit, as proved by scientific and technical terminology, coined in those languages to suit the demands of time. Sanskrit is an immensely expansive language that contains within itself infinite potentialities for future development.

From a single Sanskrit word or root, many new words can be easily coined which are grammatically correct yet sweet in sound. That is why, the Paribhasha Committee, appointed by the West Bengal Government, have rightly largely drawn upon Sanskrit for formulating a new system of technical words for use in different departments. We believe that the same thing has been done in the Hindi-speaking provinces. Thus, Sanskrit is the life-blood, the essence, the fountain-head of almost all the provincial languages. But English being an entirely foreign language has no such essential connection with any of those provincial languages. It is really an artificially super-imposed outsider, and through the general laws of association, some

English words have come to stay, perhaps permanently, in our provincial languages, English can never, from the very nature of the case, remain, for good, the State language of India. If it be so adopted, the provincial languages are sure to suffer, as they are doing today. For, even if more attention be paid to them than before and their status raised in those provinces, yet as according to the general psychological law it is impossible for us to attend to two different things simultaneously; soon either one or the other is sure to suffer and deteriorate. Take the case of English and Bengali, on the one hand, and Sanskrit and Bengali on the other. English words, grammar, pronunciation, etc., are entirely different from those of Bengali; so that it is really learning two different, unallied languages. But, Sanskrit words, grammar, pronunciation, etc., as pointed out above, are practically identical with those of Bengali, so that it is not learning two entirely different languages, but only a major language and its local derivative. So, in learning Bengali, we simultaneously learn a great deal of Sanskrit, too; and *vice versa*. How much more time and energy are saved here than in the previous case will be testified by teachers and educationists who have seen students flounder so much on the rock of English as to be totally bereft of any energy for Bengali. But those who study Sanskrit can well master Bengali in no time and with the least degree of effort. What is true of Sanskrit and Bengali is equally true of Sanskrit and other provincial languages.

Another great advantage of Sanskrit is that it being the universal root of almost all these provincial languages, to know well that particular provincial language, the mother tongue is to know also other provincial languages, no less. One who knows Sanskrit well, naturally possesses working knowledge of all those Sanskrit-derived languages, like Bengali, Hindi, etc. But this is never so, it goes without saying, in the case of English. In this vast sub-continent of ours, consisting of as many as eleven provinces and no less than fifteen major languages, this is an advantage that is not to be laughed at.

Learning all those fifteen languages of all those eleven provinces is really a formidable task, yet as we are a unity in plurality,—a federation of distinct cultural groups, it is essential for us to know at least something of the languages of each other, for, through this alone, intimate cultural contacts are possible. English, from its very nature, has failed to bring about such an inter-provincial linguistic and cultural contact. But we are very blessed to possess a universal language like Sanskrit which can help us in inter-provincial affinity and intimacy no less. And, finally, when all is said and done, English is a foreign language, and however much we may need English in the present modern world, our State language must be our very

own—a language that has been born and evolved in India, with a vocabulary, grammar and script of its own. What a pitiable sight it would be if we Indians, the herald of the very first dawn of civilisation, have now to declare an entirely foreign language and an entirely foreign script—imposed on us through the exigencies of history—as our own permanent national language and script. Even if we had no such rich, well-developed language like Sanskrit and no such scientific script like Devanagari, it would have been absolutely necessary for us to evolve one. For, admittedly language and script are two of the greatest manifestations of the culture and civilisation of a nation; and hence to adopt a foreign language with a foreign script as our own permanently, would amount to admitting that we are not civilised enough to evolve a language and a script of our own. But when we do possess this wonderful boon in the form of Sanskrit in Devanagari script, we fail to see how the question of English could arise at all.

We do not, of course, deny that English has, to a certain extent, served the purpose of unifying this vast country of ours with different languages, scripts, religions and customs. It cannot also be denied that English has become the world-language today. But still, although we have to go on learning English for cultural and diplomatic contact with the modern world yet under no circumstances should it be elevated to the status of our State language.

Let us next consider the claims of Hindusthani or Hindi. In this connection, we shall do well to draw a clear line of demarcation between the three types of languages with which we are confronted in India, viz, the *Mother Tongue*, the *Lingua Franca* and the *State Language*. The *mother tongue* is the language (or should be) of the vast majority of the people of a province and as such, ordinarily, it has little value from the standpoint of inter-provincial or international contact. The *lingua franca*, on the other hand, is the medium of every day inter-provincial contact—it is a spoken language, a naturally evolved mixed jargon with its slangs and distortions, with its numerous varieties, with its ever-changing rules of grammar and vocabulary—a language of *Bazar*, so to speak. But the *State language* is the vehicle of higher cultural inter-provincial and international contact—it is a written language with more or less fixed rules of grammar and vocabulary, with more or less purity of stock, and though not absolutely scorning a few foreign words, it for ever guards against being reduced to the level of a mere borrowed language. It is, thus, the language of the nation's Courts and Parliaments, of its Universities and Senates, of its international assemblies and learned gatherings,—a language to record its laws and constitution, to express its philosophy and culture, to voice its views and opinions before the world congregation. Further, preferably, it must have a rich past and a richer future—the former will enable it at once to claim an honoured place in the world-federation and attract

foreigners towards it; the latter will enable it to develop and expand further, adapting itself to the changing needs of time. To take an example, Bengali is our *mother tongue*; Hindusthani, the *lingua franca*; English, the *State language*. The question of these three types of languages arises in our case because we are a vast federation of a large number of provinces, each having a quite distinct language and culture of its own. But in England, e.g., these three are practically identical, and the matter is much simplified.

Now, we easily see that Sanskrit and Sanskrit alone can be such a State language of India, as it was in the past. Those who claim Hindusthani as the State language on the basis of the majority of its speakers, forget this simple distinction between a *common language* or the *lingua franca* and a *universal language* or the State language. Hindusthani may at most be the common spoken language between the different provinces. But how can such a hybrid, nebulous changing language, with its numerous varieties from mouth to mouth, from place to place—from Bihar to Kashmir—be the universal written language or the State language of the whole of India?

It may be contended that Hindusthani has to be developed and reformed first before it can be accepted as the State language. But our contention is that as we are fortunate enough to possess an already perfect, well-developed, universally acclaimed universal language in our midst, there is absolutely no point in wasting our time and energy in trying to evolve a more perfect language from the present imperfect one. Practically, its whole structure will have to be changed, new words coined, fixed rules of grammar framed—and that is an immense task, needing much time, money, energy and scholarship. But if we can so easily avoid all these troubles, is it not rather unwise to face them? This is more so, as it will unwarrantably elevate a mere provincial language to the status of a supra-provincial State language, thereby creating a feeling of bitterness in the rest of the country.

Under the present circumstances when inter-provincial wranglings have assumed such a serious form, we think, it is best to avoid further conflicts by keeping all of them and their languages on precisely the same level. That is why, we would not even recommend Bengali, *by far the richest and the sweetest, the most vital and progressive of all the provincial languages*, as the State language of India. For, we know that it would create so much bitterness that any ultimate gain therefrom will be practically lost.

But Sanskrit alone stands apart; it is not the language of any one of the provinces, yet it is the language of all, being, as pointed out above, the past root and the future seed of development of practically all of them. We are sure China and Russia, who were faced with the very same problem, did not possess such a wonderful well-developed language, the root and essence of all the languages of the different provinces, the expression and revelation of all their different



cultures ; a language that is, at the same time, universally acclaimed as the richest and the sweetest as the most rigidly scientific and vitally vigorous, as the most ancient yet ever-fresh language in the world. Otherwise, they would have never rejected it on the funny plea of its being "dead" and out of date and what not. Of all the nations of the world, we alone are blessed with such a peerless, universal language, still, we are persistently refusing to use it for the benefit of our free motherland, and striving to borrow from an absolutely foreign language like English, Arabic or Persian. What an irony of fate !

We do not think it is at all necessary to dwell, on the one hand, on the manifold merits of Sanskrit ; and on the other, refute the charge that it is a "dead" language and to revive it means going back to the Dark Ages. For, these are too well-known to be repeated. But what surprises us is that even a single Indian would dare to call Sanskrit "dead" ! We do not know what exactly is the connotation of the term "dead." Probably, it means a language that has ceased to be spoken. But in that case, Sanskrit has never become "dead" in India. In every province, there are quite a few who not only can, but actually do speak in Sanskrit. Further, the mere fact that a language has ceased to be spoken for the time being, is no argument for its being rejected as "dead." For, speech, after all, is a matter of habit,—what is spoken today may cease to be so tomorrow through a change in habit and *vice versa*. Persian and English were not spoken at all before foreign conquest, but came to be so later on. If under foreign pressure, we could learn a totally new language in those less progressive days of bondage, why cannot we learn our very own Sanskrit in these far more progressive days of freedom ? Sanskrit was replaced by those foreign languages, not by our own sweet will, but by foreign conquests alone. Is it not fit that as we have revived our Asoka Pillar and Dharma Chakra, we should revive Sanskrit as well ? Further, as already pointed out, the State language is never the language of the masses, but of the intellectual few, and those few can easily learn it as their forefathers did Persian and Arabic.

"Dead" may also mean a thing that has become rotten, *i.e.*, has outgrown its use, its claim to continued existence and consideration. But even the most vigorous champion of modernism will not, we think, go to the length of denying the present-day utility of Sanskrit. As pointed out above, the development and expansion of almost all the provincial languages depend entirely on Sanskrit. And, it is needless also to point to the priceless treasures that Sanskrit contains, treasures of Philosophy, Religion, Ethics, Literature, Science, and Art, that can never grow dim with age or lose its pristine purity.

"Dead" may, again, mean a thing that has become "static," *i.e.*, lost its power of growth and re-production ; its inner potentiality and vitality. But according to this connotation as well, Sanskrit cannot

be labelled as "dead." For, even though generally neglected as useless, Sanskrit has never lost its productivity. Original works are still being produced in Sanskrit and Journals edited. Sanskrit dramas are still staged and highly appreciated. *Mantras* and *stotras* are still chanted in Sanskrit. So, when has Sanskrit in India become "dead" ?

Sanskrit is the only language that has stood the test of time, the ravages of foreign conquest, the cold contempt of people at large. It is the only language that has survived the vicissitudes of a long, chequered history of thousands of years. How can such a dynamic language be ever called "dead" ?

Other objections against Sanskrit, such as, it is a too difficult language to be learnt or be of any use, too, can be easily be disposed of. "Difficult," after all, is a relative term, and what is difficult today may cease to be so tomorrow through the simple device of taking it more seriously and paying more attention to it. Learning of Sanskrit has become now-a-days rather a matter of good joke than something serious needing attention and industry. If this attitude be changed, there is no reason why the study of Sanskrit should be more difficult than that of other languages. Sanskrit is such an accommodating language that if its rules of grammar, etc., be simplified and shortened, to suit the present humdrum existence of ours, that would not in any way affect it at all.

Just a word about another common objection against Sanskrit being adopted as the State language of India. It is said that to impose Sanskrit on the Muslim minority would be inconsistent with the ideal of a secular State. As against this, it may be pointed out, first, that the fundamental idea of democracy is the greatest happiness of the greatest number, so unless a measure curtails the fundamental rights of self-development of the minority, it cannot be rejected on the mere ground that the minority objects to it. Secondly, adopting Sanskrit as the State language no way imposes a foreign religion and culture on the Muslims and destroys their own. Their own languages, Urdu, Arabic, Persian, would, of course, be given full opportunities for development and expansion. Even during the age of strife and suspicion, when the relation between Hindus and Muslims was that between the conquered and the conqueror, the Muslims in some cases patronised and enriched Sanskrit literature. Emperor Akbar, Sher Shah, Shah Jahan, who patronised Sanskrit literature and Dara Sikoh, Mohammad Shah, Abdur Rahman, who themselves contributed to it amply prove this. So, why cannot they, under improved condition of perfect equality and fraternity, accept the universal language of India as their State language ? But the most important thing to take note of here is that of the total number of Indian Muslims, not more than one-third speak Urdu or Hindusthani, the rest speak the regional languages like Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, etc. So, if



Sanskrit be the State language, no additional injustice will be done to them over and above the Hindus.

Primary and Secondary education, of course, will be imparted through the mother tongue. But University education and that at the Centre should have the State language as the medium. There will also evolve in course of time a *lingua franca* (like Prakrit in Ancient India) or even in a democratic State, pledged to mass education and adult franchise, the State language is never exactly the language of the masses, for the simple reason that speech from mouth to mouth invariably distorts a language in such a way that its purity of stock or fixity of form is lost, making it totally unfit to be the universal State language.

It is fit that Bengal should take the lead in this movement for making Sanskrit the State language of

India. For, Bengal has ever been the cradle of every revolutionary movement in India. This is more so because Bengal has also been one of the foremost contributors to Sanskrit learning. Bengal has the proud honour of being the land of one of the greatest of Vedic Seers, Dirghatamas; the great founder of the ancient Samkhya, Philosophy, Kapila; the most famous commentator on the logical Vaisesika Philosophy, Sridhara; the greatest author of the Mimamsa Philosophy, Bhavadeva; the most famous exponents of Navya-Nayaya, Navya-Smriti, Tantra; one of the most well-known medical writer, Chakrapani; the greatest lyrical poet Jayadeva and so on. So, let Bengal prove anew the truth of the prophetic statement. "What Bengal thinks today, India will think tomorrow."

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## PUBLIC HEALTH POLICY IN INDIA

By Captain K. B. ROY, M.B. (Cal.) D.P.H. (Cal.), I.M.S. (Retd.)

At the outset let me point out that for the purposes of our consideration here we shall take the meaning of the word Public Health in its literal sense and include all aspects of activity of the Government that directly or indirectly affect the health of the public. At present there is practically no general policy applicable to the whole of India in any aspect of public health activity; and I shall try to show that there is urgent need for such policy in our country. It may be said that under the present Government of India Acts, Public Health is a provincial subject with a few restricted matters only being under the direct control of the Centre; but the same argument also holds good for other subjects like education internal affairs of the provinces (Home affairs), etc. and yet that has not prevented co-ordinated general all-India policies being formulated and enforced for these subjects, to the benefit of the whole country.

The first thing that strikes the mind of any public health worker in this country is that the whole country is more or less uniformly unhealthy and disease-ridden and that the major causes of death are practically the same in all the provinces, though the incidence of particular diseases may vary from province to province and from time to time; another very important fact is that there are particular parts of India which are well-known as the home of particular diseases in the endemic form (i.e., that particular disease is present at that particular spot more or less throughout the year); and it is also well-known that the spread of a disease from such an endemic spot to other parts of India or even to other parts of the world is a common occurrence. The lower parts of the Gangetic valley and some places in Madras Province show the incidence of cholera cases practically throughout the year; and almost all the major cholera

epidemics in India have always been traced back to these particular sources; an outbreak of cholera throughout the country after some fair or festival at Benares or Allahabad or some other place in these endemic areas is so common that it goes completely unnoticed by the public. Some districts of Bihar, some parts of Bombay Province and some parts of Madras Province are such endemic spots for plague; and there is no doubt that it is from these particular spots only that plague spreads to other parts of India in epidemic waves; it is more than probable that the outbreak of plague in Calcutta, after an interval of more than 40 years, in April 1948 was a direct importation of the disease from the neighbouring Province of Bihar, though since then, due to various reasons, Calcutta itself threatens to develop into an endemic plague area. Tuberculosis of the lungs is highly prevalent in all the towns and cities of India and from there is spreading to the rural areas. Examples like this can be multiplied by any public health worker in India, and yet we are still waiting to see even the beginning of any scheme to prevent the spread of a communicable disease from one province to another, even though "prevention of interprovincial spread of diseases" is one of the subjects under direct control of the Central Ministry of Health.

Another very important subject that is in a completely chaotic state due to this lack of all-India policy is the control of the quality of foods and drugs sold to the public. In this matter India today is more backward than India at the time of Emperor Asoka; as is well-known from his rock-edicts, there was more effective control of adulteration of food in India at that time than we have at present. Where other civilized countries of the world are trying to give almost cent per cent

There is a lack of uniformity in the important branch of public health and there are even cases where the law that has been made is not enforced. In this regard, I may point out that the Statute Books in various provinces are not lacking in such laws. All the Provincial Municipal Acts, as well as the Municipal Acts of the big towns like Calcutta, Bombay, etc., contain many provisions for food and drug control. And yet to tell the truth, as will be obvious to the most unobservant member of the public there is absolutely no control over drugs and there is practically no control over foodstuffs so far as their quality is concerned. The main reasons for this state of affairs are: (1) The few prescribed legal standards for foodstuffs vary from province to province the mustard oil that is considered below standard in Bengal will pass the standard of Bihar. (2) Practically the only all India Acts under which the sale of below standard foodstuffs or drugs can be punished at all are the sections in the Indian Penal Code dealing with the offences of "nuisance" and cheating, and without going into the details of these legal provisions I can tell the reader that it is next to impossible to get any convictions in such cases under the present laws. (3) The various Municipal Acts about food and drug control have been framed according to the whims and fancies of the local legislatures. To give an example of the futility of these Municipal Acts under the Bengal Municipal Act it is the local Municipality or District Board at the recommendations of the Health Officer who is an employee of that body, who are responsible for initiating prosecution for any contravention of these food and drug laws, and it is a well known fact that under the existing conditions the local businessmen are usually the most influential members of these Local Bodies, the consequence is that the Health Officer thinks it best to turn a blind eye to these contraventions, both for the stability of his job and also for the peace of his mind. Obviously the position is not so bad in Provinces like Madras where all Health Officers are Government employees. (4) All laws for the control of the quality of drugs in this country, and there are very few of them are rendered ineffective by the absence of legal standards for the drugs and also by the absence of proper machinery to enforce these laws. At present many of the drugs manufactured by either Indian or foreign manufacturers and sold in this country would have rendered the manufacturer and the seller liable to a sentence of imprisonment in any other civilized country. Some of the foreign manufacturers in order to evade the strict Drug Control laws of their own countries adopt various devices to prove that the drugs are for consumption in India or some other equally unfortunate country, one common device is the stamp on the bottle "Tropical quality."

It was one of the recommendations of the Health Survey and Development Committee (Shore Committee) which was appointed in 1946 by the then Government of India to look into these questions, that the present practice

of employing a Civil Surgeon or District Medical Officer to give treatment to the people, and a District Health Officer to prevent disease and improve the health of the people should be abolished in favour of combining both the functions under one and the same officer. This proposal sounds very reasonable even from the common sense point of view. Apart from the question of personal difficulties about co-operation between two medical chiefs in one district each thinking his own sphere to be the most important this dual system can not lead to any improvement in the present conditions. To give an example of the present arrangement in Bengal, the Provincial Administrative Chief is one person—the Director of Health Services, but when we go down the hierarchy the position is completely confusing; the Civil Surgeon is a Government servant and is in sole charge of giving treatment to the people, the District or Municipal Health Officer is an employee of the Local Body and his duty is only to give advice to his superiors about the improvement of health of the local population and then there is the Subdivisional Health Officer who is a Government employee but whose duties and responsibilities are nowhere well defined, thus here we have the very interesting situation that giving treatment to the people is the responsibility of a qualified medical man, but the responsibility for keeping the people fit, which after all is the more important task, devolves on the Chairman of the Local Body who is usually a non-medical man. The result of this triple control at the bottom even though nominally unified at the top, is all too apparent in the state of health in the Province. In contrast to this is the set up in the Province of Madras; that province has the most progressive and comprehensive Public Health Laws in the form of Madras Consolidated Public Health Act 1939 all the Health Officers are Government servants but the old system of dual control with all its drawbacks continue there.

In the matter of medical education and Government recognition of medical degrees the present arrangements are extremely confusing. In some Provinces like Bengal, the Provincial Government is bent upon producing as many doctors as possible in the shortest time by 'upgrading' of all medical schools however ill-equipped by starting 'Faculties' of Indian System of Medicine and other various 'Systems' of healing the sick by starting multiple shifts of classes in the medical colleges, some other Provinces like Bombay or United Provinces follow a more steady policy, the result is that a prefix of Dr. is as common as sparrows in India today and is no criterion of the minimum basic medical qualification of the person using it. The Madras Government has a curious system whereby the doctors practising Ayurvedic Medicine write Dr (Ind) before their names. If this chaotic condition is not brought to an end soon, a time may come when a foreigner will be startled to see prefixes like Dr. (Home), Dr (Ind.), Dr. (All.) etc. in our Medical Registers.

It is this lack of policy that is also directly res-

possible for the unsatisfactory records of the various institutes for medical research that are maintained by the Central and Provincial Governments in this country. There is no dearth of medical talents in India who are capable of conducting medical researches of the highest order, but this talent is wasted at present because of the following reasons (1) There is nobody to give them proper guidance, and (2) there is no arrangement to give them adequate financial aid while they are thus engaged. In other countries, problems for research are usually set by the Government of the country or by members of the public e.g. businessmen, thus ensuring that most of the researches are of immediate practical benefit to the country. The Director of a research institute is personally responsible for giving proper guidance to the students. But in this country both the factors are often lacking, many of the Directors of research institutes confine their duties to signing official papers or at most to delivering some routine lectures to an audience of students or the public. The financial arrangements for research are even more unsatisfactory. The Indian Research Fund Association is practically the only agency through which the Government of India tries to encourage medical research in this country, but this organisation has become too official in its outlook, and the result is the routine nature of the work turned out by students working under this Fund, the scholarships are inadequate in amount (Rs. 200-300 per month), and too much restricted in their scope. So far as the Provincial Governments are concerned the state of affairs is even worse, they mostly expect that medical research should be carried out either without any financial help at all or at most a small allowance of Rs. 100 - or so should do. It is my work of fundamental medical importance being turned out by any of the numerous medical colleges that are in existence in India for the last 100 years? And yet India has given birth to a number of most brilliant medical men of whom any country in the world may be proud.

One very recent example of confused thinking on the part of the Central Ministry of Health is the sending of Indian medical men to Europe and America for higher training. I cannot speak of other professions but so far as medical profession is concerned in all its aspects, the training in the best medical colleges of India is in no way inferior to similar training in any other part of the world, another very obvious fact is that the public health problems of India are totally different from those in Europe or America, what is the earthly use of sending students abroad to learn specialised surgery of the childhood when we can not prevent 160 to 200 children dying from simple preventable diseases within one year of birth out of every 1000 children born in this country? If only the authorities were clear in their mind that what India wants is very good medical men and not merely vain

propaganda about foreign qualifications, the same money spent in appointing some of the leaders of medical thought from Europe and America to some chairs for post-graduate study in the leading universities of this country, would have served the purpose much better in that many more students would have been benefited, and also those professors would have been able to teach about conditions as they exist in this country. Is it not a pity that so much money is being spent in sending a few students abroad to get foreign training, when the Ministry of Health has no scheme whatsoever about how all this newly acquired knowledge, for whatever they are worth is going to be used for the benefit of the country? It is a sad commentary on the aimless policy of the authorities that while they have not yet thought of a single scheme whereby the general practitioner, the backbone of the medical profession in any country can undergo a periodical refresher course for his own benefit, such as is available in England and America, they are bent upon having a few dozen highly qualified specialists by sending them to foreign countries.

I think I have produced enough evidence to show that the formulation of all India policy in public health matters is an urgent and essential matter. Leaving aside all legal quibbles about Provincial Autonomy in a vast but closely knit country like India what can be the function of a Ministry at the Centre except that of co-ordinating the activities of the Provincial Ministries and formulating general policies for their guidance? It is a pity that when the World Health Organisation is trying to co-ordinate the public health activities in all the countries in the world when the spread of any communicable disease from one country to another makes the former a culprit in the bar of world opinion the Government of India believe in letting things be as they are. India is too backward in public health matters to let political expedients allow to hinder progress.

India has become independent since last 21 months, and 24 months is a long time in the life of a nation that is trying to rise. Germany and Japan have risen from their ashes in last 2 to 3 years in two years' time England has turned herself from a war-weary nation without food and without finances again into a first rate World Power. What is lacking in India is the appreciation on the part of the authorities of the basic importance of having a healthy population, how can the farmer grow more food when 3 days in a week he is down with malaria? How can the industrial worker put all his heart in the work, when he or some member of his family is suffering from tuberculosis? How can a nation get respect from the rest of the world when its people are known to be devitalised with chronic diseases, when the homeland of that nation is known as the hot-bed of all kinds of diseases that are synonymous with filth, poverty and neglect?

# FOOD PROBLEM OF WEST BENGAL

By J. N. CHAKRAVARTY, B.A., Dip-in-Agr., M.S.A. (Cornell, U.S.A.), I.A.S. (Retired),  
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ONE can hardly open a newspaper or a magazine now-a-days without coming across a reference to the acute food problem or an appeal from some top-ranking leader for public co-operation. The public are being asked to grow more and eat less. The Prime Minister of India has asked the people to treat the situation as war emergency. During the last six months there have been numerous conferences on food and agriculture and visits by eminent foreign experts as advisers. It is to be hoped that all this belated feverish activity on the part of the Government indicates a real awakening on the part of the Government and a determination to find a real and permanent solution of this most difficult but urgent problem. Let me recall what I wrote three years ago in this connection:

"One hopes that the interest (in agriculture) is not just a passing phase—the latest hobby—but has come to stay and the urban population—the Government as well as the intelligentsia—will not sink back to snug complacency once the present crisis passes by. Or the next crisis will come as a cyclone without warning uprooting all moorings and carrying everything before it beyond the possibility of repair."

My hope did not materialise. With the attainment of independence the cultivator who sweats from early dawn till sunset was again relegated to the background. Let me hope, now at length the real place of the cultivator in the economy of the country will be recognised and he will be given at least as much attention as the mill-owner and the industrial labour though he may not resort to lockouts or strikes. On him depends the ultimate fate of India.

If official estimates can be relied on there is no reason why West Bengal though the most thickly populated province in the Union and including large areas of rather poor soil cannot be made self-sufficient in her food supply in the near future. It may however be necessary for some time yet to depend on the Centre imports to feed the industrial population, most of whom come from outside the province and are mainly wheat consumers. Moreover, wheat and pulses can be grown more economically outside than within the province, and it will be cheaper to import them growing those crops which are more suitable to her soil and climate. West Bengal should then be able to balance her food economy within a reasonable time. Attention should therefore be concentrated on the increased production of rice and extension of subsidiary crops. It will be necessary to prepare both long-term and short-term plans, although the immediate

concern must be with the latter. Among the long-term plans the most important are:

1 Replacing the present fragmented, uneconomic holdings by compact economic family units.

2 Large scale irrigation projects.

It is now accepted by all who have studied the subject that the greatest obstacle to any substantial improvement in the present system of agriculture is the wastage involved in working fragmented uneconomic holdings. This has resulted even apart from the lack of interest on the part of the cultivator as a mere tenant, in loss in every direction from ploughing till the disposal of the produce. This again is largely due to the present system of land tenure. This should be abolished and replaced by a system which will restore the land to the actual tillers of the soil and allow an economic unit for each family.

It has been demonstrated both by experiments and experience that the yield of rice can be nearly doubled by the timely application of water, which is very often wanting in the most crucial period. This can be most economically supplied through large projects, such as the Damodar Valley and the Mor project, both of which will involve large expenditure and take a long time to mature. According to the *Prospectus of Agriculture for West Bengal* published by the Secretariat of the Ministry of Agriculture the area served by Government and private canals is only 2.6 per cent of the cropped area and that by tanks and other sources which must be in the nature of guesswork another 10.5 per cent or 13.1 per cent of the total cropped area. For immediate increase reliance must therefore be placed on other methods the chief among which are:

1 Increasing the cropped area by reclaiming unculturable estate and extension of double cropping.

2 Helping the cultivators to obtain the maximum yield from the soil by the practice of simple scientific methods, e.g., by using improved seeds, manures and tools and protecting crops from insects and other pests.

According to Dr. Burns\* an increase of 30 per cent in the yield of paddy can be obtained, 5 per cent by the use of improved seeds, 20 per cent from manures, and 5 per cent from protection from insects and pests. As a matter of fact the writer has frequently obtained increases of over 20 per cent on wide areas from the use of improved seeds alone, when properly used. It would also appear that there are large possibilities of extending the irrigated area by executing small irrigation

\* *Call of the Land*, pp. 7-8.

\* *Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India*.

projects. This would incidentally also help in improving the sanitation of villages by opening up silted *khals* and rivers. As a conservative estimate a 10 per cent increase may be expected by the use of improved seeds and manures and another 10 per cent by irrigation projects. This would result in an increase of 7,08,080 tons of clean rice per annum over the five years average of 35,40,400 tons given in the *Prospectus*. An increase of another 5,500 tons may be expected, according to the same source, from the reclamation of new areas. As in rice wheat may be expected to give an extra yield of 5,160 tons over the annual average of 25,800 tons. This would raise the total of cereals by 7,18,740 tons apart from the increase from pulses and other subsidiary crops.

In his Radio broadcast of the 18th July the Hon'ble Minister of Civil Supplies stated that if the rationing is maintained according to the present scale West Bengal would need to import 4,50,000 tons of cereals annually, but to help India to become self-sufficient this should be reduced to two lacs. He further stated that the Agriculture Department hoped to increase the food production by 2,20,000 tons within the next two years i.e., by 60,000 tons of Aus rice and 1,60,000 tons of winter rice and Rabi crops. If as pointed out earlier in this note bulk of the wheat and pulse requirements are imported from outside there is no reason why these modest expectations should not be realised and West Bengal should not be practically self-sufficient if not in two years at least in the near future.

All this, however postulates the fulfilment of one indispensable condition. The value of all these schemes including my own depends on their successful execution rather than on the paper estimates that is on the cultivators using the seeds and manures for the purpose for which they are issued. Complaints are even now persistent that the seeds are not available in time they do not fulfil the promise held out. In a recent talk at the Royal Asiatic Society Mr. S. K. Das I.C.S. Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture is reported to have stated that the cultivators are unwilling to pay for the small irrigation charges or the full price of the artificial manures, and that it is not possible to continue to supply them free or at reduced rates indefinitely at the cost of the general tax-payer. This is a clear indication that the cultivators still remain uninvited. The remarks of Sir John Russell the British agricultural expert made over ten years ago, would appear to be as true today as when made. "The new selections and varieties which represent the highest achievements of the Indian Agricultural Science, are only used to a very limited extent. The ryots continue unaffected by the enormous efforts made on their behalf." This shows that a tremendous effort is still necessary among the cultivators in the villages, "India," as so aptly put by the immortal poet, "has her home in the village but her office in the town." We have so long concentrated on the office and neglected the home. The process must be reversed,

villages must be resuscitated. This will lead not only to increased food production, but in saving India herself.

The past failures of the 'Grow More Food' campaign and other similar schemes, have been due largely to want of expert supervision and want of mass contact. It is necessary to conduct demonstrations in the cultivators' fields on a wide scale to convince them of the superiority of the recommended methods and to ensure that the seeds and manures are used for the purpose for which they are issued. It is only then that the paper estimates will show actual results. This would require an efficient field staff trained not only in the science but the art of agriculture working under the close supervision of experts who have a stake and faith in the success of the work. The superior direction should also remain in their hands. It is only then that the subordinate staff on whom will be the ultimate responsibility of the successful execution of the scheme can be imbued with the necessary enthusiasm and infect the cultivator. The Indian cultivator is neither so foolish nor conservative as is frequently depicted, he knows a good thing when he sees it. The whole Departmental machinery must be reorganised and geared for intensive work in the villages if substantial results are to be achieved. Not only the public but the Department itself, must work as if in an emergency.

Results on such a mass scale cannot however be obtained by official efforts alone, non-official co-operation should be also enlisted. It is rather unfortunate that the one department which is concerned with the welfare of the largest section of the population is rather out of touch with the public. Except rare press references the public have little knowledge of its activities. The *Prospectus of Agriculture for West Bengal* published over six months ago attracted little attention except from a few specialists. It is suggested that agricultural committees consisting of officials and non-officials should be organised in every Union, Thana, Sub-division and District Headquarters culminating in a central organisation at Calcutta. It will be their duty to examine the programmes for their respective areas advise the department about their utility and help the staff to establish contact with the cultivators. The officials should be chosen not only from the agriculture but also from allied departments. Non-official members must have actual contact with rural conditions. It is only by a close co-ordination of an efficient expert staff working in co-operation with officers of sister departments and with non-officials that the confidence of the cultivators can be secured and the success of such schemes assured. All problems affecting rural life must be viewed as a whole and attacked simultaneously under a co-ordinated organisation. Agriculture, industry, education, sanitation must be treated as links in a single chain to drag India out of the present morass. If one link snaps, the whole chain will break.

# SOCIAL LIFE OF THE BURMESE

By R. K. PARADKAR

## MARRIAGE BY FREE-WILL

THE Burmese people belong to the Indo-Burman stock. They recognise individual liberty, social equality and universal fraternity. They lead a joyous and happy-go-lucky existence, free and careless as the birds of the air. The Burmese girls enjoy a measure of freedom which their Western up-to-date educated sisters also envy. The run-away marriages are very common there. The Burmese couple can very easily prove their marriage in court by openly living together as husband and wife. They can divorce each other by mutual consent. Marriage is not a religious ceremony among the Burmese. With them the marriage is a purely worldly business like entering into partnership. Most of the Burmese marriages are done in secret without any show of pomp or display. Two or three friends will be called quietly to the house and the man and woman will eat together and thus become husband and wife. The name of the girl does not change even after betrothal. There is nothing to a stranger to ascertain whether she be married or not or whose wife she is. A Burman girl is free to marry any youth of any nationality if there be love between the two. She can divorce him if there be any reason to do so and this she can do by going to the elder of the village and putting before him her grievances. If her complaints are just, they are never refused. A married Burman woman is not free and independent than any European lady even in the most advanced States.

## HOUSEWIFE'S LIFE

She keeps her property as her own. Marriage does not confer upon the husband any right or title over his wife's property, either what she gets as dowry or what she earns or inherits subsequently; it all remains her own as does all remain his own. But nominally the property acquired after the marriage is held jointly. All the money and possession which she brings with her on marriage are kept carefully separate for the benefit of her children or heirs and she carries her property away with her if she is divorced besides anything she may have added to it in the interim by her own trading or by inheritance. With us marriage means to a girl an utter breaking of her old ties, the beginning of a new life of a new responsibility. Not so with a Burmese girl. She is still to herself enjoying the equal rights, liberty and privileges as she was used to enjoy before. Every Burman house is a miniature form of nicely decorated garden well arranged and fully furnished with screens, furniture, etc. They are very fond of flowers which they fix in their hair and sandal dust at their faces. Looking at their sense of decoration one is apt to remember the stories of fairy tales. But like nature when they get angry they are more fierce than even the worst thunderbolt. There are very many romances played out every day in the dusk beside the well, in the deep shadow of the palm groves,

in the luminous nights by the riverside, romances that end sometimes in terrible tragedies. Social differences are not so great as with us and the barrier is easily overcome. It is often heard that a fair damsel of a rich aristocratic family is permitted to marry an ordinary poor man if there be a fair share of love between the two.

## SIMPLICITY AND GAIETY

Nothing is further from the Burmese than the feeling of exclusiveness. With us when we have made a little money we keep it to be a next egg to make more from. Not so a Burman, he will spend it. He does not care to add field to field or coin to coin. The mere fact that he has money causes him no pleasure. Money is worth to him what it will buy. Riches have no attraction for him, when his patch of paddy land has been reaped his only concern is to pass the time and that is not a very difficult matter when he has plenty of cheroots and betel nuts. He prefers remaining free and poor to being bound and rich. The Burmese give in charity in more in proportion to their wealth than any other people. It is all given straight from the giver's heart. When he does make a large sum of money he spends it all for some pious work and rejoices in the thought that this will meet with its reward in the next world. Let drink and be merry is the maxim of this race. There are innumerable rest-houses and monasteries in Burma. You cannot go 100 yards along any road without finding them. They are free to all. Any stranger may walk into the monastery and have his shelter there.

## FEMALES LEAD BUSINESS

According to the faith of the race, every Burman is to become a monk once in his lifetime. He must wear yellow garments, shave his head, give up all his connection with money and women and lead the austere life of a Brahmin by begging his food from door to door. He does too often adopt such disciplinary life. Burmese views are always somewhat limited. They are too penny wise for big business. The small retail trade giving a penny here and a penny there just suits them and they have almost made it a close profession. Most of the retail dealers here are Burmese girls and women, decent and fresh in their white jackets with flowers in their hair. They are very sweet in their talk with their customer and show him their goods even if he shows them no inclination to buy. They are more industrious, astute and careful in all their dealings. All court cases regarding disputes about money or land are mostly conducted by females. They are more business-like than their males in this respect. All Burmese ladies are adept at rolling cheroots. Both sexes are proud of the length of their hair and it is not uncommon to see it reaching below their knee and down to the ankles. Both men and women are in the habit of adding to its size by interweaving false tresses. Now-a-days in many



Burmese families both male and female crop their hair in the most up-to-date Western fashion

A remarkable trait of the Burmese character is their unwillingness to interfere in other people's affairs. One might commit suicide in Burma and no one would stop him. It is his own look-out, they would say. "If he wants to die why should we prevent him? What business is it of ours?" Suppose if any man drifts down from Bhamo to Rangoon in a log, no Burma boatman would try to pick him up unless he calls for help. If a similar case would have appeared in India he would have been forcibly saved every mile of his journey. The Burmese boatman would only laugh at him and ask him humorously how he is getting on. Where is the Indian boatman would have him out in a boat saving him despite himself. Never believe for a moment that this is cold-heartedness. Nowhere is there any man so good-hearted as a Burman so ready to help so hospitable, so charitable in act and thought. It is only that he has another way of looking at the things to what we have. The Burmese are fond of life and full of life. They are accustomed to take every sort of animal food. Nevertheless their compassion towards animals goes very much farther than a mere reluctance to kill them. In his refusal to take life he shares with the Hindus. His perpetual care and tenderness to all living creatures is all his own. There are men in Burma like India who make a regular living by catching birds and selling them to the pious that they may gain merit by setting them free. Crafty bird-catchers are able so far to disable the bird without doing it any material or visible harm that they can catch it again immediately after their tender-hearted customer has gone his way.

#### Food

The staple article of food is plain boiled rice which is piled up in a heap on a huge platter round about which the household arrange themselves sitting like pismen on their heels. The curries which are taken with it is placed in little bowls and each one of the party has his own plate and helps himself. Instead of spoon they use sticks in their meals. After meals everyone smokes—men, women and children.

#### PAWNA DANCES

A Burman cannot have more than one wife. The daughter has got equal right with her brother for the ancestral property. The Burmese really recognise universal brotherhood. There is no dark place in their life where the light cannot reach. They are very fond of dance. Pawns dance here is very famous. There is no nation on the face of the earth so mad after these dances as the Burmans. Their sense of humour is in no way inferior.

#### PAGODAS

The country is full of pagodas (the Burmese temples). They are always full of people with fine

dresses, kneeling, saying over and over again the great precepts of their faith, trying to bring into their hearts the meaning of the teachings of the Lord Buddha of whom these wonderful pagodas form the shrines. Buddhism greatly helped in spreading Indian ideals and was an important factor in the evolution of what is known as the Indonesian culture.

Violent crimes are very frequent here. It is mostly due to the growing poverty of the masses. It is very difficult to get proper evidence in criminal cases because the witnesses do not desire to interfere with another person's karma.

#### WATER FESTIVAL

Water festival (*Tugola*) is a well-known annual celebration in Burma. It marks the epoch of the Burmese New Year. It commences generally here by the first or second week of April and lasts for three days. This festival resembles very much like our Hindu festival Holi in which young boys and girls join freely in throwing water on one another. It has got also a religious significance attached to it because thousands of people go to the pagodas and put water at the feet of the image of the Lord Buddha.

#### FOND OF MUSIC

Burmans as a race are very proud of music. Ninety per cent of the people know music. They have numerous musical accessories. You will not find a single boy or girl who does not know how to dance. The Burmese dances are mostly public and are attended always by a large number of ladies and gentlemen. These dances are exceedingly beautiful and show wonderful skill.

The art of Burma is mostly in the forms of the Indian sculpture and architecture.

#### INDIA AND BURMA

Indian influence in Burma may have started in earlier times some believe during the Maurya period, but the antiquities so far unearthed point to its existence in the fifth century of the present era. In Prome, Thaton, and Taung are well-known centres of Buddhist culture in Burma containing Vaishnavic and Shaivic sculptures, Buddhist stupas and big buildings in the traditional Gupta style.

#### ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW AGE

Burma, radiant with the lustre of the religion of the Lord Buddha, lavishly endowed by nature with resources of various kinds, having a climate equitable and salubrious, appears as it were to attract those who go there to remain there for ever more. It is just like a paradise on earth. The new freedom wave of the East is stirring the Burmese also. Once reputed to be a very peace-loving people they are seen today stirred up with the surging wave of patriotism and the new vision of the twentieth century.



# SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR REFORM OF THE INDIAN FOREIGN SERVICE

Dr G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., D.P.A., D.F.A.

THE importance of a properly organised Indian Foreign Service can hardly be over-emphasised if we want to follow a successful foreign policy in our International relations. Our foreign service is less than two years old and has no traditions or past experience to guide it. In this respect we have to start with a clean slate. Although our foreign service may be said to be the successor of the Indian political service, the latter had a very narrow scope of activities, and had no freedom to act as the diplomatic service of a modern state.

Diplomacy has been defined by Sir Ernest Satow as "the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the Governments of Independent States." Thus it is necessary that our diplomatists should be intelligent and tactful men. The problem, therefore, is to recruit such men for our foreign service. The other personal qualities necessary for a successful diplomatist are truthfulness, precision, adaptability, good temper, modesty, patience and loyalty to one's country. These qualities are so essential that without them the other qualifications of the diplomatist will be of no avail. This brings us to the question whether the personal qualities or the mental qualifications should be tested first. This is a debatable point. In England first there is an interview by a Selection Board as a result of which the nomination of candidates takes place. In our country there is no such preliminary interview. But even in England progressive opinion is in favour of abolishing the preliminary interview. Moreover, there is statistical proof to show that this system has favoured the aristocratic class.<sup>1</sup>

Coming to specific problems in our foreign service we find that this year's recruitment is to be made from the age-group of 21-25 but last year's recruitment was made of candidates between the ages of 21-26. This shows that the Government have not finally fixed the age-limits. In fact, the age-limits prescribed this year are quite suitable for the purpose and should not be changed now.

The candidates for the Indian Foreign Service are examined in the same subjects as the candidates for the Indian Administrative Service and in fact many other Central Services. The list of compulsory subjects contains three subjects, viz., English, essay, general English and general knowledge and the optional list contains 24 subjects out of which two, viz., World History and International Law can be offered by candidates for the Indian Foreign service only. In this matter also there is scope for improvement. In the first place, those subjects which are likely to help the candidate in the discharge of his duties should be included in the syllabus. Some of these are International Relations,

International Economics, Theory and Practice of Diplomacy, Modern European History and Diplomatic History of U.S.A. It will be argued that the object of competitive examination is to test the candidate in general subjects of study and not in specific subjects which will be taught to him during probation. But there is great weight in the argument of Willoughby who makes a distinction between the training of persons for entrance into the Government service, and the training of officers after they have entered Government service. The former he thinks is not worth while for the Government to do who can entrust this work to Universities.

Even those subjects which have been included in the syllabus of this year's examination viz., World History, International Law and Foreign Languages have been kept in the optional list. This does not seem to be proper. In this connection it should be noted that the various Indian Universities have started courses in Diplomacy and International Affairs to equip candidates for Foreign Service and advantage may be taken by the Government of the specialized knowledge of such candidates on a fair basis. Moreover, recruitment might be made with advantage from the age group of 30-45 from the liberal professions on the basis of an interview only.<sup>2</sup>

The rules for probation provide that the candidates will be given three months' training in India then they will be sent abroad for 18 months and finally on return they will be given a further training in India. But during probationary training instruction should be provided in only those subjects which cannot be taught in the Universities. In this connection Willoughby says:

No matter how well grounded an employee may be in the general subject to which his work relates there is much for him to learn in respect to the particular duties of his position.<sup>3</sup>

Another urgent problem is that of classification of our Foreign Service personnel. Without a proper classification system the question of determination of salaries cannot be separated from personal considerations. Sometime ago a statement by the Minister for External Affairs in the Dominion Parliament disclosed that the salaries of our Ambassadors in various countries were not based on any classification system. But one of the main principles of salary determination is that of compensating a position rather than an individual.<sup>4</sup>

So far as the work of our foreign service is concerned it should be to pursue real political phenomena and not to run after political manœuvres. Although we should try to steer clear of 'entangling alliances' as far as possible, it should be remembered that in the

1 Herman Finer *The British Civil Service*, p. 110. But Nicolson says that in principle the Selection Board 'take no account of birth, accent, education, or income; they are supposed to consider only character and suitability,' and he thinks that this principle is maintained in practice.—Robson: *The British Civil Service*, p. 24.

2 *Principles of Public Administration*, p. 242-3.

3 Recently such a reform has been suggested for the British Civil Service by a special committee for the Fabian Society.

4 *Principles of Public Administration*, p. 244.

5 *Principles of Public Administration*, p. 254.

present age of atom bomb it is not possible for India to remain isolated as it was for the U.S.A. of Washington's days. We have to take sides in the interest of our survival.

Moreover, our representatives abroad should be instructed to cultivate the art of simple living and high thinking which is consistent with the genius of our country and not to spend the money of the poor Indian tax-payer lavishly. There should also be an interchange of personnel between the foreign office and the foreign service to promote greater efficiency. Finally, the problem of foreign service is that of representation coupled with efficiency. The first element is implied in democratic Government. But there is no

doubt that at present we lack the second element. Our author aptly remarks in connection with the British foreign service:

"It is not democratisation alone which our foreign service needs, it is also modernisation and rationalisation; not only should the service become more representative of the sovereign people but it should also correspond more effectively to modern needs."

These remarks are applicable to our foreign service also. But there is no cause for despair as our foreign service is still in its infancy.

December, 1948.

G. Nicolson in Robinson's *British Civil Servant*, p. 56.

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## MIDDLE EAST—THE LAND OF TENSION AND RIVALRY

By LAKSHMAN YATI CHANDOKÉ

Middle East is a region of sun-baked desert, bleak mountains and dry treeless steppes. But strangely enough this land has both in the past and the present usurped for itself a very prominent place in the history of the world. The two most important movements of the middle ages—Islam and Crusades—started in the Middle East. Here fought Alexander the Great, Sulaiman the Magnificent, Julius Caesar, Pompey, Mark Antony, Chengiz Khan and Tamerlane. Today also this region is no less important and all the big powers are keenly aware of its key importance.

### OIL

In the present age there can be no greater misfortune for a weak country than to be rich particularly in minerals of great wartime value. According to the latest estimates, U.S.A. produces 65 per cent of the total production of oil in the world; Venezuela produces 13 per cent, Middle East 7.5 per cent and Russia 7 per cent. The remaining 7.5 per cent is produced by several countries. A glance at these figures will convince a reader that both U.S.A. and Russia are probably producing more than their actual requirements. At any rate U.S.A. need not prowl about the world for grabbing oil of other countries. But the trouble is that even if countries like U.S.A. or Russia do not need any foreign oil for themselves, they are mightily interested in ensuring that this oil does not fall into the hands of their potential enemies.

The most important deposits of oil in Middle East are found in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley and in the region of the Persian Gulf. Existing oil-fields are scattered over the countries of Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Sheikdoms of Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar. Exploration and drilling are proceeding in northern Iran, Western Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan. Large deposits of this precious mineral also occur in Oman, Dhufar, Muscat, Hadramaut and southern part of Arabian peninsula.

A British Company is holding a big concession on

the north-east of the Persian Gulf in Iran while just opposite to this a huge concession has been recently obtained by the Arabian American Oil Company, from Ibn Saud, King of Arabia. The latter Company is jointly owned by the Standard Oil of New Jersey, the Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, the Texas Company and the Standard Oil Company of California. The Arabian American Oil Company holds concessions over an area of about 400,000 square miles. It employs 10,000 Arabs and has a local pay roll of \$900,000 per month in addition to payment of an annual royalty of \$21,000,000 to Ibn Saud.

In between these exclusive American and British interests, there is the Anglo-American equal interest in the oil deposits of Kuwait; while in Iraq the oil companies are owned jointly by the French, Dutch, British and American groups. This same international group has obtained for itself concessions in Syria, Transjordan, Palestine, Lebanon and Cyprus. The Russian Government have obtained a concession from the Iranian Government near the Caspian Sea. According to the terms of this concession, 51 per cent shares of the company will be owned by the Russians and 49 per cent by the Iranians. The total production of all the Oil companies of Middle East is estimated at 900,000 barrels per day. Further it has been estimated that Ibn Saud receives annually \$21,000,000 as royalty; Iran \$31,000,000; Iraq \$7,250,000; Bahrain \$1,275,000 and Kuwait \$2,000,000.

A vast network of pipelines has either been built or planned across the expansive deserts. The Iraq Petroleum Co. is building two 16-inch lines from Kirkuk in addition to the 12-inch line which has been in operation since 1934. According to plans prepared by the oil company, one new line running to Haifa was to be laid by 1949 and another to Tripoli was scheduled to be completed by 1951. A Trans-Arabian pipe-line known as "Tapline" of 31-inch pipe, was to be laid from Saudi Arabia to Sidon port in Lebanon.

This was to be completed by the end of 1949. The progress of these projects has been seriously hampered by widespread political troubles.

#### STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

Besides oil, the strategic importance of Middle East is another factor which makes big powers interested in this region. It is an important cross-road of world air and general communications, linking India and Far East with the eastern Mediterranean.

#### BRITISH POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Of all the great powers Britain was the first to enter Middle East and establish her hegemony there. Her interest in this region at first sprang up from her commitments in India, Ceylon and her Far Eastern and southern empire. Gradually this interest developed into an anxiety for the safety of the Suez Canal, the vital life-line of the British Empire. Although British rule in India has come to an end, the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal still remain important links in her empire defences and communications.

Until recently Britain was sufficiently strong to safeguard her interests in the Middle East. She believed in the theory of divide and rule and through her sinister diplomatic manoeuvres kept the various Moslem States of Middle East at logger-heads with one another. But now Britain has emerged from World War II a war-torn and weak nation. She can no longer successfully meet the Russian threat in that region single-handed. Hence she is now interested in fostering closer relations among the Arab States and build a stable society organized in some sort of confederation to stand a bulwark against the Russian penetration into this region. Britain's security depends on stability and peace in the Moslem world, upon free access to and transit through the land, air and water ways of the Middle East. British oil holdings in this region are even more vital to Britain than American holdings can be to U.S. for the simple reason that while U.S. has vast resources of oil in her own country, Britain has to depend on Middle East and other parts of the world for her needs of oil.

#### AMERICAN INTERESTS

U.S.A. was the last to enter into the arena of power-politics in the Middle East. She is today the biggest producer of oil in the world. Her production is about 9 times the oil-production of all the Middle Eastern countries put together. Therefore her motive in Middle East is chiefly to use her influence to keep Russia off from getting this oil, the latter being the potential future enemy of U.S.A. American interest at present chiefly centres round the oil of Saudi Arabia. America has already embarked upon the Economic Recovery Plan for Europe. For re-stabilising the European industries oil is required. Sending oil from U.S.A. to Western Europe would be uneconomic and, further, from the military point of view inadvisable. Therefore why not snatch oil from the Middle East and use it in Europe and thus deprive Russia also from getting this oil. This would indeed be a very wise and shrewd proposition.

Following the line of policy U.S.A. has dumped millions of dollars in this area. Already her financial assets in Middle East amount to over a billion dollars in oil alone besides her vast investments in commercial airlines and in other business enterprises or educational, philanthropic and religious missions. No overall estimate is available but one can safely presume that the total figures must be very high.

Two of the American overseas airlines have bases in Middle East; the Pan-American Airways has in Syria and the Trans-World Airlines has in Saudi Arabia. Moreover, in the "cold war" with Russia, Middle East is just as important as it was in actual war with Germany. The Dhahran airfield used by TWA and other international airlines, is now being separated by the American Air Force under an agreement with the Government of Saudi Arabia. Further, until the new airfield Hellaha can be sufficiently enlarged, Dhahran base is the only airfield under American control which is nearest to the Russian industrial areas and from where they can be successfully bombed by U.S.A. at a short notice. No wonder therefore that the American Government are anxious that their use of this airfield should not be unnecessarily hazarded. These and similar other interests explain the presence of U.S.A. in the Middle East arena.

#### MOTIVES OF THE U.S.S.R.

Soviet Russia is at present probably the chief cause of trouble in the Middle East. Her principal aim is to upset the present structure of oil concessions as far as possible and to make it more favourable to her. The Soviet Union is anxious to gain a foothold in this region for its own reasons of strategy and concept of security. Further the ports of the Persian Gulf can offer the Soviet Union facilities of a first class sea outlet which may be open all the year round unlike the Russian ports which remain frozen for 3 to 9 months in a year.

Russia possesses some advantages over her competitors. Unlike Britain and U.S.A. Russian territory touches a few countries in the Middle East. This advantage of proximity is very useful in brow-beating anti-Russian element in this region. Secondly, the presence of a huge number of contented Moslems within Russia pulls the Moslems of Middle East nearer to her and makes them conscious of the cultural and religious affinities. Thirdly, there are a good many Moslem youth organisations and artisan groups who see in the Russian system a promise of a fuller and happier life. Both economic as well as political conditions in Middle East are very unstable. And it has been proved beyond the shadow of doubt that chaos whether it is political or economic always fights on the side of Russia. The truth of this dictum has been amply proved in France, Italy, China and Indonesia. Despite all this, however, the current attitude towards Russia in Middle East is one of fear. This is chiefly because the Soviet Union has seriously damaged her cause by over-playing her hand in Iran over Azarbaijan.

# WOMEN IN THE BRIHADARANYAKA UPANISHAD

By SWAMI OMANANDA PURI

ACCORDING to the orthodox Hinduism of the past seventeen hundred years or so, women are not permitted to study the Vedas. But in the Vedas themselves we find nothing which prohibits women from being *Rishis*, from learning from the *Rishis*, and from studying and practising the highest and sublimest things as set forth in Vedanta. Here is a story typical of that age. To restore the spirit of such stories would not be to go back. It would be for the women of India today, to go very much forward and to take a world-lead. Now here is a story of Gargi, "a lady philosopher who stands out as the most outstanding personality among the philosophical interlocutors opposing Yajnavalkya."

Gargi, the daughter of Vachaknu, was grandly bold. In the presence of an assembly of learned Brahmanas at the court of King Janaka of Videha, she so keenly pressed the mighty sage Yajnavalkya with questions, that at last he had to hold her back. He said :

"Do not, O Gargi, push your enquiry too far, lest your head should fall off. You are reasoning about a deity that should not be reasoned about. Do not, O Gargi, push your enquiry too far."

Thereupon, we are told, Gargi, the daughter of Vachaknu, kept silent. It was, perhaps, only a device to hold her off, since everybody was reasoning about, and has reasoned about, the same thing, from the great Shankaracharya down. So either Yajnavalkya meant it, and Shankara is in the wrong ; or he didn't, and spoke thus because he had to get breathing and thinking space from the onslaughts of this girl. It may, of course, have been a device on the part of the great teacher to make her go further. He knew the shy excitability of women (he had had two wives) and may have thought that by stopping her then, she would return to the encounter in a calmer mood, and get the best out of him later on. Be that as it may, Gargi proved irrepresible— but not impudent, as is the case with so many moderns. She did not keep quiet very long. She stoked up fuel and made steam and watched her opportunity.

Women are supposed to be impatient. But maybe they only see things quicker than men—when they do see—when they are not too taken up with sex and maternity and cooking a lot of unnecessary stuff to spoil people's stomachs. Anyway, Gargi bided her time ; and later on, she rose up in the assembly and "had it out," so to say, with Yajnavalkya, most gloriously.

This time, she had prepared her reception beforehand by flattering the Brahmanas. On the previous

occasion she had not, it appears, done in this respect all that is expected of a mere woman. Her behaviour had not suggested abjectness. She had not grovelled. That, too, may have been an additional reason why she was snubbed ; for few things anger most men—even 'wise' men—so much as a woman who does not knuckle under to them. One would like to be able to know just what passed through Gargi's mind when she was unceremoniously shut up. Anyway, her second essay succeeded.

"Revered Brahmanas !" she implored. And Shankara, in his commentary, remarks :

"Having previously been warned by Yajnavalkya, she had desisted lest her head should fall off. Now she asks the permission of the Brahmanas to interrogate him once more. 'Revered Brahmanas, please listen to what I say. I shall ask him, Yajnavalkya, two more questions if you will permit it. Should he answer me those, none of you can ever possibly beat him in describing Brahman.'" (O how clever and how guileful ! A challenge, which she knew they dearly loved ; and, moreover, which they simply could not refuse without putting themselves to shame. And such grovelling, O Brahmin-conquering Gargi !). Inevitably : "Thus addressed," continues Shankara, "the Brahmanas gave her the permission : 'Ask, O Gargi.'"

We observe that not one male interrogator had had to go through this farce. She asked her two questions, describing them as shining arrows, and received superb answers.

It is noteworthy that some of the highest teachings on the Infinite were given to Gargi and also to Maitreyi, the wife of Yajnavalkya, in this *Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad*. Yajnavalkya had decided to divide his possessions between his two wives and to depart to lead the life of Sannyasa. Maitreyi adored him ; yet in this episode we can discover no trace of sorrow or despair in this splendid woman. On the contrary, she seems to have given her husband the highest form of encouragement by talking over the matter at length, and keeping that talk on the plane of principles, not personalities. One cannot help wondering if the human woman collapsed when he finally departed for the forests ? But, whether she did or not, she had backed her man to the very last ditch, and had let him go, like the heroine that she was, without one hint of a bursting heart.

"If all this earth with all its gems and jewels were mine without dispute, should I become an immortal ?" So Maitreyi questioned Yajnavalkya when he offered wealth to her at parting. And Yajnavalkya answered : 'No, thou could'st only live as the wealthy live, and die as they. Wealth brings not immortality !' Then Maitreyi, 'What shall I do

\* Professor S. K. Shastri's Introduction to Swami Madhavananda's fine English translation of the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* and Shri Shankaracharya's Commentary.

with that which makes me not immortal? Tell me what thou knowest brings assurance of eternity'."\*

—and he told her. He poured out upon Maitreyi that spiritual torrent and shared first with her the ecstasy of God-knowledge which later he shared with all.

It is clearly evident, not only from the questions put by these two women of ancient India, but also by the quality and scope of the answers which were given, that there was no doubt at all in the minds of the creators of the Upanishads, that the women of those times were capable of studying and understanding the most exalted and abstruse spiritual problems. The ban on the study of the Vedas by women came much later, (but long before the Muslims came) when, for purposes of lust and avarice and exploitation, women's higher beings had, as far as possible, to be damned back, destroyed. They were allowed devotion, but little intelligent religion. This ban never came from the *rishis*. As it to accentuate the perfect equality of the sexes, some of the greatest teachings of this greatest of the Upanishads were given to—namely, lavishly showered upon—women. The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* contains among its priceless treasures, revelations of the supreme mystical experience, given out to two women, directly and without go-betweens. This Upanishad, writes Prof. S. K. Shastri, is the "greatest in the sense that the illimitable, all-embracing, absolute, self-luminous, blissful reality—the *Brahmā*, or Brahman, identical with the *Atman*, constitutes its theme."

In the East, it has been the immemorial custom for the questioner to draw out the teacher, so that, according to his or her true nature, will be the kind of teaching imparted. Both Gargi and Maitreyi received such teaching as might be expected to take them into the highest path of *Sannyasa*, or, indeed, as might be imparted to *Sannyasins* and Shankaracharya, who is supposed to have banned women from *Sannyasa*, though I could never find a conclusive proof of it—does not comment adversely. On the contrary, he "draws attention to the value of renunciation (*Sannyasa*) as the means of true knowledge" (Prof. S. K. Shastri); and he does it (II.iv.5) without the smallest hint that this path is for men only. He rejoices in Yajnavalkya's affectionate outpouring of sublime teaching to the beloved Maitreyi. Brahman is to be known by her "by the realization of the Self, my dear, through hearing (a teacher), reflection and meditation." It is hard to understand how the later commentators could have ignored this attitude of Shankara's, or that there could have arisen the myth that Shankaracharya was against the highest development for those women who are capable of it, i.e., *Sannyasa*, and every step that leads to it. His greatest commentary is admittedly that on

the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, and the greatest teachings in that Upanishad are given to two women. Shankara's attitude is as clear as daylight, except to those who prefer to keep their eyes closed.

Gargi had magnanimity, real bigness. She had been snubbed in public, at the court of King Janaka, before an assembly of scholars, by a great man. She had had to eat the dust in order to get hearing. But in spite of this, she rose up after her questions had been answered, and said :

"Revered Brahmanas, listen to my word. You should consider yourselves fortunate if you can get off from him, Yajnavalkya, through salutations, by saluting him. You must never even think of defeating him, much less, (try to) do it. Why? because never shall any one of you beat him in describing Brahman. In describing Brahman he has no match."

One wonders if King Janaka may have put her up to snubbing these learned men. ("The book, the whole book, and nothing but the book," as Sir S. Radhakrishnan wittily puts it).

Loveable was Gargi's brave command : "Listen to my words !" Loveable, her defence of the Master, whether it was needed or not. A woman can be at her very best when she discovers or defends genius in a man. She evinces the lioness quality, and will face anything to defend him. A striking instance is that of the Brahman who was Sri Ramakrishna's Guru. When she first came to him, everyone thought him mad. He was ill and miserably perplexed ; ridiculed and spurned. But she recognized him at once for what he was, and, in the teeth of opposition and derision, insisted on establishing, by means of the judgments of two of the greatest *Shastris* of that day, that he had, not a few of, but *all* the signs of an *Avatar*. She raised him out of the dust. She encouraged him, cared for him, and mothered him freely. Whilst it is true that for many years she was his Guru, she, in turn, was also his disciple.

When Gargi, like this modern Brahmani, had shot her arrows in among the assembly, "Then Gargi, the daughter of Vachaknu, kept silent." We, modern women are in a pitiable state as compared with our sisters of those ancient times. They shot their arrows with unfaltering aim ; but few of us shoot arrows at any real target. Most of us can only talk and talk to no purpose, prattling and chattering hideously, and we don't know when to stop. Most of us are strangers to silence and the things of silence ; so much so, that were a modern Gargi to try to speak to us, the chances are that her quiet voice would be drowned by ours, which too often are raucous and rasping like corn-crakes, like saws, like sick factory sirens. If we had natures like Gargi's, our voices couldn't sound like that. For sweetness of voice means sweetness of soul. Among other things she teaches us how to speak, how to defend an instrument of God, and how to keep silent. Superb Gargi !

\*-Bhagavan Das's *The Science of Peace*, 1904, p. 2.

## GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

By PHOOL SINGH, M.L.A., M.C.A.

The great disparity in the scales of pay of the services at the top and the lowest rank has resulted in widespread dissatisfaction. Those on the top were already getting more than they deserve, while the lower services were under-fed. On the top of it the former have been able to secure easy increments. There have been huge expansion of offices at certain places unwarranted by the amount of work to be done.

Each head of the department tries to expand the staff under him; for the bigger the staff under a man, the greater is his importance.

The wholesale exit of the British officers from the Indian services has provided easy lifts to senior officers which is almost a wind-fall to them. Thus the Chief Commissioners, the Commissioners and I.G.s of today are D.M.s. and S.P.s. of yesterday. The Sub Inspectors have become S.P.s. and Deputy Collectors have risen to the post of D.M.s. Most of them never dreamt of occupying their present position.

The coming into existence of new departments has opened another avenue for unearned increment for some of the officers. A new method of adding to the income of an incumbent in the form of personal allowances has been invented.

A practice has developed of late according to which Government officers are often asked whether they have any objection to being posted to any particular job. Such things were unknown under the British rule. Government officers have a contract of service, and should have no objection to being posted to any job for which they are fit, and which can be deemed to be contracted for, anywhere except for foreign service. Such an enquiry naturally amounts to inviting further terms of service and should be done away with.

Thus, while there have been huge increments in the pays and other amenities of some of the big officers, others that have been down-graded still continue to enjoy their former pays and amenities. The case of secretaries and joint secretaries is the case in point. Formerly they used to discharge the functions now allotted to the ministers. Now they have no such functions to discharge; and if the pay goes with the responsibility, their pays should be reduced.

Those who have got easy lifts should not grudge a cut in their salaries, provided it still leaves them with substantial increment.

The personal allowances should be done away with in so far as no additional risk or inconvenience is caused to their holder. The practice of securing the consent of particular officers before they are appointed on a particular job should also be discontinued. Everybody should be brought to his contract of service. An I.C.S., for example, should not get more than Rs. 2,250. But Commissioners at present get Rs. 3,000/- per month. Their pay should be reduced to the maximum that they are entitled to.

The time has come when a scrutiny should be made into the working of all the departments. It will be found

that some of the departments should be amalgamated. There are many posts the incumbent of which have nothing particular to do. Definite duties should be assigned to each post. There is considerable overlapping of functions. Functions of each department and each officer should be defined.

But the chief defect lies with the fundamentals of the present system of administration. There are at present two executive heads of each district S.P. and D.M. This leads to duplication and sometimes friction. Then again the D.M. is not only the Collector and Dy. Commissioner, but also the Magistrate. I think all the executive power should vest in one man and all the judicial power should vest in the other, while the collections of revenue can be entrusted to a smaller officer. This arrangement will result in one more benefit. As things stand at present the appeals from a deputy collector go:—(1) to D.M. (2) to Commissioner, (3) to the Board of Revenue (4) to the District Judge. The result is that there is confusion and chaos everywhere. If my suggestions were accepted, the Board of Revenue will go, and so the Commissioner. The non-judicial function of the Commissioner should be combined with those of the D.I.G., and should be performed by one man instead of two. The District Judge will replace the District Magistrate. So all the appeals will go to one man only. All the magistrates doing case-work shall be subordinate to the District Judge, and the Deputy Commissioner, the Executive Officers of the District will have under him, the S.D.O.s and the Police. The S.D.O. will not do any case work.

There are various sources of revenue and the collections are made by separate agencies for each department; for example there are Naib Tehsildars that collect irrigation dues. Then there is an agency of land revenue. There are also agencies for collection of income-tax and sales-tax and the like. All these agencies also need simplification and some of them will admit of amalgamation.

Then there are other departments known as nation-building departments: the District Board, the Rural Development Board, the Agricultural and the like. They also need looking into. The functions of some of them overlap each other. The rationalisation of these departments is necessary. The likely result will be an amalgamation of some of the departments under one head—the Development Board Chairman or the District Board Chairman to look after that. There are other departments which are of a technical nature, and therefore do not admit of being placed under a non-technical head. But they also need looking into, and some of the functions allotted to these departments can be performed by common men who are consequently less expensive. Some of the functions assigned to these departments are already akin to the functions of some other departments. For example, the Deputy Revenue Officers of Canal are doing case-work which should properly have been done by the magistracy. The collection of Canal dues as I have mentioned above can be combined with the Land Revenue.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**INCIDENTS OF GANDHIJI'S LIFE :** *By Fifty-four contributors. Edited by Chandrasekhar Shukla. Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., 3 Kalbaduri Road, Bombay 2. Pp. xvi+314 Price Rs. 10-8*

The contributors, who have related personal recollections of incidents from Gandhi's life, have taken care to avoid eulogies and be strictly faithful to facts. Although a uniform literary quality cannot be preserved in a book of this kind, yet every piece of writing bears the stamp of sincerity. The incidents described in the book bear testimony to the essentially human qualities of Mahatma Gandhi.

But the reviewer is however inclined to feel that one aspect of his character has received less than adequate attention. This is with regard to the character of Mahatma Gandhi as a democrat, guiding the destinies of the Indian Nation in war and in peace. Under such circumstances, it was indeed an education to see him dealing with contrary opinions and hostile groups with an abundance of patience and a due regard for the other man's point of view. It was specially during these critical times that one realized how Gandhiji was, above all, a worshipper of Truth, which had become identical with him for God.

**LIBRARY AND PRESERVATION :** *By Minendra Nath Basu, M.Sc., P.R.S., F.R.A.I. Published by D Ghosh, 26 Pataliputra Street, Calcutta 1948. Pp. 2+41.*

**MUSEUM METHOD AND THE PROCESS OF CLEANING AND PRESERVATION :** *By Minendra Nath Basu. University of Calcutta, 1943. Pp. xvi+80 Prices not mentioned*

These two eminently useful booklets will be welcomed by those who are interested in the preservation of books and of museum specimens. Mr. Basu gives us a series of practical suggestions, and, as he is not in disavow of indigenous methods, he has succeeded in combining modern chemical technique with a few old recipes, which have the additional advantage of being easily procurable at a low cost.

In the first booklet, the Dewey Decimal System for classification of books has also been described; so that small libraries will find this part very helpful if they do not wish to go in for more elaborate manuals.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE SERIES (River Training and Irrigation) :** *Published by Vora and Co., Publishers, Bombay 2. 1947. Price Rs. 6.*

The National Planning Committee appointed several Sub-committees to report on multipurpose development of running water. One such was on River Training and Irrigation. Irrigation is undoubtedly the most important aspect of our national economy because it is with irrigation alone that the country may look

forward to any consistent agricultural budget. Otherwise it will purely be, as it has mostly been a gamble with the monsoons. There have principally been three ways of irrigation practised so long, by means of canals, tanks and wells. All combined, only about 12 per cent of the culturable area in India is irrigated. Though a portion of the irrigation undertakings would always be in the nature of protective works against famines, and hence always remain unremunerative, yet the major portion of it has to be made remunerative as far as possible; and, at the same time, as cheap as practicable. This means that the problem of irrigation has to be linked up with other problems like flood prevention, navigation, power generation and recreation. This entails development of multipurpose schemes combined with irrigation.

The different aspects of this undertaking have been discussed in the report by a body of experts presided over by Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur.

KANANGOPAL BAGCHI

**INDIA'S NATIONAL ANTHEM :** *By Prabodh Chandra Sen. Published for the Santi-Niketan Ashramika Sangha by the Parvata Ltd., 13 Ganesh Chandra Avenue, Calcutta. Pp. 46. Price eight annas.*

Those who grew under the inspiration of the Swadeshi and anti-Partition days and renewed their spirit with a new realization of the glory that was India and the shame of political subjection as in the *Landi-Matanam* song, found it difficult to join in the controversy that has unnecessarily, I think, been raised over the National Anthem question.

The present booklet revives this topic, and in the present mood of the country strives to get a verdict in favour of the *Jana-Gana-Mana-Adhinayaka* song of Rabindranath as the National Anthem of the Indian Union. For this purpose the author, a noted scholar in Bengal specializing in Bengalee literature, has devoted the major part of the booklet to removing the impression that Rabindranath's hymn to "the Dispenser of India's destiny" was really intended for Emperor George V on the occasion of the Delhi Durbar (1911). How the Anglo-Indian Press helped to create this impression as part of a settled plan of imperialist grandeur, how the unfortunate coincidence in the time of this Durbar and the composition of the hymn played its part—all this has been exposed by the author by reference to all contemporary publications. And the malicious story stands discredited. Those who knew Rabindranath were too angry at the time to be able to discredit it, the poet's sensitiveness would not allow them to publicly scotch it at the start.

This the present author has been able to do. But the lie has had such a good start that even today British publicists are seen capable of wallowing in this



dirty game. Probodh Chandra Sen's booklet will, we hope, put an end to their "occupation" of slanging things Indian. Then will it have served its purpose.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

#### INDIA'S POPULATION—FACT AND POLICY :

By S. Chandrasekhara. John Day Company. Pp. 118. Price \$2.

One of the great controversial questions is whether India is over-populated and as a consequence must have famines periodically. This short study on a great question supplies the facts and figures on which answers can be based. Though the facts have been presented with some amount of clearness, there are evidences of lack of clear thinking in analysis. For example, dealing with sex-proportion and scarcity of females, the author says :

"The ratio between males and females in the age-group 0-5 is favourable to females, but is gravely upset by early marriages, because of two undesirable features of Indian demography. One is the terrific maternal mortality, and the other, the ban on widow remarriage." (p. 25).

One can understand the effect of maternal mortality ; but how the restriction on widow remarriage can affect the sex-proportion ?

The statistics have been presented in a rather crude form without any word of caution as to how far they are strictly comparable with each other. Thus at p. 48 Religious composition of the Indian population at the different censuses since 1881 has been given but it has not been stated that in 1941, the enumeration is by communities. Thus many Hindu Santals have been recorded under Tribals. But these are minor blemishes. On the whole, the book is easy-reading and presents the problem clearly.

The most valuable part of the book is that dealing with a "national population policy." Here the points are enumerated with care, and suggestions given as to how we can intelligently formulate it. It is a thought-provoking chapter.

INSIDE PAKISTAN : By K. L. Gauba. Rajamal Publications, Ltd., Delhi. Pp. 280. Price Rs. 5.

Kanahya Lal Gauba is well-known as a forceful writer. His *Uncle Sham* as a rejoinder to Miss Mayo's *Mother India*, was an "out and away the most effective reply." His *H. H. or His Highness* wrecked the case of the reactionary Princes at the Second Round Table Conference. The book under review was published in March, 1948. In it he throws light on the disillusionment of the Muslims in the leadership of the League, the internal scramble for power in Pakistan, and the background of the move to establish the rule of the *Shariat* there. In the light of his observations, Khaja Nazimuddin's selection as Governor-General of Pakistan seems inevitable. It should adorn the library of every student of Indo-Pak relationship.

J. M. DATTA

PAPERS IN SOCIOLOGY (Silver Jubilee Memorial Volume) : Edited by Messrs G. S. Ghurye, N. A. Thoathi, K. M. Kapadia and G. Sabnis. School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay. Pages 180. Price not mentioned.

The volume contains ten contributions from the pen of persons of eminence on different topics which are interesting and instructive. Dr. (Miss) A. F. Dastur in "The Sociologist and Planning" invites attention to the cultural and aesthetic aspects of town planning. Mr. N. A. Engineer in his "Parsis—A Short Socio-Economic Study" throws new light on the economic make-up of the Parsee community. "Socio-

logy in Maratha" is a special study of the contributions on sociology (*Samaja Shastra*) in Marathi literature since 1810 by Mr. D. V. Kale. A similar study of the subject in other languages, such as Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, will be of interest ; Dr. (Mrs.) Irawati Karve's essay on "Personal Names in India" makes a comparative study of names in different provinces of India except Bengal and discovers a uniformity based on names of gods and goddesses of Hindu mythology. "Hindu Concept of Peace" is the theme of Dr. N. V. Moorthy's essay. The writer rightly says that the Hindu conception of society is based on Varnasrama and real peaceful reign of Dharmarajya is possible when there is self-realization of the individual by realizing the Infinite Soul (*Paramatma*) in all beings by living a life of dedication in accordance with such a self-realization. Such a concept is not quite like the Western concept of Peace as understood in modern Europe and America and as such their method of dealing with the problem is different and distinct from that of the Hindu. Of the other essays "Maternity Service in Bombay" by Mr. N. V. Novonta, "A Note on Sociology and Social Work in England Today" by Dr. M. N. Srinivas, are informative. "Tradition of Folk-dances in Western India" by Prof. M. R. Majumdar deserves special mention as the learned writer has made a special study of the *Rai* and the *Garba* dances in his article. He cites instances and authorities from Sanskrit texts of the middle ages in support of his thesis. Students of Sociology will find this volume interesting and instructive.

A. B. DATTA

OBSCURE RELIGIOUS CULTS AS BACKGROUND OF BENGALI LITERATURE : By Subhasan Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Calcutta University University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 15.

Old Bengali literature was primarily religious in character, dealing directly or indirectly with the rites, practices and tenets of the various cults of popular Hinduism. The old scriptures contain scanty reference to them and they are little known to the average educated man or woman of the present day. It is therefore extremely difficult to follow old Bengali texts in many places. Hence Dr. Das Gupta's attempts at throwing light on some of these cults will be specially welcome to all lovers of old Bengali literature. He has selected three of the most important of these cults, e.g., Sahajya, Natha and Dharma, and given detailed information about their origin and characteristic features with particular reference to their ideology and philosophy. He has incidentally discussed in a separate section the cosmogonical and cosmological theories spread over different parts of Bengali literature drawing attention to their essential similarity in the midst of differences in details. The appendices give accounts of the old literature on the Natha and Dharma cults with a note on the enigmatic language of the old and medieval poets who wrote works pertaining to the different cults. These cults though 'obscure' to the educated world of today do not lack in popularity among sections of the people backward in education. Close intimacy with these people especially those who are in the know is expected to be immensely helpful in realising the secret and traditional interpretation of their practices and sayings found in their literature. The learned author of the present book has worked hard in ransacking old literature for presenting these cults in their true perspective as far as possible. He will be doing a service to Bengali literature if he follows

up his investigations and concentrates on the details of the rites and practices referred to in various old Bengali texts relating to these cults with a view to elucidating them and moving the curtain of obscurity hanging over them.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

**PSYCHOLOGY AND DISORDERS OF SEX.** PSYCHOLOGY : A. K. Deb, M.Sc., M.B., D.P.M. (Eng.). Foreword by Dr. G. Bose. Published by The Readers' Corner, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6-8.

The author has succeeded in drawing the attention of all, particularly of the general medical practitioners to the many problems of sex-life and sex disorder that are found in almost every individual and cause sometimes unnecessary troubles and worries to families. Though medical bias seems on the whole to be preponderant very reliable psychological descriptions have been given. The reviewer feels that from the psychological point of view Chapters XIII and XXVI could have been more elaborated and matters dealt with in Chapters IX and XIX might have been a little more compressed.

The book is really an excellent introduction to sexology and I am sure it will find a wide circulation. The writer has throughout maintained a wide sociological outlook which has greatly increased the value of the book. The index and illustrations at the end will prove to be of great help to the readers.

S. C. MITRA

#### BENGALI

**BANDH BIFFENCE DAO :** By Manomaha Kumar Chaudhuri. Published by Bharati Prakashana. To be had of D. M. Library and Kalyani Book Stall, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.

This short drama of about fifty pages is a new experiment. Unlike his other two plays *He Be Panna Koro* and *Sab O Swapna*, in this drama the talented young author deals with types rather than with individual characters. Almost all the characters except perhaps Ananta and, in a lesser degree, Mamata are obsessed with certain ideas, and each of them judges things not in the perspective of facts but by the standard of his pet notion or fad. Mamata, the heroine, somehow comes to believe that she is helping her poor sisters of the village in distress whereas they are led to a real danger. Here the author creates a thrilling situation. In this situation Ananta, the hero, appears in his true light as a young man of courage and strength, and by forcing Mamata not to proceed further with her philanthropic work, becomes a sort of a saviour.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAL

#### HINDI

**BHARATIYA DARSHANA :** By Baladeva Upadhyaya, M.A., Sahityacharya, with a Foreword by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Gopinath Kaviraj. Sarda Mandir, Benares. Price Rs. 6.

This is a history of Indian philosophy in Hindi dealing with all its important branches. In a small compass, the author has succeeded in giving a good idea about the literature and tenets of each system. He has in this connection consulted various works of Indian and foreign scholars on Indian philosophy. The book is divided into sixteen chapters. Besides the six orthodox systems, others like the Charvaka, Jaina and Buddhist systems have received special treatment along with Vaishnava and Sakta systems. One chapter has been devoted to the Gita philosophy.

The book will serve as an excellent guide to Indian thought. Pandit Upadhyaya's objective way of approach will help the readers to a great extent. The select bibliography at the end will be helpful. The omission of the name of the *History of Indian Logic* by Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusana therein seems to be due to an unfortunate oversight.

ANANTAL THAKUR

**BHARAT MEN YAHAN AUR WAHAN :** By C. A. Pankhurst. Translated by Rama Mehrotri. Macmillan Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pages between 16 and 32. Illustrated. Price between three annas and five and a half annas each.

A simple, interestingly written and easily readable translation in Hindi of the publisher's well-known series in English, entitled *Here and There*, dealing in brief with the history-cum-geography-cum-culture of the leading cities in, and different parts of India. The six titles, received for review, cover in this way Lucknow, Kashu, Agra, Kashmir and U. P. The series will delight the hearts of children, in the lower classes of our schools, as also those of the adults, who have just been initiated into literacy.

**STRIYON KA VEDADHYAN AND VAIDIK KARMA-KAND MEN ADHIKAR :** By Dharmadeva Vidyapachaspati. Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Naya Bazar, Delhi. Pp. 236. Price Re. 1-4.

A well-reasoned, documented thesis, based on the Vedas, the Brahmanas, Smritis and history to prove that the women of ancient India enjoyed and exercised the right to participate in the study of the scriptures and in the performance of sacrificial rites. A trump-card against the orthodox who are opposed to equality for women.

G. M.

#### GUJARATI

**PAK AUSHADHI :** By Madhav M. Chaudhuri. 1918. Pp. 80. Price six annas.

Confections and preserves of different eatable substances and articles prepared on Ayurvedic principles contribute to general health. They are like drugs but pleasant to taste. Eighty formulas for the preparation of such useful (*paaks*) confections are given here—a most useful compilation.

**KHETINAN MUL TATWA (Parts I and II) :** By Atarand Shiva Bhadra Pandya, B.A., B.Sc. Pp. 110 each. Price Re. 1 each.

The first part of the Elements of Agriculture relates to soil, water and implements and the second to tilling, manure and seed. All that is necessary to know about agriculture is very well set out by the writer, in the small compass of these two parts and therefore they are sure to be of great usefulness to tillers of land and others interested in the problem.

**GRAM RACHANA :** By Ravishankar Maharaj. 1947. Pp. 280. Price Re. 1-4.

In Bocharan in the Kara district there is an Academy called Vallabh Vidyalaya, for imparting knowledge as to how to serve villages. Ravishankar Maharaj, the pioneer and the acknowledged leader of this band of servants, gave these addresses on the subject. They have been collected here and furnish valuable reading to all who are devoted to the cause.

K. M. J.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Need India Starve ?

India is a land of unlimited acres and unlimited resources. It is blessed with a varied soil and climate capable of producing every imaginable kind of food product under the sun. F. W. Corbett writes in *The Indian Review*:

One has only to travel a few miles by road or rail to realise the vast amount of land lying fallow. As far as the eye can reach, acre after acre of land may be seen overgrown with shrub and weed. And, where shrub and weed planted by nature can grow, foodstuffs, planted and tended by man can grow. All that is required is the application of water, manure and labour, and to decide what crop is best suited to each area, and even to each plot of land, and then to push on with all the vigour at our command.

First of all the land has to be prepared for cultivation. Here also, there is no need to sit with folded hands and wait till tractors and bulldozers and other modern appliances are available. The value of tractors and bulldozers for reclaiming land for cultivation is fully appreciated, but to wait till they are available while millions are on the verge of starvation would be criminal folly. The almost unlimited, and as yet unutilised resources of manpower in India should be utilised to the fullest extent to reclaim as much land as possible and to bring them under cultivation by the ordinary use of manual labour until such time mechanical appliances are available.

Next to preparing the land for cultivation comes the question of water-supply.

Here also there is no need to wait till our grandiose, spectacular multi-purpose irrigation and hydro-electric schemes, with record-breaking dams and thousands of miles of canals come into operation ten to twenty years hence. Immediate action is necessary, and we can tap water for our immediate needs in less spectacular ways and in smaller quantities for each local area along our rivers and water courses, according to the configuration of the land. Let us take one of our larger rivers, the Godavari for instance. This river rises in the Western Ghats near Nasik close to the Arabian sea, and after flowing almost half way across the peninsula, empties itself into the Bay of Bengal. Hundreds of little streams and rivulets flow into it, to make it one of the largest and widest rivers in India. Much has been spoken about the Ramapadasagar scheme on this river much ink has been spilt, much heat generated, and yet, much water flows under its bridges, and uselessly into the sea. This project cannot be completed in less than 15 or 20 years-time. Meantime, need the people starve, the lands it flows through lie fallow, and its immense waters be emptied uselessly into the sea? We need not wait till the little streams and rivulets swell the river into a mighty stream. We can construct small dams and water regulators in these streams and rivulets before they reach the river, and divert the water at suitable intervals to form a series of small tanks. We can continue the process along the river by the provision of a series of small dams and regulators, and the drawing off of the water at suitable

intervals to form a series of tanks and lakes each capable of irrigating a few thousand or a few hundred acres of land. This will give us a series of small tanks and lakes on both sides of the river and running parallel to it, and will approximate to the ancient system of irrigation prevailing in India, and traces of which are coming to light from time to time. Temperatures will be lowered, the sub-soil water level raised and trees will grow along the banks of the lakes, thus preventing erosion and inducing more rainfall. But the main advantage is that it will give us our immediate needs of water.

This does not mean that the Ramapadasagar project and other similar large-scale projects should be abandoned. They may be carried out in their turn, but what is immediately needed is a further supply of water for immediate production of more food.

Next in importance to water comes manure.

Here also, there is no need to import artificial manures which are in short world supply, and of which we can get only a limited quantity. Nor need we wait till our own fertiliser factories come into production three or four years hence. Even a score of such factories when ready will not be able to supply all India's needs in manure. Fortunately, India has enough of organic manure to meet all her immediate needs, and a considerable proportion of her future needs if fully and properly utilised. This valuable resource of hers is far more extensive than is generally believed. The term "compost manure" has only recently sprung into prominence, but there is nothing new about it. Our agriculturalists in the fields and our gardeners in the urban areas have been accustomed to making and using compost manure from time immemorial by collecting all the refuse, garbage, dead leaves and flowers etc., into pits or by ploughing them into their fields. But only a fraction of the available material has hitherto been used, and the valuable refuse of our towns has hitherto gone to waste or been destroyed at no little cost. All that is required is to train accession, help, and encourage the people in every village, orchard and farm to conserve and preserve this manure for its own use and for the use of the neighbourhood.

The next important consideration is labour.

It is idle to suggest that with 320 millions of people, seventyfive percent of whom are agriculturists, we cannot provide the labour to produce our own food. There are millions of men and women unemployed or partially employed in the country. During the war we raised over two and a half millions of fighting men alone from among our rural population, and perhaps three or four times that number for the production of munitions and war materials—all for purposes of destruction. Cannot we raise an equal number in organised labour battalions to perform the essential non-agricultural operations as indicated above, in order to bring the land under cultivation and to provide the water etc.? The ordinary agriculturist can then be left to do the actual production under proper supervision and guidance.

### Mao's Harangue

#### The New Review observes:

For months the U.S.A. State Department remained at a loss as to what to do about China; they were waiting 'until the dust settle.' Recently Mao Tse-Tung, the Red Boss, did his best to help; with a few explosive phrases he tore through the dust cloud. He proclaimed to the world: 'We belong to the anti-imperialist front headed by the U.S.S.R., and we can only look for aid and genuine friendship from that front and not from the imperialist front.' Some American businessmen had fancied that Mao would go to Washington and London with his hat in hand for loans. Mao denounced their alleged philanthropy: 'Western capitalists want to make money and bankers need interest to relieve their own crises.'

Western politicians had hoped Mao could be befriended. Mao disillusioned them. 'We also oppose the illusion of a third road. Not only in China but in the whole world, without exception one leans either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. Neutrality is a camouflage.' Mao is no agrarian democrat as he was systematically described by young hopefuls. His regime is, and in the immediate future will continue to be, a dictatorship. He confessed he had been helped by Russia: 'The Red Revolution in China would have been impossible without the help of the U.S.S.R. and it has been helped by the support of the "masses" in many countries.'

He summed up his views on the West in a simile which he borrowed from Moscow and clothed in Chinese fashion: 'You have to choose between the alternative of killing the tiger or being eaten up by it.' And he did not say a thing about bears.

In the meantime, Chiang Kai-Shek went out of his retirement and flew to Manila. With the co-operation of President Romulo, he prepared a conference of Asian countries that would form an anti-communist front and possibly a Pacific Pact. He returned to China in a supreme effort, rallying all nationalist groups for a last ditch stand.

### Secret Talks

#### The same Review observes:

The Finance Ministers and experts of the Empire gathered in London to discuss *sub rosa* what to do about the dollar-sterling tussle. The sterling area was short of dollars or of hard currencies; those countries bought too much and sold too little; the remedy was looked for in the slogan: buy less and sell more. The knotty point of the solution lies in the ways and means of applying the remedy.

It would be out of place to discuss the plan which has been chosen and is being pursued since war by Britain and by the countries which follow in her footsteps: austerity, restriction on consumption, priority to re-equipment, maintenance of the pound sterling, extensive controls, etc. The results so obtained make a poor show when compared to conditions in the U.S.A., Belgium and Switzerland, where a contrary policy had been adopted; feed the men and feed the machines, adjust production to the consumer's needs and whims, provide for re-equipment after having provided for consumption; and as far as possible let prices find their level freely, and if need be, adjust your money system to the real conditions.

It even looks evident that the first measure for economic recovery is the re-establishment of a sound currency. The recent cases of Italy, of German Bizonia, of Austria illustrate this law. But Britain seems obsessed

with the sanctity of the pound and with the efficacy of state-controlled austerity; probably she will succeed in her attempts, but the method may postpone the date of her success and increase the sacrifices. India's Government has chosen to follow in the same direction; one can only wish success will soon be apparent, since it is hard and futile to surmise how things would have turned out if another method had been followed.

What is more important than a survey of financial arrangements is the elementary lesson of the after-war crisis. We allude to the fundamental fact that the wealth of a nation is after all made up of the properties and labour of its nationals. Whatever be the banking arrangements and currency regulations, trade treaties and conventions, international commerce is on a barter basis. What natural resources Indians own and what they get out of these resources with their labour, manual and technical, whether they have it in India or whether they send it home from abroad, that much makes up the national wealth. Whether it be gold, silver, jute or cotton, etc., raw materials, commodities and services must be exchanged between the nations in course of time, even if the flow of trade is many-branched and circuitous. Currency instruments, trade regulations, etc. measure and facilitate relations; they are but the means, not the objects of transactions.

Undoubtedly instruments of transaction and payment have their importance, to measure and regulate business, to distribute the burdens in time and space. They especially foster the necessary psychology to set the nationals a-paying. And pay they must for what they get from outside. The trouble of the governments is usually to pick the group of nationals that will pay in the last resort: the past generation (as in the case of devalued money or capital levy), the future generation (which will pay the interests on present loans), the capitalists (by taxation of profits), or the labour (by lower real wages), etc.

Ultimately payment is always made out of the wealth of the nation and when payments should increase, production of wealth must follow a parallel rise. Increase of wealth can only come from increased efforts.

Alas! at present Indian capital has grown morbidly shy and labour is deliberately remiss. The cult of easy money and leisure has swept aside the old ideals and threatens disaster. The only salvation out of our economic distress lies in work, more work and always work; in a crisis there is no escape from this iron law.

Such is the lesson that should be inculcated to the man-in-the-street as the Victorians called him, the one who has become the man-in-the gutter, but whom with democratic euphemism, we call the common man.

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### The Changing Commonwealth

In the course of an article on the above subject in *The Hindustan Review* Joseph Vernon Furtado observes:

In 1931, the Statute of Westminster was passed. It introduced fundamental changes in the legal status of the Dominions.

It was enacted that the Dominions should have power to repeal or amend Acts of the Imperial Parliament, in so far as they form part of the law of the Dominions, and that no law of a Dominion should be void on the ground of repugnancy to an Act of the Imperial Parliament or to the law of England. Secondly, that the Dominions should have full powers to make laws having extra-territorial operation. And, finally, that no Act of the United Kingdom, passed after the commencement of the Statute of Westminster shall extend to a Dominion, unless the Dominion has consented to its enactment. The legal supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was not abolished; it could be exercised with the consent of the Dominions. The Crown, also, remained the one effective bond of Empire.

In Foreign Affairs, the Dominions gained the right to make treaties without the consent of the United Kingdom Government; and, on the other hand, a Dominion was not bound by a treaty made in the name of the Crown, which it had not ratified.

Curiously enough, the question whether the Crown, as the formal head of the Commonwealth, can be both at war and peace, had not been answered. During the Second World War, Eire remained neutral, and formal declarations of war were made on different dates by members of the Commonwealth. Canada declared war seven days after the United Kingdom on September 10, 1939. On September 3, the Australian Cabinet approved a notification that a state of war existed with Germany. On September, 6, the Governor-General of South Africa issued a proclamation notifying a state of war with Germany.

After the outbreak of the Second World War, requests to set up an Imperial War Cabinet came to nought. Two important meetings of Prime Ministers were, however, held in 1944 and in 1945, on the eve of the San Francisco United Nations Conference.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which acted as a Supreme Court of Appeal for the courts of the Dominions, was one of the most important links of the Commonwealth. "The Sovereign, as the Sovereign of the Empire, had retained the prerogative of justice," says Viscount Haldane.

It was argued by some that the Judicial Committee was a limitation of Dominion autonomy. But, as against this opinion, the Imperial Conference of 1926 had clearly stated that "it was no part of the policy of His Majesty's Government in Great Britain that questions affecting

judicial appeals should be determined otherwise than in accordance with the wishes of the part of the Empire primarily affected."

Again, since by the Statute of Westminster legislation repugnant to Imperial Acts was no longer invalid, it was possible for the Dominions to abolish appeals to the Judicial Committee.

There has been a strong body of opinion among Dominion statesmen that the machinery of the Commonwealth should be strengthened.

Though the need was everywhere recognised, no Dominion would readily agree to a structure that infringed in the slightest degree upon the autonomy of any member.

The new concept of Commonwealth relations that has now emerged has been so wide in structure as to comprehend complete independence and equality of the partners.

The system of loose collaboration that the Commonwealth implies stood the test during two world wars, and proved an effective instrument for stemming the tide of international aggression and exploitation that had threatened to sweep the world.

Today the power to wage war is the power of industry. To be able to marshal the industrial resources of such wide tracts of territory as those included in the Commonwealth is no mean factor in shaping the course of victory or defeat in war.

From the standpoint of military defence, the ability to set up bases, widely dispersed in various parts of the world, is a strategic asset that cannot be over-rated. No doubt, it means greater effort and unremitting vigilance to safeguard the life lines of communication. But, ultimately, they provide a means for attack and encirclement that can seriously affect the result of a conflict between World Powers.

It is, however, not so much as an organisation for waging war, but as an instrument for preserving peace, that the Commonwealth has a right to be. The same economic resources that can be mobilized for purposes of war can be used to promote peace and prosperity. Such a large section of the population of the world that it represents, with such immense potentialities for industrial output and erection of military bases, can act as an effective check upon aggressive tendencies of individual Powers.

The Commonwealth of Nations is a political structure that may pave the way for the setting up of a world organisation on a more stable footing than either the League of Nations or the United Nations Organisation. Ultimate world unity can only be attained through the cohesion of nations into large groups, like the Commonwealth to meet at a higher level in a World Organisation that will ensure peace and prosperity to a world sorely in need of both.



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### A Mass Literacy Campaign for India

Dr. F. C. Laubach, who is at present working under the World Literacy Committee, New York, and has visited India three times during the past twelve years, writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

I have visited Calcutta, Allahabad, Jubbulpore, Nagpur, Madras and New Delhi. I worked in all these cities more than ten years ago. Now there is a vast change, a new spirit, the ardour of a stupendous crusade. One feels the sheer power of India, with a vast population only exceeded by that of China. It is wonderful to realize that the new India has at her helm men of high integrity and world vision not excelled by any other nation in the world. One's imagination flies into the future, and one sees India a stupendous power in the family of nations, breathing upon the whole of mankind the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi, the man who showed us, better than any other man of modern times, the way to peace and human brotherhood. Something of the spirit of Gandhi seems to surround every Indian I have met. His soul goes marching on.

India has decided that her new government shall be democratic. Naturally I am enthusiastic about that. I believe that the democratic form of government is the best. But I also know from rather bitter disillusionment that it is also the most difficult and exacting form of all governments. It requires a high standard of intelligence and integrity, not on the part of a few, but on the part of the common people. Democracy means that the people rule and the authorities are not rulers, but public servants. Therefore democracy rises as high as the level of the majority, for the majority rule. All who vote must be enlightened if the government is to be good. The present government of India sees this clearly and has determined to lift the masses of people up to literacy and then to enlightened citizenship as rapidly as possible.

I have heard a great deal of rather hazy talk in India since arriving this time about education and literacy being two different things. Some people think we can educate India with motion pictures and public lectures and leave the masses unable to read. I am enthusiastic about visual education and am working on it. But I warn you who may be misled by a new and untried thing, that it has very grave limitations. It can supplement literacy but it cannot take the place of literacy. The ability to read and write was and will remain the foundation of progress and of democracy. You cannot tell how good a candidate is or what his purposes are by looking at his picture in the movies. It is just as sensible to say that now we have motion pictures we shall no longer need to talk, because we can send pictures to one another.

No country has ever yet been educated by visual education alone and India had better not base her hopes on that.

Moreover, the hope of eliminating poverty rests more upon literacy than upon any one factor. We help people to help themselves. They must be able to read how to farm scientifically. Even when they look at pictures they must be able to read the captions on these pictures. All the questions of better seeds, better farm implements, better fertilizers, better buildings, keeping accurate accounts, which have made the American farmer the most prosperous on earth,—all this depends upon literacy.

There are many motion picture salesmen who will foster this idea that the documentary films can educate

without literacy, because selling those films is profitable business. But if India yields to that high pressure salesmanship and tries to omit literacy she will fall in her great experiment.

"But," says one man, "literacy is not education." No, but it is the beginning of education. Starting toward Calcutta is not arriving there, but we have to start before we arrive. Literacy is starting toward education. It is the means to education which every educated person reading this, employed to become educated, and you know it. Do you want your children to remain illiterate and depend upon motion pictures? I have seen American children who became motion picture crazy, attended every day, and they became peculiarly shallow. The motion picture craze can become a disease. Educators say that we learn, by doing, not merely looking on. The motion picture, when overdone can make mere observers of people.

I say this to answer that (perhaps small) group who think literacy is now superseded by films. I have said this in private to people who thanked me for clearing up a point which had bothered them.

Besides, the experience of the last thirty years has taught us how to make adults literate swiftly, pleasantly and inexpensively. It is being done in three-fourths of the countries of the world, and is no longer a theory or an experiment. We can make adults literate far faster and more cheaply than children. We depend not so much upon money as upon capitalizing the patriotism, the religion and the pity for misfortune that we find in educated people.

Where there is enough patriotism or religious fervour, it is possible to mobilize the vast majority of educated people into volunteer armies to teach one at a time in their homes.

While in England a few years ago I heard one returned missionary say that "each one teach one" in India had been a failure. I think we did not ten years ago know how to make easy lessons in the Sanskrit alphabets. We do know how to make them now. Moreover every Indian now has a reason to feel intense patriotic fervour, and to work hard for literacy, and for his country. Never in any country have I seen such magnificent determination among the educated people to liquidate illiteracy as I find in India this time. You have all the patriotism and more than enough to make "each one teach one" succeed now. If every literate person in India will teach one a year, this country will be wholly literate in five years.

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You are in earnest. You do not want my praise. You want to know what my experience in fifty countries, helping literacy campaigns, has to offer India in her vast undertaking of teaching one-fourth of all the illiterates on earth to read and write.

The first fact that we face is that it is indeed a vast undertaking, and will cost a tremendous amount of money. We have a double problem, for we plan to teach all the illiterate adults as well as the children. Fortunately, India will face this double problem but once, for after she has once made her adults literate they will remain literate permanently. This adult problem must be faced once for all.

Moreover, the problem of teaching children is greatly simplified when parents are literate. The children of illiterate parents do not go to school regularly. After they finish one or two years, they are likely to forget what they learned because there is nothing to read in their village. This is nearly a dead loss. But when the parents are literate the children never forget.

So we are undertaking the teaching of adults now, knowing that it will forever hereafter lighten the task of educating children. Furthermore, the incomes of educated people are larger than the incomes of illiterates, so they can afford to pay taxes and support even better schools.

The first thing to examine is our lesson material. The stories should be written with something close to genius if they are to be interesting.

No pains should be spared to make every primer as easy and swift and pleasant as possible for the adult students.

My experience during the past quarter century teaches me that we must not regard an adult as literate until he has a vocabulary of about thousand words. This means that at least two books should be studied after the primer, building upon the vocabulary of the first book, adding about ten new words a day and repeating these words often enough for the new literate to become well acquainted with them. Thus, in a few months, he will have a thousand words. The first book is prepared to teach phonetics. The second book, for vocabulary, ought to answer problems of great interest to the adult. He ought to get satisfaction out of reading every page. Articles on health, agriculture, food, care of children, water, cattle, and everything with which the adult comes into contact, will keep him fascinated, while he is acquiring the first thousand words.

Then comes the important question of simple reading matter so that the new literates will continue to read. Millions of people forget all they learned because they do not keep on reading. Other millions read vicious or inflammatory literature, which makes them worse than when they were illiterate. So this matter of furnishing easy, interesting and helpful literature for the new literates must be attacked with great vigour.

Indeed, providing good literature for new literates is three-fourths of the problem. It is a permanent problem. The masses will become literate in a few years, but they will continue all their lives to need easy literature, adapted to the level of the masses. A few leaders are aware of that, but I do not believe the majority of educated people realize that here is an emergency in which all of them should take part. I must speak with feeling on this matter, for I am desperately in earnest about it. From my observation it is evident that this simple literature simply does not exist. Then we must mobilize our forces without delay to see that it begins at once. What forces?



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Every department of the Government of India\* should prepare information which will meet the need of the new literates.

What knowledge does the Department of Health possess that all the village people ought to know? This should be written in interesting, simple language, and preferably in the form of a story. Then an Editor who has a genius for making facts alluring and who knows the techniques of writing within the limited vocabulary, should rewrite this material in the basic vocabulary.


Schools and colleges everywhere should be mobilized to furnish good reading matter. Every school with children over ten years of age ought to have a wall newspaper. All articles prepared in the writing classes for adults should be pasted on the wall. Some of these articles would be good enough to be forwarded to the department of adult education. The Department of Education should begin a small but carefully prepared newspaper containing articles of great interest to adults. Every adult should be persuaded to subscribe for that paper. It will keep the new literate reading and every article he reads will improve his mind and help him to live and enjoy life more abundantly. I recommend that you secure the services of the most brilliant journalist in the world, even if he demands a high salary. This news-

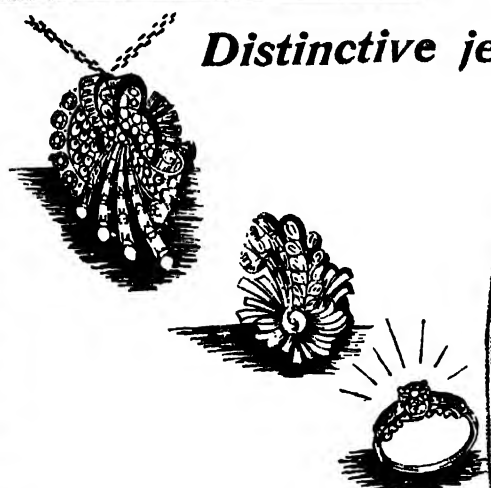
paper must be written fascinatingly. In my judgement this is a necessity if you hope to make literacy a blessing.

Then, we must have a great many small, cheap books on the semi-literate level. I recommend that a school of journalism be developed for preparing writers trained in this special field. We need an army of 100 000 writers. Right now the pen is mightier than the sword.

The communists realize the enormous importance of simple writing. They aim to inflame the masses with their propaganda. Mao Tse Tung, leader of Red China, said, "We must have an army of writers, and this army of writers is as important as the army at the front, a truly powerful weapon for smashing and annihilating the enemy. It must be a literature for the workers, for the peasants, for the soldiers." These are the words of Mao Tse Tung, and we must become as keenly aware of the great power of the printed page as the Communists are, or they will defeat us with the pen. I appeal to you who are reading this to offer your help as writers to the Government of India.

Millions will doubtless learn to read in the next ten years, but if literacy is to prove a blessing a hundred thousand of the best people must pledge themselves to write newspapers, magazines and books for the new literates.





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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Indian States: A Study of Their Constitutional Position

The concluding portion of the thought-provoking article under the above caption by Harnam Singh, which appeared in the *Political Science Quarterly*, March 1949, is reproduced here to show the true colours of the constitutional position of the Indian States:

India was declared a Dominion of the British Commonwealth on August 15 1947, with the option of seceding from the Commonwealth after a specified period of one year. The position of the States had once again undergone a change, more significant than ever before. They had the choice of joining either of the Dominions—India or Pakistan—into which the country had been divided. The majority of the princes have put in their lot with one Dominion or the other.

The contention of the Nizam of Hyderabad and his supporters that the States had a legal right to independence was not valid. They based their arguments on the theory that the mutual rights and obligations created by treaties and agreements were between the States and the British Crown, and as such were regulated by the doctrine of paramountcy. This doctrine of direct relationship with the Crown became important after the pronouncement of the British Government on August 20, 1917—a prelude to the introduction of the Reforms of 1919. The position was taken up by Sir Leslie Scott the counsel for the princes, and by the Butler Committee on Indian States. Dr A. B. Keith, supporting the point observed: "It is important to note that the relationships of the Native States however conducted are essentially relations with the British Crown and not with the Indian Government, and that this fact presents an essential complication as regards the establishment of responsible Government in India."

The above-mentioned position taken by the Nizam and his supporters does not conform to the facts. The original treaties and engagements in most cases were made between the States and the Government of the East India Company. The East India Company first got its power through royal charters, and later by acts of parliament, but the officials of the government (which was carried on in the name of the East India Company) made all the treaties and engagements on behalf of the Company and not on behalf of the Crown.

The Queen, in her declaration of November 1, 1858 (referred to above) on the assumption of responsibility for the Governance of India, merely took note of the treaties and engagements and accepted them "to be scrupulously observed." As the Government of the Company was transferred to the Crown (acting through the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General in Council with the help of other officials, and responsible to the British Parliament) the Crown also accepted the duty—among others—of recognizing the treaties and engagements existing between the East India Company and the Indian princes. It was, so to speak, a corollary to the transference of power from the Company to the Crown, and, since the Government of British India has been transferred to the Indian Dominion, the Indian

Government consequently assumed the same responsibility on August 15, 1947 as the British Crown assumed on November 1, 1858.

From the above observations, and a study of the growth and operations of the doctrine of paramountcy the contention that paramountcy resides in the Crown is not tenable. After the transfer of the Government of the East India Company to the Crown, relations with the States had been conducted by the Governor-General in Council through the political department of the Government of India and various local governments, and, except in important cases, without consulting the Secretary of State. As a result of the actions of the various Governors-General in Council, who developed the concept of paramountcy, what was in 1858 a delicate noose developed about a century later into a tight rope about the necks of the princes—the loose end of which was always held by the Governor-General.

Therefore, it follows that it was the Government of India which was the Paramount Power as far as the Indian States were concerned, although it was the King who had the paramount authority—not because he was King of England, but because it was in him that the Government of India was vested. All acts of the Government of India were done in the name of the Crown in which the statute had vested the government of the country.

That the Government of India was the Paramount Power is borne out, also by the fact that several of the States paid tribute to the Government of India, the amount of such tributes being credited to the revenue of British India. The princes of India had nothing to do with the King of England, although they were bound by certain ties to him as sovereign of British India.

The whole confusion arose from the fact that the Crown of India and the Crown of England were possessed by the same person.

It will therefore be readily admitted that the relations of the Indian States had always been with the rulers of British India; if at one time those rulers were the East India Company and later the Crown, today they are the Government of the Indian Union, and they have inherited all the assets and liabilities of their forerunners—including the powers and privileges appertaining to paramountcy.



Apart from the legal consideration, it is the fundamental duty of the Government of India to secure peace, order and good government within its territories. What would be the position of India if all the States were to become sovereign independent states? A situation would arise which would make the Balkan problem seem a simple one. India, in that case, would be a hotbed of intrigue and warfare among the native sovereigns, and a situation similar to that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would be created. It would be, in other words, a negation of the freedom of India, and any rule of action adopted by the States creating that state of affairs could not hold ground. Even if—for the sake of argument—the Government of the Indian Union did not inherit the right, among others, appertaining to paramountcy, it would be necessary for the welfare of the country for the government to assume it. The growth of the paramountcy of the Government of British India over the Indian States was necessitated by historical circumstances, and it would be historical circumstances again which would compel the Government of the Union to assume and continue to exercise the same powers. The fundamental aspect of paramountcy—that is, the security and defense of the country—still remains; and any government which assumes authority in India and is responsible for the defense of its territories cannot but assume the rights and duties implicit in the doctrine.

In conclusion, it might be said that the British Government of India and not the Crown had the right of paramountcy prior to August 15, 1947, and as such the Government of India assumes the same inherent rights of paramountcy over those States which have so far not joined the Indian Union. The police action of the Government of India is justified by law as well as by the practical necessity to protect the people of Hyderabad against the unruly elements of the Razakars and the Communists.

### Gandhi Memorial in Washington

Washington, June 23:—Erection in Washington of a monument to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi was urged Wednesday before a sub-committee of the U.S. House of Representatives.


No opposition was expressed at Wednesday's public hearing on the resolution which has been submitted in the House by Representative Emanuel Celler, Democrat of New York.

"It is not that we would thus immortalize Gandhi," Celler told the committee. "He is already immortalized far beyond what a simple monument can do. It will bespeak, however, our friendly feelings toward India, whose beloved son he was. It will tie closer those bonds of sympathy and co-operation between the two countries which already exist."

Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, with headquarters in New York, also testified. He said a Gandhi memorial would foster and greatly enhance the friendly relations between India and the United States. Passage of the proposed legislation, Singh said, "will release a tremendous flow of goodwill from the people of India for the people of the United States."

The resolution (which is not effective until approved by both the House and Senate, and signed by the President) would authorize the India League, or any other suitable organization, to erect within five years of passage a monument to the Indian leader, to be paid for by public subscription.

Wednesday's testimony developed the fact that plans call for erecting a monument on a plot of land several acres in size. As now planned, it is to be a small building which would house Gandhi books, manuscripts, mementoes and pictures of his life and times. It may also include an auditorium for exhibitions, musicals and ballads typifying Indian life.



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In urging approval of his resolution, Representative Celler said the people of the United States, through the Gandhi memorial, would "express to the people of India our recognition of one of her sons and leaders and at the same time mark our appreciation of India's emergence as a leading democracy of the East, and our desire to live with her in peace and accord."

Celler said the monument will be a recognition of the values which the world stands in much danger of losing today. "A monument to Gandhi's memory," the Congressman continued, "would stand as a constant reminder of what man's goal ought to be. We are all so busy building armies of hate and instruments of destruction; surely, we can pause to pay tribute to the most potent force for peace in our time."

"Mohandas Gandhi lived 78 years, and within that span he brought healing wisdom to all the peoples of the world. I think it is particularly fitting that our country, which has taken its place as the most responsible of nations for the keeping of the peace of the world should take the first step in marking and emphasizing Gandhi's contribution to peace. At a time which is troubled and confused and when no simple answers can be given, it would be most seemly for us to pay tribute to this figure of simplicity and goodwill."—USIS.

#### U. S. Educationist Says More Literacy Will Advance "Point Four"

Washington, August 1.—Teaching more people throughout the world to read their own languages is an effective way to advance President Truman's Point-Four program, says Dr. Frank C. Laubach, one of the world's foremost specialists in adult education.

Dr. Laubach, a native of Pennsylvania, spent years in the Philippines directing schools and colleges. He has travelled extensively in India, the Near and Far East, Mexico and other Latin-American republics, conducting literacy campaigns.

His "Laubach System" of instructing illiterates to read is credited with making 6,000,000 persons literate in recent years. He is a prolific writer and one of his best-known books is, *India Shall Be Literate*, published in 1940.

The Inter-American Educational Conference under UNESCO auspices, now being held in Brazil, will consider among others the "Laubach System" for rapid teaching of reading to illiterate persons.

Dr. Laubach has just returned to New York after six months in Asia and Australia where, the *New York Times* reports, "he taught many thousands of illiterate, and often primitive, natives to read in one week." Also, the *Times* editorially commends his campaign against illiteracy throughout the world.

The missionary-educator is now aged 65—and most of his adult years have been spent in teaching and on

literacy trips in South-east Asia, India, the Middle East and the Americas.

Dr. Laubach was born in the small town of Benton, in Pennsylvania, and still lists that as his home. Although his offices (Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature) are in New York City, he is abroad most of the time.

After studying at Princeton and other institutions, he went to the Philippines in 1915 as a missionary, and spent four years in jungle outposts. From 1922 to 1926 he was dean of Union College in Manila, and since 1930 he has been Director of "Folk Schools" in remote parts of the islands, but also has spent much time in world travels. He conducted literacy tours in India and the Near East in 1935; in India and Africa in 1937 and 1939; Mexico, in 1941; and central and South America in 1942 and 1943. His writings include *Moro* (Philippines) folklore and books about India.—USIS.

#### New U. S. Method to Reduce Frozen Food Costs

American scientists are experimenting with a new method of processing food that promises to bring frozen foods to consumers at lower cost. The method is a combination of dehydration and freezing, and is called dehydrofreezing. The United States Department of Agriculture is testing the process.

In dehydrofreezing, some of the water is removed from the food to reduce its weight and bulk, then the food is frozen quickly to preserve its fresh flavour. It is stored at freezing temperatures. To prepare the food for eating, the user cooks it in water for a short time. This restores it to its original size and weight.

Tests in the Department's laboratories show the food retains its fresh flavour and nutritive qualities after a year's storage.

The process of dehydrofreezing is said to cost more than ordinary freezing. However, dehydrofrozen foods take up less room in storage, and can be transported by train or motor truck more cheaply than frozen foods because they weigh only about half as much.

The lower packing, storage, and distribution costs in dehydrofreezing should result in an over-all saving of 20 percent to the user, the Department estimates.

The process has been tested on a number of fruits and vegetables—apples, apricots, cherries, peaches, peas, carrots, and potatoes.

In one experiment, peas were dried in hot air—160 to 200 degrees Fahrenheit to 50 percent of their normal fresh weight, then were frozen and stored at 10 degrees Fahrenheit. At the end of a year they were thawed and cooked. Tasters said the peas had lost little of their original flavour and were about equal in quality to ordinary frozen peas.—USIS.



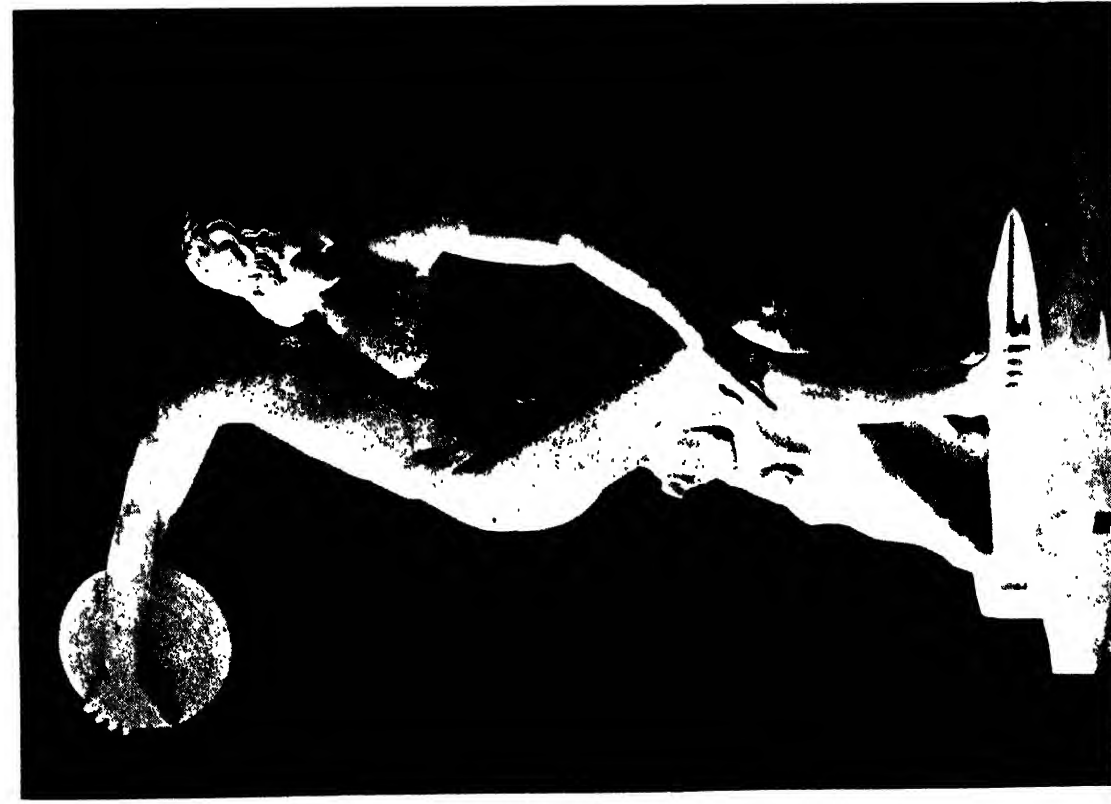
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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *Devaluation*

The entire atmosphere of the country has become tense following the decision of the Nehru Cabinet to devalue the rupee in consonance with the devaluation of the British pound sterling. There is a wide divergence of opinion amongst the accepted authorities on Indian economics and finance. We append *infra* a summary of the views expressed by the two schools of thought. Leaving aside the technicalities of the measure, we find that in the quarters where optimism prevails, there is considerable faith in the ability of the Government of India to enforce controls and checks against disruptive activities, such as speculation, black-marketing and illicit traffic in prohibited articles. The other side lays stress on the government's poor record in the past in such matters and they argue that whereas we shall lose heavily in imports from hard currency areas, whatever little hopes of gain we have, by the expected impetus to home production and export, it will all be nullified by the underhand activities of the black-marketeers and the rising tide of disaffection in labour which is guided by leaders who are either totally blind to the larger interests of the Nation or are in league with the forces of disruption.

The situation has become further complicated—and intensely so—by the decision of Pakistan to retain the present dollar value of the Pakistan rupee. This is only as it should have been expected to be. Pakistan has all along been following a policy of attention with regard to the Indian Union, and no one in his senses could have believed that Pakistan would lose a chance to make a tactical gain at the cost of India, even though it be a major strategic blunder—as it might well be—as seen from the long-term viewpoint of economics. The plain truth is that the growing tension between India and Pakistan has culminated in an economic war, precipitated by India's decision to keep in step with the British Commonwealth.

In all seriousness this means a show-down and it should be carried out logically to the bitter end, as

in a war, if the people of India and its administrators have the brains—and the guts—to do it. This is further an occasion where the much-vaunted solidarity of the British Commonwealth should be put to a test, as well as the true relations of the Truman-Attlee group *vis-à-vis* India.

Stringent economic blockades should be immediately enforced without any knock-kneed shilly-shallying. At the same time an immediate settlement of accounts must be demanded from Pakistan, which desires to retain the cake while consuming it. Consequences be whatever they may, the challenge must be taken up without letting smelly sentimentality to stand in the way. All counsellors for appeasement must henceforward be regarded as active enemies of the Indian Union. We have faith in the country's nationals, and we believe they would stoutly back the Government, come what may, as in a war, if only Pandit Nehru and his colleagues would face the situation with courage and decision.

Pakistan has issued the following communique :

"The Government of Pakistan have given most careful consideration to the situation arising out of the decision taken by the Government of the United Kingdom to devalue the pound sterling and similar action taken by a number of other countries. After weighing all the relevant factors the Government have come to the conclusion that it would be in the best interests of the country as a whole not to devalue the Pakistan rupee.

"In arriving at this decision the Government have taken account of the intrinsic position of Pakistan's economy and the interests of producers of exportable raw materials, and have paid particular regard to the need for reducing the general cost of living and the maintenance of conditions favourable to the country's development. They are convinced that the conditions that would justify devaluation do not exist in Pakistan. Devaluation is regarded as a remedy in cases where there is a deep-seated disequilibrium in a country's balance of payments or where a country has an



"It was essential to fix that new rate at a level that we could hold.

"The Government decided—and we told our American and Canadian colleagues of this decision on the first day of our arrival before starting on any discussions or consultations—to reduce the dollar exchange value of the pound sterling.

"In the last few days we have settled what the new rate should be and now I have to tell you of that decision; it is that in place of the present rate, fixed in 1946 of four dollars three cents for the pound, the rate will in future be two dollars eighty cents to the pound.

"We can always let the rate go up if events prove that we have gone down a bit too low.

"Another reason I have already mentioned. We had to increase our power to earn dollars. That's the only permanent solution for our difficulties—to earn more dollars.

"We must either earn more dollars or spend less—to get a balance. Merely to cut down our spending and do nothing to increase our earnings is a policy of desperation and not one that we could adopt. It would deprive us on a large scale of essential food and raw materials and so reduce our standard of living.

"No, we must devise better way than that. We must sell more goods and services for dollars. This is especially important now before the Marshall Plan, with its dollar aid, comes to an end—as it does in 1952. By then we must stand on our own feet in the matters on dollars, and we must earn enough of them. Unless we do, it will mean lower standard and widespread unemployment.

"We have, so far since the end of the second World War prevented the heavy unemployment that threw a deep shadow over so many of our homes in the years between the two wars. We must not run any risk of large-scale unemployment.

"So we, in the sterling area and the dollar countries, must try and create conditions in which the sterling area is not prevented from earning the dollars we need. This change in the rate of exchange is one of those conditions and a most important one.

"In a number of ways we have given direct encouragement to our industries to earn more dollars.

"We had a good deal of success all through 1948; the gap between our dollar earnings and our dollar payments was gradually closing.

"Recently, however, that tendency has been reversed. Some of our export prices to the dollar markets have been too high, and in a number of cases those markets did not bring a good enough return to encourage our manufacturers and exporters to expand their dollar export.

"It was pretty clear, in the light of the experience of the last few months that without a marked reduction in the dollar price of our exports and an increase in our sales pressure we were running a most serious

risk that our dollar earnings would not be high enough to maintain the flow of essential imports so as to keep up our standard of production and of living.

"In the old days, this reduction in price would have been forced by creating unemployment and bankruptcy. The unemployed would not have needed any imported raw materials, for they had no work, nor would they have been able to buy much food, for they had no wages.

"That would have reduced overseas expenditure. And when enough people were unemployed, fear and misery would have made it possible to cut down the general wage level, and bankruptcy would have forced a cutting down of other industrial costs. In that way our goods would have become cheaper and so we would eventually have got a greater volume of sales.

"There can be no question of this Government accepting such a policy."

### *Pandit Nehru on Devaluation*

The following is the full text of the broadcast from All-India Radio, by Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, on the devaluation of the rupee:

"I am addressing you tonight more especially in regard to the situation created by the devaluation of the pound and the rupee. This news must have come to you rather suddenly and many of you must have wondered what all this meant and what effect it will have not only on our national economy but on your own domestic economy. This morning you must have read the Press communique issued by our Government. This communique states the reasons for devaluation frankly and fully. I should like to add some words further to explain the position to you.

"Although the devaluation came rather suddenly, it has been known for some time that owing to increasing trade deficit with dollar countries and the depletion of her gold and dollar reserves, Great Britain would have to take some such action to redress the position. The able leaders of Great Britain have, after careful thought, announced their decision. We are of course interested in the prosperity of their people and we hope that the action taken by them will have the desired results.

"We have also taken similar action in regard to the dollar value of the rupee. Why did we do so? It was not because of our dollar difficulties or any sudden emergency that compelled us to take that action. It was not because of any pressure by the British Government. Indeed, they did not even recommend any course of action to us. We are completely independent in matters of currency and exchange, as in all other matters, and it was not at all in any sense obligatory on us to take the step that we have taken. That step was a matter of free choice. But choice is often governed by circumstances and we had to take this new circumstances of the devaluation of the pound into account.

"The sterling area is important to us in our international economy relations. A great part of our international trade is with this area; most of our export markets are also in this area and it is important that we should not only maintain but improve our export position. If we had not taken parallel action in revising the dollar-rupee ratio, the prices of our goods in our principal export countries would have risen immediately and that would have affected our trade interests and all those engaged in the work of production in our country.

"The devaluation of the pound, therefore, made the revision of the dollar-rupee ratio almost unavoidable in the interests of our own country. Incidentally, our exports to hard currency countries will also be stimulated by the new rate of exchange.

"You must be chiefly interested, however, in the effects of this devaluation on our internal economy and, more especially, on the internal price level and the cost of living index. Many people have already expressed views, differing from one another, and these are likely to confuse the public and create a psychology which may be detrimental to the economy of the country and tend to bring about a situation which is not warranted on facts.

"There is no reason whatever why the general level of prices and consequently the cost of living in this country need go up, because of this devaluation. This, it must be clearly understood, has no significance so far as the internal value of the rupee is concerned or so far as its value in the sterling area is concerned. The cash which any individual may possess or his bank deposits will not be touched in any manner. Nor will the purchasing power of this money be affected except in regard to some commodities which come from the dollar areas.

"It is true that as a result of the devaluation, imports from the hard currency countries will become dearer. But it does not follow and it is absolutely wrong to draw the inference that the general level of prices and consequently the cost of living in this country will go up. The main items which enter into the cost of living index are essentially of indigenous origin. For those which are imported we depend mostly on the sterling area countries and for these there will be no change in prices.

"For the same reason, cost of production should not rise. It is true that certain articles like non-ferrous metals have to be imported from the dollar area. But their effect on the cost of production of any article entering in the cost of living index will be negligible. There is the question of cost on plant and machinery. Most of this comes to us from the sterling areas. It should be possible to switch over even more in this respect from the dollar area to the sterling area.

"The major items in the cost of living are food and clothing. So far as food is concerned, we have already completed our programme for imports from the dollar area for this year and therefore devaluation will

have no adverse effect on the cost of our food imports or on our food subsidies. For the future, we shall avoid as far as possible, importing foodstuffs from the hard currency areas. Indeed we are going to try to avoid importing any foodstuffs.

"As for clothing, most of the countries on which we depend for cotton have already devalued to some extent. Here also, therefore, there is no reason for any rise in prices. An important item for the rural population is kerosene oil. This again is obtained from the sterling area.

"In regard to bullion, prices were already considerably higher than those corresponding to the revised value of the rupee and are not related to world prices. There is no reason why they should go up any further.

"There is, therefore, no reason to apprehend a rise in the cost of living. Indeed we cannot afford any further rise in internal prices of our basic commodities. Any tendency on the part of these prices to rise will have to be countered by the exercise of regulatory public authority. In spite of the devaluation, there is no ground for thinking that there will be no room for a reduction of the price-level. Government will continue their endeavour to bring down the present prices to a more reasonable level by encouraging the increase of production and by rationalisation of production. There is considerable scope for this in our industry.

"So far as the main articles of our exports to the dollar area are concerned, namely, jute, jute goods, oil seeds, manganese, and tea, it is necessary that whatever benefit we might get by devaluation should not be lost by prices being pushed up. Already there has been a certain amount of price resistance which was affecting the volume of our dollar earnings. There is no inherent justification for any rise in the prices of these commodities and any speculative action will be detrimental to the interest of the country.

"This also applies to the cost of goods already imported from the dollar area and lying with the importers and traders. Any attempt by these people to raise the prices of these goods or to hold back these goods in the hope of getting higher prices will be anti-social and an exhibition of a selfish acquisitive mentality which pays no heed to the good of the nation and the people generally. There is even less justification for the prices of any other goods to be raised sympathetically.

"I should like, therefore, to appeal to the businessmen of the country and to the people generally in this matter. For them and indeed for all of us the interest of the nation and of the masses of our people must be paramount and profiteering by a few at the expense of the many and to the detriment of national economy cannot be tolerated. That would indicate a complete lack of patriotism and a disregard of the national interest.

"No Government can stand by and allow this disregard to go unchecked and the Government of India will take all necessary steps to check any such tendency.

To the public I would make an appeal to refuse to pay anything more than they have been paying hitherto. It is ultimately on the co-operation of the public generally that we have to rely in checking the anti-social activities of a few.

"The revision of the exchange rate is only a palliative and not a remedy for our economic difficulties. That remedy will have to seek out deep-rooted causes and remove them. The action that we have taken was called for as a measure of adjustment to the situation which had been created for us and which we had to take into account in framing our economic policy.

"We have to be vigilant and we have to work and we have to see to it that the predatory instincts of a few do not come in the way of the nation's well-being and advance.

"I have often told you that the question of food is of basic and primary importance for us. Indeed all our economy depends upon it and if we solve this problem of food, as we are determined to, it will not be difficult for us to get over other hurdles. Therefore, it becomes most important for us to concentrate on food production in every way and to avoid all wastage.

"I am glad to tell you that the prospect in regard to food is good, and we are making considerable progress. Even more is needed and I should like all our Provincial and State Governments, all our local authorities and local officers, our agriculturists and the people generally, to push ahead with this matter of food production with all their might.

"Fortunately the harvest all over India promises to be good. Fortunately also we have discovered large quantities of water in Rajasthan Desert and out of the sand of that desert food will come to us. We have already decided to put an end to all imports of rice in future. We fixed a date, the end of 1951, when no more food will be imported. I hope and believe that that date can be brought much nearer. To that end we must all work.

"So, in conclusion, I want to tell you that this devaluation should not affect our private lives and your domestic economy. We have our economic difficulties and we have taken you into our confidence in regard to them, because with your help and co-operation we shall most certainly overcome them. There is no need for any anxiety, but there is need for our facing the issues firmly and with confidence and our working hard and our preventing anti-social practices. Our difficulties are a challenge to our manhood and to our sense of patriotism and disciplined co-operative effort. I feel sure that we shall face this situation, as we have faced many more difficult situations, with courage and calm confidence. Jai Hind."

### *State Acquisition of Property*

The Controversial Article in the Constitution on State acquisition of property had to be moved in the Constituent Assembly by Pandit Nehru himself who

explained that the approach made in this Article "protects both the individual and the community."

Pandit Nehru said there were no other Article which had given rise to so much discussion and debate as the present Article. In the discussions many eminent lawyers had taken part, and naturally they had thrown a great deal of light, so much light indeed that conflicting rays of light had produced "a certain measure of darkness."

But the questions involved, he added, were relatively simple. It was true there were two approaches to these questions, the two approaches being individual right to property and the community's interest in that property. The resolution, he said, tried to take into consideration fully both these rights.

First of all, Pandit Nehru assured, there was no question of any expropriation without compensation so far as this constitution was concerned. He said it was true that the individual could not come in the way when the chosen representatives of the people considered a thing quite essential for the progress and safety of the State.

But, Panditji said they had to keep this in view that fair and equitable compensation was to be paid. They had also to remember, he added, that equity did not apply only to individual but to the community also. No doubt community could over-ride ultimately the right of the individual. But no community could injure the interest of the individual unless for urgent and important reason. How to balance all these? He said they could balance this to some extent by legal methods, but ultimately the balancing authority should be the sovereign legislature of the country which could keep all the various factors, public and political factors, into consideration.

He said it was true some members might criticise this resolution because of certain principles overlapping, because of lack of clarity in words here and there and of phrases. That, he said, to some extent was inevitable when "we try to bring together a large number of ideas and put them in a number of phrases. This Draft Article was the result of a great deal of consultation, was the result in fact of attempts to bring together and compromise the various approaches to this question."

He said, "I feel that attempt has in very large measure succeeded. It might not meet the wishes of every individual who might like to emphasise one party more than the other. I think it is just compromise; it does justice and equity not only to the individual but to the community."

Explaining the various clauses of the Article, Pandit Nehru said that normally the judiciary did not come into the picture. Parliament was authorised to determine the compensation or the principle of compensation. The Judiciary, he added, only came to see if there was any gross abuse of law or if there had been a fraud in the Constitution. Normally speaking a Parliament

representing the entire nation would not do any fraud to the nation.

With regard to other clauses he said he need not say much because the clause relating to bills was now pending before the Legislatures of States. It provided that as soon as the President had assented to that law no question should be raised in a court of law with regard to the provisions of that enactment. He said the matter had to go to the President so that he could see whether in a hurry the Legislature had done something which it should not have done.

He said that the tremendous debate they had on this Article was perhaps due not to this Article but rather to other conflicting opinion which was in the minds of the members and possibly many outsiders. He said they were passing through a tremendous age, an age of transition. Nevertheless platitudes had to be repeated and remembered lest "we forget that and lose ourselves in difficulties and crisis."

The Prime Minister said: "When we pass through a great age of transition, various systems, even the system of law, have to undergo changes. The very conception of property which seemed to us unchanging has changed." Pandit Nehru then analysed how the conception of property from the old age when property existed in human being to the modern time—had undergone changes. Today, he said, there were other kinds of property which were more important than land. Today the property was measured in terms of securities, credit.

A man with less property but more credit, he said, could do more than a man with more property but less credit. Again, Panditji added another change had taken place. Now instead of owning small shares completely man began to own large shares partly and, therefore, he became co-sharer of large property and got the benefit of that although he was not the master of it.

The modern tendency, he said, was for monopoly and ultimately property was limited in a few hands. It however, he said, did not apply to India because they had not grown in that direction. But the industrially developed countries had developed that tendency with the result the old idea of property and free enterprise did not apply because in the ultimate analysis a few persons who possessed large monopoly could crash out a little shop-keeper. So the old conception of individual ownership of property suffered from monopoly tendency.

So the question, Panditji said, was how to protect the individuals today. The State had to intervene even to protect individual right to property. But the matter was not so simple, because the individual might lose his right completely by the functioning of the various forces today both in capitalistic and socialistic directions. This was a large question and one could consider it at length. He said he wanted to place a hint before this House because he was afraid that this House might lose itself in legal arguments and might lose the revolutionary perspective and the fact that the world was changing.

Pandit Nehru said the forces at work were not static or entirely within the control of law or Parliament. If Parliament did not fit into the changing picture, it lagged behind and the revolutionary forces would go on irrespective of the law made by Parliament.

Pandit Nehru continuing said some members and people outside were owners of land and naturally felt their interest would be affected by this legislation. The way the land legislation was being dealt with today might appear to them not completely right so far as they were concerned. "But I think it is better and juster way from their point of view than any other way that will come in the future," said Pandit Nehru.

"It is the old policy of the Indian National Congress that zemindary institution must be abolished. So far as we are concerned, who are connected with the Congress we will implement that policy hundred per cent. (Cheers). No law will come in our way. No Judge, no Supreme Court will stand over the judgment of the sovereign Legislature.

Where the future of the community is concerned no Supreme Court will come in the way. If it does come in the way then after all the whole Constitution is a creature of Parliament. But, he added, nothing should be done against good of the whole country or against the Constitution. Therefore, if such things occurred the Judiciary might find out the fault and correct it. The Judiciary, he said, came in the nature of correcting the defects.

He said, the House had decided to save Second Chamber. Why? Presumably they had decided so because they wanted to check rapid Legislation of the First Chamber which the First Chamber might itself regret. So from that point of view Panditji said, it was desirable to have people who would scrutinise the details, but not the basic principles. Ultimately the fact remains, he reiterated, that "the Legislature must be supreme and must not be interfered with by the courts of law in such measures of social reforms."

In this resolution the approach made, said Pandit Nehru, protected both the individual and the community. It gives final authority to Parliament subject only to scrutiny by the Supreme Court in case of some grave error or fraud in the Constitution, not otherwise.

The text of the Article, as adopted, with agreed amendments, is as follows:

(1) No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law. (2) Property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owning any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of the compensation, or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which the compensation is to be determined and given.

(3) No such law as is referred to in Clause (2) of

this Article made by the legislature of a State shall have effect unless such law having been reserved for the consideration of the President has received his assent.

(4) If any Bill pending before the legislature of a State at the commencement of this Constitution has, after it has been passed by such legislature, received the assent of the President, the law so assented to shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of Clause (2) of this Article.

(5) Nothing in Clause (2) of this Article shall affect (a) the provisions of any existing law other than a law to which the provisions of Clause (6) of this Article apply, or (b) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty or for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property, or (c) the provisions of any existing law made or of any law which the State may hereafter make in pursuance of any agreement arrived at with a foreign State or otherwise with respect to property declared by law to be evacuee property.

(6) Any law of a State enacted, not more than 18 months before the commencement of this Constitution, may within three months from such commencement be submitted by the Governor of the State to the President for his certification; and thereupon, if the President by public notification so certifies, it shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of Clause (2) of this Article or sub-section (2) of Section 299 of the Government of India Act, 1935."

### *Detention without Trial in Free India*

The Party which was the strongest critic of detention without trial has now passed Article 15A empowering the Executive to detain a person without trial under certain circumstances. The House accepted an amendment that a detenu should be told the reason for his detention as soon as possible and an opportunity given to him to make an early representation against the order.

When the House resumed discussion on Article 15A relating to the executive's power of detention without trial, Mr. Jaspal Roy Kapoor (U.P.) said that this Article was one more illustration of "conservatism," which characterized the various other Articles in the chapter. The emphasis was more on the limitation of fundamental rights than on their grant.

He urged that the cases of detenus be compulsorily reviewed every three or six months. As the Article stood, once the advisory board agreed to a person's detention for over three months, he would be completely at the mercy of the executive for any number of years.

Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras) supported Pandit Bhargava's plea that every detenu must have the right of at least one appeal. "We cannot entrust the safety of a person to a single individual. The

present Criminal Procedure and Penal Codes have been made to protect property much more than the person."

He supported Mr. Kapoor's plea for a periodic review of the cases of detenus and said: "The Chairman of the Drafting Committee has tried to imagine and make provision for all the hardships of detenus, but one thing is wanting: he has not been in jail for a period of even three months at any time. That is why he has not given thought to some of the inconveniences that may arise." He favoured a provision limiting the maximum period of detention to two years.

Mr. Mahavir Tyagi (U.P.) characterized the Article as a "negation of fundamental rights" and wished that "Dr. Ambedkar, along with the Drafting Committee, had had the experience of detention in jail."

If the Article was passed without amendment, he said, a Government that would come into power would be "totalitarian" in character.

Dr. P. K. Sen, a former Judge of Patna High Court, supported Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand's amendment that a detenu should be told on what grounds he had been arrested.

He said that as soon as a man was arrested, the matter should be in the hands of the advisory board, which should at once inform him of the grounds of his arrest so that he might know how he stood.

There might be certain things which appeared to be rather against fundamental rights, he said. But the House should bear in mind the troublous times not only in this country but all over the world and should not suggest that there was no place whatsoever for the Article. He deplored the attacks on the Drafting Committee.

Pandit Kunzru recommended that a limit should be prescribed to the period for which the State could detain a man without trial. He complained that the Constitution did not confer on the people of India all those guarantees of liberty that the people of Japan had been given. The Indian Constitution in this respect was far behind the U.S. and Japanese Constitutions. It was necessary that the Constitution should restrict the power of the executive to detain a person only for a certain maximum period, and this could be done without in any way effecting the power of the executive to detain a person in certain circumstances.

Dr. Ambedkar, intervening in the debate, proposed certain amendments to his own Article to meet some of the points in the criticism. He complained that some of the speakers, who were interested in the liberty of individuals, assumed not merely the role of critics but of adversaries of the House. They had even advocated the omission of the Article altogether. That way did not lie wisdom, he said.

The main criticism related to the second part of the Article dealing with preventive detention. He reminded the House that it had introduced an entry

in the Union and Concurrent Lists dealing with preventive detention and asked those members in the light of the entry to consider the effect of dropping the Article which he had now proposed.

"The effect of such withdrawal," he declared, "would be that provincial legislatures as well as the Central Parliament would be at complete liberty to make any kind of law with regard to preventive detention. There will be no limitation upon the exercise of making any law in this regard. Do the lawyer-members of the House want that sort of liberty being given to the province? If they are opposed to such provision, they should have opposed the introduction of the entry in lists 1 and 3. We are trying to curtail the power and put a limitation on it. I am not doing anything worse. You, the lawyer-members, are suggesting something worse."

Continuing, he dealt with two main criticisms in regard to the proviso. In regard to persons arrested and detained under the ordinary law, as distinguished from the law dealing with preventive detention, a provision had been made that the accused should be informed of the ground of arrest.

Critics, he said, asked him why a similar provision had not been made in the case of detenues. That was a legitimate question and he was prepared to redress the position, because he found even under the existing laws enacted by various provincial Governments relating to preventive detention, a provision was made the accused should be informed of the ground for his detention. He was, therefore, prepared to add a new clause after Clause 3 of the Article to the effect that the authority making an order for detention should, as soon as might be, communicate to the detenu the ground on which the order had been made, and an early opportunity would be given to him to make a representation against the order.

Secondly, members had suggested that the permissible period of detention without inquiry or trial of a person should not be three months but 15 days. He said that nobody knew how the situation in the country would develop. Some parties would follow constitutional methods and others might resort to violence for carrying out their purposes. Probably the necessity of having preventive detention might not be there at all, but in making a law they must take into consideration the worst. Supposing a very large number of people had to be detained for their illegal activities, it would not be practicable for the advisory board to dispose of these cases within less than three months.

The Drafting Committee felt that a time limit of three months would, therefore, be prescribed.

Referring to the criticism about omission of reference in regard to the procedure for the advisory board, Dr. Ambedkar admitted that it was true that Sub-clause A was silent as to the procedure. He was prepared to add a clause at the end of Clause 4 to the effect that Parliament might prescribe the procedure to be followed by the board in any inquiry.

As regards the suggestion that detenues must be given an opportunity to make a representation before the advisory board, he said that the wording "submission of paper to the advisory board," implied submission of a statement by the accused. Further, Parliament might categorically say that the papers to be submitted to the advisory board should also include the replies of the accused. He explained that the right of defence meant right of cross-examination also.

He also maintained that the questions of maintenance for detenues and periodical review of their cases could be regulated by law.

### *Taxation of State Enterprises*

A policy statement, with four-fold assurance by the Finance Minister, Dr. John Matthai on the question of taxation of State undertakings was made at the Constituent Assembly during the course of a debate. The Finance Minister's intervention in the debate, for the first time for several months, was necessitated by a discussion on the proviso in the Article relating to exemption from Union taxation for property and income of a State, that it shall not prevent the Union from imposing any tax in respect of a trade or business carried on by the Government.

Members from Travancore and Mysore expressed apprehension that it would cripple the financial resources of these industrialised States; and operate as a check to the progress of many industries undertaken by them.

A lively debate also ensued in which Mr. Alladi Krishnaswamy Ayyar while sympathising with the observations made by members on behalf of Mysore and Travancore, asked them to look at the matter in the larger perspective. He was sure the future Union Government would take a very favourable view of the situation in respect of these States and would extend all facilities to them. The present Article provided sufficient elasticity to enable the Union Government to exempt certain industries and it was not obligatory on Parliament to levy taxes on these industries. But it was difficult to differentiate between States like Mysore and Travancore and others and lay down a general principle of law that no tax would be imposed by the Union on industries run by the States. That, he said, might lead to wide use of new schemes being started by the Provinces without taking the interest of trade and industry in general. He, therefore, commended the Article as moved by Dr. Ambedkar saying that it was "consistent with the most advanced principles of Democracy."

The Finance Minister, Dr. John Matthai in clarifying the misapprehensions expressed by the Mysore and Travancore members said that there was nothing which the Central Government was more anxious to put through than industrialisation of the country. He assured that if it was found that operation of these provisions would have the effect of checking the progress of industrialisation, it would certainly be adjusted.

The Central Government, he continued, was at the moment anxious to determine the repercussion of the present taxation structure on the development of industries and to see that any check on their progress and development was removed as early as possible.

Referring to certain speeches in the House earlier, Dr. Matthai said that the members proceeded on the assumption that there was an inevitable conflict between the financial objective of the Centre and of the States. Refuting this assumption, he asserted that from the way things were shaping, they were rather tending more and more towards a united structure. In this respect their identity of interests was now absolutely completed. If, therefore, it was found that the finances of a State were in difficulty, the difficulty would be owned by the Centre as well. Therefore, if operations of this provision were going to have any unfavourable effect on the finances of a State, necessary adjustments would certainly be made in the matter.

Most of the particular industries, to which reference had been made, he continued, belonged to categories of public utility, while recognising that it was not an easy matter to define the term public utility. He, however, assured that it was not the intention of the Central Government or of the authors of this provision to levy any tax on industries whose object was to introduce service of public character. That, he emphasised, was clearly out of the scope of this provision.

Dr. Matthai also stated that this liability to pay taxes on industrial undertakings would be imposed equally on the Centre in respect of those undertakings which might happen to be run by it. Those industrial undertakings, he said, would be organised and managed on the lines of public corporations and would be treated exactly on that basis.

In this connection, he drew an analogy with the position of the railways and such other public undertakings, where a proportion of the surplus in the budget had to be contributed to the general revenues of the country.

He, therefore, assured the House again that public utility undertakings would be outside the scope of this provision and there would be no discrimination between the Centre and the States in respect of taxes on industrial undertakings.

Referring to the question of budgetary difficulties in consequence of the tax imposed under this provision, he said that as in the case of every federal Government, it would be an obligation of the Centre to help the States, by means of subsidies or subventions or by granting loans, to promote development of public utility schemes or other projects of national importance. He again emphasised the complete identity in the objectives of the Centre and of the States, and said that any assumption that there was conflict between the respective interests, had no justification.

Winding up the debate, Dr. Ambedkar said that after the assurances given by the Finance Minister,

Dr. Matthai, nobody should entertain any kind of doubt that the provisions of this Article would adversely affect the finances of any State.

### *Tax on Newspapers*

A decision to place the taxation of newspapers beyond the purview of the provinces has been made by the Constituent Assembly. In the course of the debate on the subject Dr. Ambedkar said that it had been proposed to the Drafting Committee by some members that the right to levy Sales Tax and Advertisement Tax on newspapers should be included in the Union list and that it should not be left open to the Provincial Legislatures to enact any laws relating thereto. After having carefully considered the matter, the Drafting Committee had agreed to the new proposals by which power to legislate in the matter of levying any Sales Tax or Advertisement Tax from newspapers should be exclusively related in Parliament and not in the State Legislatures. The effect of it would be that the levy of any tax on sale or advertisement contained in a newspaper will be outside the jurisdiction of the State legislature.

Mr. R. K. Siddhwa and Prof. N. G. Ranga said that newspapers should not be given any distinctive treatment in the matter of taxation.

Mr. Deshabandhu Gupta refuted Mr. Siddhwa's suggestion that newspapers did not deserve any distinctive treatment in the country. Almost all the newspapers in the country had suffered very much in the past and, therefore, he emphasised, they deserved some distinctive treatment in the matter of taxes.

Mr. Gupta also said that the mere fact that he and Mr. Ramnath Goenka had agreed to the inclusion of this entry in the Union List did not mean that they were in favour of Sales Tax and Advertisement Tax to be levied on newspapers by the Centre. They would rather prefer no tax being levied on newspapers. They were only making a provision in their Constitution that if at all any tax was to be levied on them, the appropriate authority was only the Parliament and not any State legislature. Mr. Deshabandhu Gupta also referred to the proposal of the Madras and Bombay Governments to levy 10 per cent and 6½ per cent of the gross revenue of the newspapers by way of tax. If such pieces of laws were enacted by Provincial Governments, he said, many newspapers would have to close down.

He also referred to the unanimous resolution of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference held in Delhi last month that the power to enact any measures to levy taxes from newspapers should be vested exclusively in Parliament. It was very essential he said that nothing should be done by the House, which would weaken the Press, as any measure which weakened the Press would also weaken the democratic foundations of Government.

Mr. Ramnath Goenka said that newspapers were not proud in having been able to put the entry in the



Central List. As a matter of compromise, he said, they had agreed to this. This tax which had been condemned even 150 years ago by the advanced countries of the world, should not have found a place in the Constitution. He however, hoped and trusted that the Central Government would not implement the entry and impose any tax on newspapers.

Dr. Ambedkar replying to the debate said that newspapers were very intimately connected with Article 13, which dealt with Fundamental Rights, which had to be borne in mind while making any provision with regard to newspapers. Under Article 27, adopted by the House, all matters of legislation relating to Fundamental Rights had been left to Parliament, and it was only a natural corollary that newspapers for the purpose of taxation should also come under the Central authority. Thirdly, in view of the fact that newspapers were connected with Fundamental Rights, any tax that was levied upon them should be uniform and should not vary from province to province. Such uniformity, he said, was possible only if it was left to Parliament.

By making this transfer from List 2 to List 1, finances of the provinces, Dr. Ambedkar said, would not be affected. Under a different provision the provinces would also get such share of Sales Tax on newspapers as they might have got if they themselves had levied the tax.

### *Political Developments in Assam Hills*

Writing in *the Republic*, Mr. B. Verma gives an account of political developments in Assam Hills with special reference to the Nagas. He writes:

"Not even a year back, the Press in Assam reported a sensational news about an ultimatum by the Naga National Council or NNC as it is popularly called. NNC is admittedly the most representative organisation among the Naga tribes living in the present-day Naga Hills District. Some of the more crucial features in the demands stated in the memorandum of the ultimatum were:

(i) That Nagaland (i.e. the Naga Hills District and all other contiguous areas inhabited by Naga tribes) shall have direct link with Central Government and not with the Provincial Government, for a period of ten years; (ii) an elected Council of the Naga people shall administer all internal affairs of the Nagaland, while the Central Government shall be vested with powers relating to Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. The Central Government might maintain an Army in Nagaland territories for defence purposes by special agreement with the Nagaland; (iii) the Central Government shall give to, and for the Nagaland, liberal financial aid for its programmes of economic and social uplift; (iv) the Naga people shall decide after ten years the future relations of Nagaland with the Indian Union or any part thereof.

The President of the NNC made fervent appeals to the peoples and parties of the Indian Union to

accede to these demands and prove thereby their sincerity and friendship towards the Naga people. The ultimatum, however, also contained a threat that in case of the failure of Nehru Government to grant and fulfil these demands, the Nagaland shall declare itself free from the Indian Union and shall consider all acts of suppression of the Naga people as acts of aggression by an unfriendly power.

The echoes of this ultimatum had hardly died down when the Mizo Union, admittedly the best organised body among the hill peoples of Assam and the most representative organisation of the people of the Lushai Hills, launched upon a civil resistance movement against the predatory oppression and tyrannical exploitation of the tribal chiefs—an old institution made almost hereditary by British rulers and also mostly encouraged by Assam's present ruling class. These chiefs now have the right to settlement of lands, etc., and to assess and realise house-tax and such other taxes, almost like the landlords. The most hateful of all this is that the chiefs are also entitled to use the tribal peasants as their service-tenure peasants and exact unpaid labour from them, for a certain number of days, in their own houses and fields. It was this system of forced labour which became the immediate target of the Mizo Union's civil resistance movement, while their main demand was an interim District Council in the Lushai Hills with elected representatives of the people to guide and advise the Superintendent of the District in matters related to internal affairs.

Followed then an orgy of repression of the worst type and a large number of the civil resisters had to undergo severe punishment at the hands of the Superintendent of the Hills District. Many of the foremost leaders were detained in Assam jails without trial for an indefinite period.

Next came the mass resistance by the Naga tribe of the Mado area within Manipur State. The Manipur authorities had, all of a sudden, enhanced the export duties on products like potatoes, orange, etc., by two to three hundred per cent in certain cases. The Mao Nagas refused to pay these duties. As a result, the armed forces of the State strengthened by contingents from Indian Union, waged what looked like a regular war upon them and suppressed the revolt with the utmost severity, subsequently arresting their leaders including Mr. Daiho who is yet rotting in jail.

There was a political basis of this struggle also. The Mao Nagas had been agitating for transfer of their territory—just on the border of the Naga Hills District—to the proposed Nagaland of the NNC. During the last elections for the Manipur State Assembly they completely and successfully boycotted the elections and expressed their determination not to remain under the autocratic regime there.

Tension was high also among the people of North Cachar Hills, but all indications as to the nature and extent of the agitation were completely blacked out

by the Press. But the fact of the detention without trial of their young leader and many others did leak out to prove that all was not well in that direction also. And all this happened during the last quarter of 1947 and the first few months of 1948—just after the historic advent of the “newly born freedom.”

Briefly stated, the background of these hill-dwellers is this: they had very little in common with the people of the Assam plains, even in the past. Whatever casual relations did exist, were mostly bellicose and uncordial. Coming from the Tibeto-Burman stocks mostly, as also from the Austric group in some cases, e.g., the *Khasi* and the *Garo*, mutual relations between the different races and even the different tribes of the same racial group were very little or none in days gone by. The British policy of exclusivism, foisted upon them and carefully pursued, widened the gulf all the more between the plains and the hills as well as between the different racial groups. Of late, and particularly after initiation of the various so-called political reforms in India, the different hills were being earmarked with singular nomenclatures like: “frontier tracts”, “excluded” and “partially excluded” areas. Thanks to the anti-Indian propaganda of the “hill-expert” bureaucrats and the different foreign Churches, the hill-dwellers were led to believe that these means were being improvised by the Imperialists for protection of the hill people from intrusion, and even aggression, by India; and the peoples of the plains, on the other hand, were sedulously fed with stories of the hillmen’s brutalities in order to make the ordinary folk instinctively shun the hillmen like plague. Thus, the imperialists succeeded in keeping the hillmen secluded and weak politically and even economically and socially, and thereby they safeguarded their own interests in these frontier areas.

The Bardoloi Sub-Committee, formed for investigating the question of tribal areas, have recommended that (1) each Hill District shall be a constituent unit of the Province of Assam, (2) every Hill District will have an elected council and elected-cum-approved (by the Province) Executive Committee of this Council, the Official District Authority of the Province being the virtual vetoing authority, (3) the Hillmen will be allotted seats in the Provincial Legislature on a population basis, (4) in the Provincial Ministry there will be one Hills Portfolio in charge of a Hills Minister with an Advisory Committee consisting of members nominated by the Provincial Government, (5) the District Councils in the Hills will have the power as enjoyed by a District Board in other Indian Districts and, besides this, they will be entrusted with the tasks of settlement, etc., of land, and may have some powers to control immigration and travelling into the Hills but the final authority in each question being the District Officer appointed by the Provincial Government.

The Bardoloi Sub-Committee’s recommendations have failed to satisfy Hillmen’s basic demand for their right of self-determination. They have been stoutly

opposed. In fact, Naga National Council’s ultimatum came as an answer to this Sub-Committee’s recommendations. Negotiations however have continued.”

The concluding paragraphs of Mr. Verma’s article are also equally illuminating and deserve serious attention:

“The apparent calmness which prevails today in the Hills is being very mistakenly interpreted as the hillmen’s acquiescence to the present and the coming order of things: also mistaken is the tendency to dismiss the undercurrent of prevailing tension in the Hills as worked-up agitation of the anti-Indian forces of whom the worst are the Communists. Nor are the reported military movements all over the Hills now-a-days are mere precautionary measures against “possible infiltrations of the Burma rebels into this country.” They have definitely the dual purpose of encouraging the Burmese government campaign against the Burmese revolutionaries and keeping down the hillmen of Assam for fear of their eventual resistance against the present regime.

That all is not well with these hillfolks is further evident from the hectic anti-Communist, anti-Chinese, anti-Burmese and, of course, anti-Soviet propaganda of the different Churches working in these hills—most notably the Welsh Mission, the Methodists, and the Roman Catholics. The hillmen live today behind a real Iron Curtain and they have now been made completely inaccessible to Assam’s non-official public, and less so to anyone with progressive leanings.”

### *Punjab Canal Waters Dispute*

The recent Inter-Dominion Conference on the distribution of canal waters in East and West Punjab has proved inconclusive. It is reported that Pakistan may refer the case to the International Court of Justice. The dispute is a two-year old one. Partition of India resulted in the division of the highly irrigated province of the Punjab. As a result of the division, the Western portion, consisting of a vast Muslim population, went over to Pakistan while the Eastern portion came to India. This physical division led to the tearing up of the economy of the Punjab. The irrigation works of the entire Punjab are situated in East Punjab while the irrigated lands which reaped the benefit of such works lie in Pakistan. Under normal conditions, East Punjab supplied irrigation water for cultivation in West Punjab. Under the present political conditions, this arrangement could not continue. East Punjab, a deficit area in food, having thousands of cultivable acres uncultivated owing to lack of water facilities, could not go on supplying water to lands in West Punjab while it belonged to a different country. In its own interests the Government of Pakistan should have realised the undependability of relying on irrigation projects lying in another country for its water supplies. In May 1948, Pakistan recognised East Punjab’s rights to diminish progressively the supply of waters to West Punjab Canal

in order to use such water for irrigating East Punjab. It further consented to deposit, in view of the recognition of India's ownership of the Sutlej waters, the amount of the seigniorage with the Reserve Bank of India. Government of India for its part conceded that it would not discontinue water supply suddenly and would give sufficient time to West Punjab for tapping any alternative sources of water within the latter's own territory for feeding those canals. The agreement in general was considered by Pakistan to be reasonable.

This reasonableness of Pakistan has now disappeared and in the recent Conference held to discuss distribution of Canal waters, Pakistan has revoked its earlier stand. Pakistan's new contention is that the Sutlej waters—just like the waters of the Danube to the Danubian countries of Europe—belongs as much to Pakistan as to India and that Pakistan is entitled to full rights of the use to the Sutlej waters. Further, as a corollary it has claimed that the Government of India ought not to cut, regulate, or deny water supply to Pakistan. Finally it has decided not to make payment of the promised deposit with the Reserve Bank of India.

This is not all. Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sir Md. Zafarullah Khan enquired at the Inter-Dominion Conference whether India would continue water supplies as before the Partition and would agree to a reference of the question to the International Court of Justice. A report was also circulated some time back that Pakistan had applied to World Bank to reject India's petition for a loan to execute the Bhakra-Nangal projects in East Punjab as it would affect Pakistan's water supply and food position.

The Government of India, so far has stuck to the May Agreement and repudiated all suggestions which either run counter to the May Agreement or question India's absolute legal and moral right to make use of its own waters. At the same time, in pursuance of its policy to placate Pakistan, it suggested that a joint Commission of the two Dominions be appointed for investigating the over-all water position in the Indus basin with a view to ensuring an equitable distribution of these waters. Pakistan's belated realisation of her painful dependence on Indian waters has no doubt been painful and it is only natural that she should resort as usual to her bullying tactics. We wonder whether India will continue to stick to the May Agreement.

### *Hindi as State Language*

Hindi has been adopted as the State language of India. The script will be Devnagri but numerals will continue to remain as at present. A last-minute compromise was reached over the numerals issue which had divided the party equally. The compromise has been hailed as a great victory. The resolution runs as follows :

301-A. (1) The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script.

The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in Clause (1) of this Article, for a period of 15 years from the commencement of this Constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union, for which it was being used at such commencement; provided that the President may, during the said period, by order authorise for any of the official purposes of the Union the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals.

(3) Notwithstanding anything contained in this Article, Parliament may after the said period of 15 years by law provide for the use of—(a) the English language, or (b) the Devanagari form of numerals, for such purposes as may be specified in such law.

301-B. (1). The President shall, at the expiration of five years from the commencement of this Constitution and thereafter at the expiration of ten years from such commencement, by order constitute a Commission which shall consist of a Chairman and such other members representing the different languages specified in Schedule VII as the President may appoint, and the order shall define the procedure to be followed by the Commission.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to (a) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union; (b) restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union; (c) the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 301-E of this Constitution; (d) form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union; (e) any other matter referred to the Commission by the President as regards the official language of the Union and the language of Inter-State communication and their use.

(3) In making their recommendations under Clause (2) of this Article, the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and the interests of the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services.

(4) There shall be constituted a Committee consisting of 30 members of whom 20 shall be members of the House of the People and ten shall be members of the Council of States chosen respectively by the members of the House of the People and the members of the Council of States in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.

(5) It shall be the duty of the Committee to examine the recommendations of the Commission constituted under this Article and to report to the President their opinion thereon.

(6) Notwithstanding anything contained in Article 301-A of this constitution, the President may after consideration of the report referred to in Clause (5) of this Article issue directions in accordance with the whole or any part of the report.

Chapter II—Regional Languages, 301-C: Subject to the provisions of Articles 301-D and 301-E, a State may by law adopt any of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State:

Provided that until the legislature of the State otherwise provides by law, the English language shall continue to be used for those official purposes within the State for which it was being used at the commencement of this constitution.

301-D. The language for the time being authorised for use in the Union for official purposes shall be the official language for communication between one State and another State and between a State and the units.

Provided that if two or more States agree that the Hindi language should be the official language for communication between such States, that language may be used for such communication.

301-E. Where on a demand being made in that behalf the President is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desires the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that State, he may direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify.

Chapter III—301-F (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the foregoing provisions of this part, until Parliament by law otherwise provides—(a) all proceedings in the Supreme Court and in every High Court

(b) the authoritative texts—

(I) of all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto be moved in either House of Parliament or in the House or either House of the legislature of a State.

(II) of all Acts passed by Parliament or the legislature of a State and of all ordinances promulgated by the President or a Governor or a ruler, as the case may be.

(III) of all orders, rules, regulations and bye-laws issued under this constitution or under any law made by Parliament or the legislature of a State, shall be in the English language.

(2) Nothing in sub-clause (A) of clause (1) of this Article shall prevent a State from prescribing with the consent of the President, the use of the Hindi language or any other language recognised for official purposes in the State for proceedings in the High Court of the State other than judgments, decrees and orders.

(3) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-clause (B) of clause (1) of this Article, when the legislature of a State has prescribed the use of any language other than English for Bills, Acts, Ordinances,

and orders having the force of law, and rules referred to in the said sub-clause, a translation of the same in English certified by the Governor of the State shall be published and the same shall be deemed to be the authoritative text in English under this Article.

301-G. During the period of 15 years from the commencement of this constitution, no Bill or amendment making provision for the language to be used for any of the purposes mentioned in Article 301-F of this constitution, shall be introduced or moved in either House of Parliament without the previous sanction of the President, and the President shall not give his sanction to the introduction of any such Bill or the moving of any such amendment except after he has taken into consideration the recommendations of the Commission constituted under Article 301-B of this constitution and the report of the Committee referred to in that Article.

Chapter IV—301-H. Every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or a State in any of the languages used in the Union or in the State, as the case may be.

301-I. It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of Hindi and to develop the language so as to serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India, and drawing, wherever necessary or desirable for its vocabulary primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

Schedule VII—A 1. Assamese; 2. Bengali; 3. Kannada; 4. Gujarati; 5. Hindi; 6. Kashmiri; 7. Malayalam; 8. Marathi; 9. Oriya; 10. Punjabi; 11. Sanskrit; 12. Tamil; 13. Telugu; 14. Urdu.

Apparently, English will remain as State language for the next 15 years but a movement has already been launched to replace English by Hindi within as short a time as is physically possible with the least regard to the difficulty of the non-Hindi speaking zones.

We have noticed two sets of Hindi champions. One group was composed of fanatics led by Shri Purshottamdas Tandon who has resigned from the Congress Party after the compromise to accept international numerals. For the other group, the motive force was purely greed for dominance, they are bent upon getting control over the entire Central Government machinery through the medium of Hindi. This advance has already started and has become quite apparent in the All-India Radio. We fear the same thing will soon be noticeable in other departments of the Central Government as well.

Dr. Raghuwira's latest article on the case for Hindi makes a number of preposterous claims which have little relation with realities. He claims Hindi as the mother tongue of 15 to 18 crores of the Indian popu-

lation. In the Census Report 1931 Hutton classifies Hindi into two groups—Eastern or Sankritised Hindi, and western or Urduised Hindi. He gives the number of the former as 68,67,000 and that of the latter as 7,15,47,000 making up a total of 7,84,14,000. This figure shows that Dr. Raghuvira's claim is more than double of what actually is the case. As regards non-Hindi areas, it can be claimed with all fairness that at least 20 crores of people do not understand a syllable of Hindi. It is understood in towns and cities and not in villages.

When the clam for Hindi as State language had been set up, certain principles had been put forward, namely, (1) an English-Hindi Dictionary will be prepared which will give standard equivalents from all Indian tongues. Every Indian language of importance has its own Dictionary of English words, a standard Hindi-English dictionary will therefore be able to supply thus the Hindi equivalent for every word in an important provincial language. This has not been done. Dr. Raghuvira's *Paribhasa* seems to be an imitation of what had been done here in Bengal half a century ago and it is certain that at least 60 per cent of Dr. Raghuvira's *Paribhasa* or synonyms will be found unacceptable. (2) It was decided to change certain ridiculous aspects of Hindi Grammar which indicate that they are not of Indian origin; for example, moustache, stone, etc., are shown under feminine gender and the gender of the verb changes. These grammatical idiosyncrasies smack of semitic origin. They must be changed and the Hindi grammar must be brought in line with the grammar of other Indian languages. (3) That in all examinations for Government posts the candidates will have to pass examinations in two major Indian languages one being Hindi. This would equalize the chances of non-Hindi speaking candidates with those whose mother tongue is Hindi.

In their eagerness to get Hindi passed as national language, its sponsors have failed to fulfil any of the assurances they had previously given to the non-Hindi people. This rash action may be interpreted as the eagerness of Hindi fanatics to develop a Hindi Imperialism for the benefit of the two Hindi-speaking provinces and at the cost of the rest. This, instead of reducing provincial rivalries, may be the cause of accentuating it.

### No Appeals to Privy Council

The Constituent Assembly of India has passed the Bill to abolish the jurisdiction of the Privy Council to entertain appeals from the High Courts of India. The jurisdiction of the Privy Council will cease from October 10 when appeals pending before it, with certain exceptions, will be transferred to the Federal Court of India, as an interim measure until the Supreme Court of India comes into being with the commencement of the new constitution on January 26, 1950.

The Bill was passed after 2½ hours' discussion.

This measure breaks the last link of British supremacy in the field of India's internal administration.

### British Opinion on Kashmir

The British Liberal newspaper, *Manchester Guardian*, makes out a case for Kashmir Partition in the following manner. The eagerness of Tories on this matter is well-known.

The plans for a conference between India and Pakistan to discuss the truce arrangements in Kashmir have temporarily broken down. This looks bad. It seems that India wished to discuss among other matters the disbandment of the Azad Kashmir Forces and the control by the Indian Army of the northern districts of Kashmir. Pakistan refused to come to the conference unless these matters were excluded from the agenda. The United Nations Commission decided that in the circumstances it was best to postpone the conference.

*India's claim in the north may well have seemed excessive to Pakistan.* Except in the district of Ladakh, already in Indian hands, the territory is almost solidly Moslem. Apparently India's motive in seeking to extend its control in this region is to protect its trade routes to Central Asia.

Whatever may be the thought about India's case, Pakistan cannot be surprised at the demand being put forward. Mr. Nehru in accepting the resolution of the United Nations Commission of August 1948—which is the basis of the present negotiations—reserved India's rights to discuss the future of the northern territory. For the dispute over the Azad Kashmir Forces, the other cause of the breakdown of the negotiations, it seems that the United Nations Commission must bear part of the responsibility. Before he accepted the August resolution, Mr. Nehru received a letter from the chairman of the commission indicating that the resolution involved the virtual elimination of the Azad Kashmir Forces.

But the Commission does not seem to have said the same thing to Pakistan. The Pakistan Government has published an extract from a letter of the Commission of September 1948 which reads: "The resolution does not contemplate the disarmament or disbanding of the Azad Kashmir Forces." Thus India and Pakistan have been divided by a genuine misconception as to the proposals which each had accepted. *In its zeal to compose the quarrel the Commission has been all things to all men.* The Security Council should take this experience into account when instructing future commissions.

The leader continues: What is to happen next? The Kashmir struggle is too dangerous to be allowed to drift on. There may now be a revival of the suggestion by some Kashmiri leaders that Kashmir should be declared independent of both Dominions. But how would it be governed? If there were popular elections, there would be a struggle between the Moslem Conference and the National Conference. Inevitably the issue between the parties would be accession to India or accession to Pakistan. Thus the independence of Kashmir would be short-lived.

The best hope is for arbitration over the truce arrangements by a nominee of the United Nations. This seems to be the gist of the message from Mr. Truman and Mr. Attlee to both parties. *To the outside world it seems more and more plain that there can be no satisfactory end to the quarrel except partition.*

If there is to be a plebiscite it must be piecemeal, area by area. The difficulty is to draw the boundaries. India's claim to most of Jammu is very strong, though the district of Mirpur, and perhaps also Riasi, would need to be excluded. India might be invited to guarantee not to interfere with the water in the river Chenab which flows partly through Jammu but is vital to the irrigation systems in Pakistan. Such an undertaking might be balanced by a promise from Pakistan to allow India to float its timber from Jammu down the rivers Chenab and Jhelum. One thing is certain. Any solution except compromise would not be a final solution. Neither side will ever accept the complete victory of the other.

Again, writing editorially on the Kashmir deadlock, the *Manchester Guardian* (September 7) states :

Mr. Nehru, in his speech at Allahabad on Sunday, said that he was surprised at the intervention of President Truman and Mr. Attlee in the Kashmir dispute. He claims that Kashmir is 'part of India,' that it has been attacked by raiders and that India is thus the victim of aggression. "The whole world ought to appreciate our situation," he said, "and if we are wrong we should be plainly told so. It is not right to sidetrack the basic cause of the conflict. Such a situation obviously makes us restless and uneasy."

Since Mr. Nehru speaks with such candour it is right that this country (Britain) should speak with equal frankness. It is the way that friends should speak to one another.

There is a profound desire here that the Kashmir dispute should be settled with justice to both sides and with the minimum of rancour left behind. The questions which must, therefore, be put to Mr. Nehru are these.

If it is to be considered as beyond question that Kashmir is a part of India why did India accept the resolutions of the United Nations Commission of August 1948 and January 1949? Mr. Nehru might well have advanced his present thesis before his Government accepted the resolutions but he can hardly do so now. The January resolution lays down the following principle :

"The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite."

If India is willing to let the future of Kashmir be decided by a plebiscite, was it well done to admit at this stage the Kashmiri representatives to the Indian Constituent Assembly? Should responsible Indian statesmen assert in dramatic speeches the unbreakable union of India and Kashmir?

To ask these questions is not to say that India's case for the accession of Kashmir to India is a bad one. It is to suggest that India is trying to jump the plebiscite which it accepted as the means for deciding Kashmir's destiny.

Mr. Nehru at Allahabad stated that the people of Kashmir had challenged the "two-nation" theory of Mr. Jinnah. Though preponderantly Moslem they did not wish to join Pakistan and instead they supported the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. This may be so. But it must be proved. It can be proved only by a plebiscite. *If India and Pakistan do not wish Kashmir to be partitioned in a rough-and-ready way on the basis of population figures, a plebiscite is the only satisfactory alternative.*

Mr. Nehru has not spoken his last word. With his world view of politics he will not pursue short-

sighted national interests in Kashmir. If the breakdown of the truce plan leads to India making constructive proposals then good may come out of a situation which at the moment is disappointing.

### *Bharat and Pakistan*

Bharat's Prime Minister has listed the three matters that stand between Bharat and Pakistan living in amity. These are—Kashmir, Evacuee Property and Canal Waters from the Ravi and other rivers. These are outer expressions of a "disease of mind" to which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred in one of his latest speeches. British publicists, friends of Pakistan, have noticed this congenital characteristic of our neighbouring State. A writer in the London weekly, *the Economist*, has referred to "the feeling of frustration—even of jealousy—which British observers have noticed in Karachi." He elaborated the theme thus :

"As Nehru's greatness and Tata's steel have increasingly turned the West to India, so Pakistan has felt rebuffed, and West Punjab, once so loyal, is sulkily inging departure from the Commonwealth."

And it is to this feeling of frustration that they are tempted to trace the Pakistan Prime Minister's proposed visit to Moscow. And they are being moved to entertain fears that the popular feeling in Western Pakistan that "Russia is with us" — a typically Urdu newspaper head-line during last May—may influence Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to make certain commitments to the rulers of the Soviet Union. The London *New Statesman and Nation*, the Socialist Weekly, has been found making much of the "rumours going the rounds that Pakistan is arming for further hostilities in Kashmir." It follows from this line of interpreting things Pakistani by British publicists that India should be persuaded to make concessions and sacrifices so that the Jinnah realm may be kept inside the Anglo-Saxon bloc.

Reading their commentaries one is led to think that the apprehended tie-up between the Communist and the Pakistani threatens to precipitate a situation that President Truman and Prime Minister think can be controlled and canalized only by a deal over Kashmir-Jammu. This is the inner source of the friendly advice tendered by them to Indian Union's Prime Minister that he should accept the recommendation by the Kashmir U.N.O. Commission about arbitration by Admiral Nimitz. The acceptance of such an advice would constitute "appeasement" of the aggressor and the evil-doer. The Munich betrayal of Czechoslovakia by Chamberlain and Daladier does not appear to have taught the leading politicians of U.S.A. and Britain much.

Thus has Bharat, along with Pakistan, become a piece in the chess-board of international politics. To the strategists of the three World-Powers—United States, Soviet Union and Britain—Pakistan, however, has attained an importance that once belonged to

Egypt and Palestine when Britain was the dictator of moves in power-politics. The writer in the *Economist* has thus indicated the reason of this new alignment of forces :

"The strategic crux of the Middle East," according to him, "is no longer Cairo, but Abadan, Persia not Egypt, is the prize; and so, suddenly, bases in Pakistan seem to have become more important than those of Egypt or Palestine. Karachi is two days' steaming nearer the Persian Gulf than Alexandria, and Persia's vulnerable frontiers with Russia would be better defended from Quetta than from the canal zone. Moreover, in the Middle East proper, it is not enough to have an ally and a treaty of alliance; one must also have a military mission and a garrison. As the Persians showed in 1941 and the Arabs last year, the local armies have neither the technicians nor the officers to stand up to a modern army. But Pakistan's forces have learnt their trade the hard way in two world wars, and any British officers, they feel, they need can hold operational command and are not confined to advisory functions in a mission."

In the light of this geo-political interpretation, we can understand the genesis of Anglo-Saxon interest in helping Pakistan to reach her goal in Kashmir-Jammu. The standing counsel of successive British Governments, the London *Times*, has been driven, therefore, to be offensive in its service; "Indian leaders have not behaved well in this affair" opines the paper. We can only recall to the members of our Government the words of John Bright that if he found the *Times* supporting him, he would be right in feeling that he had somehow gone wrong. India's public opinion even today feels like this. And deriving strength from this feeling, we are sure Pandit Nehru will be able to withstand the pressure-tactics of the two warring power groups.

Now, we should turn to the second issue between Bharat and Pakistan—that of Evacuee Property. It illustrates again the strength of the debtor when pressed by the creditor. The bare outline of it would emphasize this fact. The value of property left by Hindu and Sikh "evacuees" in Western Pakistan is about Rs. 1,600 to 2,000 crores; that of Muslim "evacuees" left in the Indian Union is about Rs. 60 crores (a crore is 10 millions). It is natural for Pakistan to wish to grab the whole of Hindu-Sikh property without any payment. For Rs. 1,000 crores is a tiny sum. In this account, property left by Hindus in East Bengal, whose number would be 3 to 4 millions, has not been included. Pakistanis in this Province are anxious to emulate the example of their West Pakistan brothers; Moulana Akram Khan, President of the East Bengal Muslim League, has already raised the cry that the properties of Hindu "refugees" should be frozen.

Those who think that Pakistan can be appeased by a deal over Kashmir-Jammu do not know their Pakistan. Mr. Truman and Mr. Attlee can afford to be philosophically generous because they have not yet been called upon to face the consequences of the loss of billions.

## Refugee Problem in West Bengal

Srimati Mridula Sarabhai has in course of a series of articles published extensively in the daily Press told us of her personal experiences of the various ways in which Indian Unions' Prime Minister approached the solution of the problems peculiar to West Bengal during his three-days' visit to Calcutta in the second week of July last. The refugee problem in West Bengal appears to have engaged his time, and he is reported to have said to refugee representatives that "most of his time in Delhi was taken up in trying to speed up the implementation of the rehabilitation scheme. . . ."

He had now recommended to the Provincial Governments to form autonomous Boards with the necessary powers and authority to go ahead. Finance would also be placed at their disposal. Even though the Provincial Governments were very hesitant to part with their powers they had accepted his suggestion. He informed them of a move to hand over the education of refugee children to the Tahmi Sangh.

It must have been this hint from the Prime Minister that led West Bengal's Premier, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, to appoint an "autonomous Board" to tackle the refugee problem in this Province on the eve of his departure for Europe on the 23rd of June last. High hopes were raised by the news of this appointment, specially as Shri Satish Chandra Das-Gupta of the Khadi Pratistan and of the Gandhi Peace Mission in Noakhali had been persuaded to accept a position in the Board. But mischief-makers, Central and Provincial, plumed to upset the whole purpose of this "autonomous Board."

Fortunately Pundit Nehru was at Calcutta during this period; he set his foot down firmly on this mischief, talked to the Bengal Minister and the Central Minister Shri Mohanlal Saxena, to some effect. And Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta went ahead with the unravelling of "files" and the cutting out of dilatory tactics of the Departments. But the mischief-makers persisted in obstruction. And with Dr. Roy's return the "autonomy" of the Board has gone, and officialdom has been left to try their prentice hands in social service, unfamiliar though it be to those who have been all along used to the methods of a "Police State." Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta has resigned from the Board, and the Rehabilitation Department has again become the hunting-ground of fortune-seekers.

## Surplus or Deficit ?

This question is being hotly debated in New Delhi. Shri R. K. Sidhwa, a member of the Constituent Assembly, appears to have set the ball rolling by a statement issued on August 31st last in course of which he expressed his opposition to any further import of food-grains by the Government of India as it will cause "a colossal loss to the nation." We reproduce below its relevant portions.

"I have whole-heartedly supported the Prime Minister's drive for the grow more food campaign



despite my contention that there is no deficit in the country. The reason is, if we produce more than our requirements, our country to that extent will be rich. Notwithstanding this fact, I am strongly opposed to the import of any foodgrain from now onwards. To wait till 1951 will be a colossal loss to the nation. The following figures other than those quoted by me previously will convince anybody at a glance that there is something very much wrong in the Food Ministry.

	tons
Crops in 1948-1949 ..	426,00,000
Destroyed by worms ..	30,00,000
Rationed area, consumption of food ..	22,77,000
Non-rationed area ..	330,00,000
	352,77,000
Surplus ..	43,23,000

These figures have been reproduced from the monthly abstract of statistics published by the Government of India in February 1949.

From the figures it will be seen that the surplus as per Government records shows a surplus of 43,23,000 tons. I am allowing 20 lacs tons of gram etc., used for fodder and ten lacs tons smuggling from the surplus area to a deficit area due to high prices prevailing in the deficit area. Deduct 30 lacs tons from 43,23,000 tons, it leaves a net surplus of 13,23,000 tons during 1948-49. Yet 20 lacs tons were imported from foreign countries at the total cost of Rs. 130 crores.

While calculating these figures from Government statistics, I have taken for the time being, 86 per cent as the adult equivalent, as the Food Ministry has based all its calculations although, as I have said before, I challenge the 86 per cent as adult average.

According to Government, wheat and rice are the deficit items. I question the propriety of the Government importing gram, barley and other such food grains. Gram has always been surplus item, yet it is systematically imported in large quantities.

In January, 1,047 tons to the value of Rs. 772,683 at the rate of Rs. 25 per maund was imported from Aden and dependencies. Similarly, in the month of February 697 tons of gram for the value of Rs. 4,39,968 were imported from the above countries.

It would be interesting to note that in undivided India in 1947 production of gram was 35,95,000 tons whereas under divided India in 1948, the crop instead of showing a decrease showed a sharp increase of 43,10,000 tons (7,15,000 tons increase in divided India in 1948 against undivided India).

Shri Sidhwa has been pressing forward this thesis of his from long before. And we have a certain feeling that the advisers and "experts" of the Central Food Ministry have been nettled by it. So the official reply to his challenge has not taken long to come. We find the following in a *Press Trust of India* message, dated New Delhi, September 9

The spokesman who was commenting on the statement of a prominent non-official last week, said that with the exception of statistics relating to the consumption of food in rationed areas none of the other figures quoted was found in the monthly abstract of statistics of February, 1949, which the author had claimed as his authority.

The spokesman pointed out that even figures of

consumption only related to 1948 which was largely a period of decontrol. While the Government's commitments in 1948 was only for 51 million people, their commitments today were for 134 millions.

On the basis of the figures of actual off-takes of foodgrains in the seven months of the current year and the estimated requirements for the five months, the spokesman said, total consumption would be 7.9 million tons against 2.27 million tons mentioned in the statement.

The spokesman said that even before food controls were introduced, India was a net importer of foodgrains to the extent of 1.5 to two million tons. The area now included in Pakistan used to supply 750,000 tons of grains mainly wheat. The population of the country had also been increasing and according to the latest estimates of the Census Commissioner based on registered figures of births and deaths, the population was 337 millions as against 320 millions in 1941. At the average rate of one pound of food-grains per adult per day, the requirements of the extra 17 million people would be 2,250,000 tons.

The spokesman said Government could not obviously rely on statistical calculations for determining the quantities to be imported. As otherwise the Government would 'find itself in the position of the mathematician who in crossing a river lost all his children despite the fact that his calculations of the average height of his family and the average depth of the river were statistically correct.'

Estimating India's farm population at 70 per cent and the adult-equivalents at 86 per cent, the spokesman said this would work out to the adult-equivalent of farm and non-farm population being respectively 203 millions and 87 millions respectively. Calculating the requirements of the farm population at 16 ounces per adult per day and that of the non-farm population at 12 ounces, the total requirements came to 43.6 million tons. The spokesman said that to this figure must be added the normal requirements for seed and wastage. It was also not possible to use the whole gram production in cereals as, excepting in parts of North India, gram was used only as a pulse or cattle fodder.

The spokesman said that while India had good crops in 1944-45 these had been followed by a series of bad harvests due to drought and also heavy rains. The result had been a shortage of about three million tons in the production this year compared to the average production for the three years ending 1942-43.

The spokesman said that the consumption of the farm population was based only on an 'assumed average' and not on any statistics of their actual consumption. With a farm population of 236 millions in India, very small changes per head could result in large changes in the aggregate. Thus an overall increase in the daily consumption of one ounce per head would involve a total increase in demand of 2.36 million tons for the farm population alone. Thus, the spokesman 'underlined the danger of allowing abstract statistics to run away with practical considerations.'

The imports of foodgrains are based on calculable and known factors, such as internal production, internal procurement and the off-takes from ration shops. To attempt to feed the rationed population on any other basis would be most dangerous.

Our own opinion in this matter is that if the whole country were rigidly and efficiently rationed, as in Britain, or even if procurement became total all

over the country then the deficits would vanish. Today the cultivator is consuming—and also wasting through hoarding—far in excess of his requirements, to the detriment of the country's interests in general.

### *Seraikella and Kharswan*

On September 3 last the Bar Association of the High Court of Orissa passed the following resolution which has been sent to the President of the Constituent Assembly, to the Prime Minister and to the States Ministry :

This meeting of the High Court Bar Association unanimously resolves that by reason of the geographical situation and oneness of the economic and cultural life of the people of the Seraikella and Kharswan States with that of the Province of Orissa and in view of the fact that the Dominion Government while effecting merger of those two States with Orissa, accepted the said principle and in view of the legal position arising out of the said merger this Association is of opinion that the administration of the said two States be merged with that of the Province of Orissa before the passing of the new Constitution of India and that the merger of those states with the Province of Bihar being against the constitutional position already accepted by the Government of India and being against the wishes of the people of those States and detrimental to their economic and cultural life and also being against the interest of the country in general this Association urges upon the Government of India to take necessary steps for final merger of the said States with Orissa.

The Bar Association's resolution asserts that "oneness of economic and cultural life" as well as geographical propinquity should have been determining factors in deciding the issue as between Orissa and Bihar. But by its persistence in avoiding this principle in reconstructing the units of the Indian Federation, the Nehru Government has landed itself into a quagmire. This will lead to further disasters. It is time to reverse this wrong policy.

### *India's Second Line of Defence*

A Press Note issued by the Defence Ministry of the Indian Union envisages the formation of a second line of defence of its territories against external attack and internal tumult. It will be known as the Territorial Army having a target strength of 7,30,000. Regular recruitment to this force has begun in certain areas, although the official launching of the campaign will begin with appropriate ceremonies all over India during the first week of October.

Apart from its military significance, the training imparted is intended to infuse military discipline in the youth of the country and also to help their physical development by making the benefits of part-time military training available to them.

The scheme envisages the raising of two types of units—rural and urban—which are already in the process of formation.

Unlike the pre-war Indian Territorial Force which was constituted of only a few infantry units, the territorial army will be composed of all arms in existence in the regular army, including infantry, armour, artillery, engineers, signal and service corps.

Recruitment to the Territorial Army will be on a zonal basis, the country having been divided into the following eight zones for the purpose :

(1) The East Punjab, Rajputana and Delhi, including Rajasthan, the P.E.P.S.U., Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and Bhopal.

(2) The U. P. including Vindhya Pradesh and the merged States.

(3) The C. P. and Berar, including the merged States.

(4) Bombay and Kathiawar, including Saurashtra and the merged States.

(5) Madras, Coorg, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin and the merged States.

(6) Bihar and Orissa and the merged States.

(7) West Bengal.

(8) Assam, including Tripura, Manipur, Cochin-Bihar and Khasi Hill States.

The Territorial Army will have two types of training: (a) recruit and annual training and (b) voluntary training on courses of instruction and attachment to regular units.

Candidates for selection as officers, or other ranks must be between the ages of 18 and 35. The upper age limit may be relaxed in the case of ex-officers and ex-servicemen and the civilian candidates with special technical qualifications. A national of the Union of India by birth or by domicile, or any other person, in whose favour a declaration of eligibility has been issued by the Ministries of Home Affairs and Defence, and who is medically fit, can apply. Those applying for Commissions as officers and J.C.O.'s must possess the specified minimum educational qualifications. Ex-servicemen will be absorbed in as large number as possible.

Application forms for officers and J.O.C.'s with the necessary particulars, will be available after September 20 from the headquarters of Army Commands, areas, sub-areas and recruiting offices. Enrolment forms for enlistment as other ranks can be had from recruiting offices throughout India and from territorial army unit headquarters.

Besides reinforcement of the regular army as and when required, the Territorial Army, as a second line of defence will look after anti-aircraft and coastal defence and in an emergency, relieve the regular army partly or wholly of its internal security commitments.

Though a volunteer organisation, the methods of training in the Territorial Army will not only widen the general outlook and help the physical development of its individual members but also infuse in them military discipline. Every officer of the Territorial Army, when performing duty as such and every enrolled person when called out and embodied or attached to the regular forces, will be subject to the Indian Army Act.

The Indian Government Railways, according to a Railway Board announcement, are also raising operating workshop and construction companies as part of the Government's plans for raising Territorial Army.

The public mind in India has been prepared for this new duty for about 12 months. And though we would have preferred compulsory military training for the youth of the country as part of their duty as citizens, we welcome this new move. In the case of West Bengal where military traditions have been all but killed by British policy, we are convinced that some sort of compulsion will be necessary.

### *Race Relations in East Africa*

The Bharat Seyasram Sangha of Calcutta sent out a Cultural Mission to East Africa—Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar—to forge fresh links with the natives of these countries and to strengthen the national consciousness of Indians resident in these areas. The latter have been there for more than half a century. The leader of this Mission, Swami Advaitananda, has in course of a speech made at New Delhi said that since the advent of the Malan Government in South Africa, the condition of Indians and the children of the soil has worsened as the evil example of South Africa has been encouraging the ruling classes of these countries to intensify their racial and colour prejudices. These latter are European interlopers, the majority of them British, who have been maintaining their position there on the strength of guns, gun-powder and bullets and the other accessories of Western civilization.

The British Government dare not touch them, as they are afraid that any interference with their unjust privileges will set the whole of white-dominated Africa ablaze. The condition of things in East Africa can be illustrated from what has been happening in Kenya. This has been described for us by Mr. Peter Koinange, the son of an African chief, who has been in India as a guest of the Indian Union. A graduate of the Oxford University and an educationist of eminence, Mr. Koinange has given expression to sentiments that move nationalists in every age and clime. In course of a speech at Nagpur Mr. Koinange told the world the story of European aggression in Africa in the light of experiences in his own country. We summarize it below.

In Kenya there were about five million Africans, ninety-one thousand Indians, twenty-nine thousand Europeans and about twenty-three thousand Arabs. With the end of the Slave trade the Arabs had ceased to have anything to do with the social and economic life in Kenya. As regards the Indians, they owned much property in towns like Nairobi and mixed freely with the Africans. They had taught the Africans means of earning a living by semi-skilled trades, like shoe-making, tinkering and tailoring and so on. But they

were unable to prevent class discrimination being practised against Africans in their property; for example, most of the buildings in which restaurants of Nairobi were housed belonged to Indians but in these very hotels Africans and Indians were not admitted except as servants.

The very land which had belonged to the Africans had been taken away from them by means of an European law which made all Kenyan landed property crown land by a stroke of the pen! On every Negro child's education only six pence were spent every year.

In the Executive Council which ruled Kenya there was not a single African member, though, of the seven of the Council, one was an Indian. In the Legislative Assembly the so-called representatives of the Africans were all nominated members of the Civil Service.

Out of the five million Africans there were hardly half-a-dozen graduates.

Export and import facilities were concentrated in European hands and even the Indians could not trade except through these Europeans.

The Indians, like the Europeans, had grown rich on the soil of Africa but have not given back anything to the soil which had made them rich, frankly speaking. Commercial methods should have been taught by the Indians to the Africans; but they had not done so, though they had taught Africans a few single trades. From the Europeans the Africans had learnt of technology but the Europeans, self-styled leaders, had failed to lead the Africans properly. Instead they had merely exploited the sons of the soil.

It was to India that Africans desired education turned almost instinctively.

The missionaries with their talk of the Christian Trinity had puzzled the Africans who had also been hurt by the exploitation which followed in the wake of the missionaries.

This summary refers to matters that are not complimentary to Indians who have gone out of their own country to make good in material life. But thereby they have undertaken certain responsibilities, one of which is to identify themselves with the natives of the soil. It may mean losing certain of their national characteristics. But this is a price that they must be prepared to pay. Otherwise, they cannot justify the stay out of India.

### NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays "The Modern Review" Office and "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from the 28th September to the 11th October, 1949, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,  
Editor.

# SOME PROBLEMS OF WEST BENGAL

By PROFESSOR D. N. BANERJEE

THE object of this article is to deal with some problems of West Bengal and to analyse some hard facts in relation thereto. Certain views which I may have to express here, may not be pleasant to some people; but it appears to me that time has come when these views should be expressed in the interest of the welfare of the newly created Province of West Bengal and its people. Occasionally some amount of plain-speaking is necessary both for removing a misunderstanding and for creating a proper perspective for clear thinking.

## THE REFUGEE PROBLEM

Refugees have come into West Bengal both from East Bengal and from West Pakistan, although the number of those who have come from East Bengal is very much larger. The refugee problem in this Province, therefore, is practically the problem of refugees from East Bengal. Unfortunately, there has been a good deal of loose thinking about this problem and its solution. For example, it has been held by some East Bengal leaders, now in West Bengal, that the question of the proper rehabilitation of the East Bengal refugees in West Bengal should be one of the main issues at the ensuing General Election in this Province. It has also been held by some others that until the refugee problem is solved, there cannot be any peace in this Province. And still others maintain the absurd view that the Congress High Command had made a declaration before the partition of Bengal that if the entire Hindu minority in East Bengal were forced by circumstances to migrate to the Indian Union, they would be welcomed in West Bengal.

I fail to see how the question of rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees in West Bengal can legitimately be made an issue at the coming General Election for the reconstitution of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Nor do I find any justification for the threat that there would be no peace in West Bengal unless the refugee problem were solved. The East Bengal refugees now in West Bengal, or those who speak on their behalf as shown above, should not forget the elementary facts that, strictly speaking and humanitarianism apart, West Bengal has no more responsibility for those refugees than any other Province of India; that the partition of Bengal, if that point is raised in this connexion, was only a logical corollary to the partition of India, and the same principle of self-determination which had been invoked by the Muslims for the latter, had also been invoked by the Hindus concerned for the former; and that even if every Hindu in East Bengal voted against the partition of Bengal—and, as a matter of fact, many Hindus there had really opposed it—the partition would have been effected, as it was actually done, by the vote of the members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly representing the non-Muslim-majority dis-

tricts. If any reader questions the accuracy of my statements, he may kindly go through the following extracts from the relevant official documents:

(I) "The setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan."—From Paragraph 6 of the Statement by the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, dated 16th May, 1946.

\* \* \*

(II) "The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will... each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the Province...."

"The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the Province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of *either part* decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly."—From paragraphs 5 and 6 of the Statement made by His Majesty's Government on the Method of Transfer of Power in India, dated 3rd June, 1947, and popularly known as the Mountbatten Plan. (The italics are ours.)

The following extract from the personal message of His Excellency Lord Mountbatten, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, broadcast on 3rd June, 1947, may also be relevant here:

"To my great regret it has been impossible to obtain agreement either on the Cabinet Mission Plan, or on any other plan that would preserve the unity of India. But there can be no question of coercing any large areas in which one community has a majority, to live against their (*sic*) will under a Government in which another community has a majority. And the only alternative to coercion is partition.

"But when the Muslim League demanded the partition of India, Congress used the same arguments for demanding in that event the partition of certain Provinces. To my mind this argument is unavailable."

If I have quoted these extracts, I have done so with a view to disabusing the minds of some people of some erroneous notions in connexion with the question of the last partition of Bengal. It is no good holding out any threat to the people or the Government of West Bengal. There is no room for blackmail here. Nor should the claims of humanitarianism be strained too far. All this would only alienate the sympathies of the native population of West Bengal from the refugees and make things worse than what they are to-day. The solution of the problem of East

\* The word omitted is "therefore".

Bengal refugees, as also of the refugees from West Pakistan, is a *Central responsibility*, and it is the duty of the Congress High Command and the Government of India who are largely responsible for the partition of this country, duly to discharge it. And the Congress High Command and the Government of India should also, in their turn, make it quite clear to every constituent unit of the Indian Dominion (or Union, as the case may be), that if its people are enjoying to-day the blessings of freedom, it is largely due to the sufferings and sacrifices of the people of Bengal and of the Punjab, and that they must, therefore, bear their proportionate share of the burden of rehabilitation of refugees from East Bengal and West Pakistan. If they are mean, selfish, and ungrateful enough to shirk this responsibility, they should be made to bear it by the Central Authorities. There should not be any policy of shilly-shallying in this matter.

So far as West Bengal is concerned, it has been, and will be doing all that it can. But it should not be forgotten that there is a limit to its capacity or resources. It is already overpopulated and cannot stand any further addition to its population. Besides, the problem of middle-class unemployment has become very serious here. Still, as already said, this Province will do all that it can for the East Bengal refugees. But to one or two things its people can never agree. They cannot agree, for instance, to the creation of a governing or master class\* over them; nor can they acquiesce in any attempt at their political domination by some people who are not either the children of the soil, or who are not really identified with their interests or with their joys and sorrows, but who are only maintaining a sort of parasitical existence at Calcutta. That is to say, they cannot agree to any kind of exploitation of West Bengal, either economic or political, from any quarter whatsoever. In their own interests, therefore, the refugees from East Bengal should forbear from one or two things: they should not, in the first place, behave towards the native population of West Bengal in a manner which would create in the minds of the latter a feeling of bitterness and disgust towards them. They should remember that, after all,

they are, and will always be, in a minority in West Bengal. If, therefore, they cannot, by their conduct, earn the goodwill of the said native population, it would be rather difficult for them to live in peace in its midst. The State cannot help them much in this matter. That there have been serious lapses on the part of many refugees there is no doubt. As a consequence, there have been estrangements of feeling in many places, and this has made it difficult for many refugees either to engage a house on rent, or to acquire any plot of land for them. And it should be borne in mind in this connexion that a single instance of ill behaviour on the part of a refugee in one place would injure the interests of, at least, twenty refugees in other places, as a result of the circulation of exaggerated stories about such behaviour. Secondly, the refugees should see that they are not used as pawns in the sordid game of power-politics on which some East Bengal leaders have been engaged in West Bengal ever since the partition of Bengal. Nor should they allow anybody to make any political capital out of their position or plight. Indeed, those leaders, whether from East or from West Bengal, who do not do anything tangible either for the amelioration of the condition of the refugees or for their actual rehabilitation, but only make a political capital out of their plight, are not really their friends, and the refugees should, in their own interest, beware of such leaders who only want to serve themselves by making a political use of the refugee problem. What these leaders will actually achieve ultimately, is the alienation of the sympathy of the people of West Bengal from the refugees. And the refugees also must bear in mind that no householder can permit a guest to be the master of his house, or to have a share in its management, unless the latter has become, in the meanwhile, a member of the household, and thus identified with its interests, by the establishment of some sort of social relationship with its other members. I attach a special significance to this point of identification of the refugees, in mental outlook and interest, with the native population of West Bengal. Any attempt on their part to maintain a separate existence, aloof from the latter, would prove suicidal to their interests in the long run.

\* What I mean by this will be evident to any one who scans the list of appointments to public offices in West Bengal and particularly to its *key administrative position*—since the 15th of August, 1947. Time has now come for warning the relevant appointing authorities of the reaction of such a policy of appointments upon the minds of the educated youths of West Bengal—I mean the sons and daughters of the native population of the Province. Those who were allowed to opt out of East Bengal should have been mostly absorbed in the various services of the Government of India, and not allowed to crowd into the services of a small Province like West Bengal. If the Government of India could not absorb them all, it should have directed some other Provinces of India—and particularly the neighbouring ones to bear a share of the burden of absorption. The latter should not enjoy the sweets of freedom without paying any adequate price for them. The policy pursued by the Government of West Bengal since the 15th of August, 1947, has created a very difficult situation for the educated youths of West Bengal, and their discontent due to their unemployment is rising in volume and intensity every day. Those who are in power today should have an imaginative insight to see this.

That political use is being made of the refugees is not a fiction but a fact, will be borne out by the following incident within my own experience. A Noakhali gentleman, now at Calcutta, had seen me at Dacca on several occasions in the past. He was, therefore, under the impression that I belonged to some district in East Bengal. Some time ago he happened to meet me one evening in the house of a common friend at Calcutta. He took me aside, along with two young men who were with him. He then described to me in a very enthusiastic manner what he had been doing for the registration of East Bengal refugees as voters here, etc. He also assured me that he alone would arrange for the registration of, at least, a lakh

of refugees as voters. His political motive was transparent. While talking to me, or rather disclosing his secrets to me, he, as already noted, appeared to be under the impression that I hailed from some place in East Bengal. I, therefore, felt that I must first reveal to him that I belonged to West Bengal. As soon as I did this, his condition became as if he had seen an apparition! I noticed this reaction, and then very politely told him that what he had been doing was all right in a way, but that it should be the duty of every one of us to provide, first of all, food, clothing, and housing to the poor and helpless refugees, and then arrange for their proper rehabilitation. Their voting right would come to them, as a matter of course, as soon as they settled down in some place in West Bengal. I further told those gentlemen that if they were first anxious for the political rights and privileges of the refugees, their activities would be naturally liable to suspicion by many people in West Bengal, and that this might not help the cause of the refugees in the long run. They appeared to be convinced of what I said to them. I may add that just at this time hundreds of newly-arrived refugees were lying at the Sealdah Station in a deplorable condition.

#### PREMIERSHIP OF WEST BENGAL

For some time past most unseemly squabbles have been going on in West Bengal, primarily over the question of its Premiership. This matter has gone so far, I very much regret to say, as to affect the loyalty and neutrality of some members of the civil service in the Province. There are—I have reason to believe, although it is not possible, for obvious reasons, to adduce any legal proofs in such matters—some elements in the Secretariat of the Government of West Bengal and in some of its other Departments, which are not really loyal to the present Ministry in West Bengal; nor do they care very much either for the welfare of the people of this Province or for their feelings in many matters. These elements appear to be in collusion with some outside elements and carry on intrigues with them, and the latter, forgetful of the elementary decencies of public life in their ugly scramble for political power and position, have been encouraging the former in their disloyal activities. Even State papers, it is regrettable to note, sometimes leak out of some Government offices. No good government is possible in a country, as every sane man will admit, unless its civil service regards every public office as a sacred trust, and strictly adheres to the principle of neutrality in the execution of its duties. Our civil servants should, therefore, emulate the example of the members of the civil service in England, whose "ethos," as an eminent English writer has put it, "is detachment and neutrality," and who serve "the Government of the day, whatever its complexion," with equal zeal and devotion. It is, therefore, sincerely hoped that those elements in our civil service, the loyalty and devotion of which are open to suspicion and have, therefore,

become a matter of some public concern, will soon mend their conduct; otherwise steps will have to be taken either for the termination of their connexion with the Government or for their removal to such positions in which they cannot do any mischief. I must, however, hasten to add here that what I have said above, does not apply to all members of the civil service in our Province. There are many whose loyalty and neutrality are unquestionable, and who are really anxious to do everything possible for promoting the welfare of the native population of West Bengal.

Coming now to the question of Premiership of a Province, I should, first of all, like to say that I must avoid making any reference to personalities as that would be bad taste. I must, therefore, remain on the plane of a principle in this matter. And the principle which I should like to enunciate in this connexion, and which I would advise my countrymen to act up to in the interest of stable and good government in every Province, is as follows:

"Regard being had to the psychology of men in politics, the Premier of an Indian Province should be a man of the Province—preferably one who has been born and brought up in it and has a stake in it, and some of whose ancestors, at least, have also lived in it. Otherwise, he cannot have a genuine and undivided love and sympathy for its people; nor can he be rooted in their hearts. As a consequence, he cannot command their respect and confidence, and his actions and policies will be liable to misconstruction at every stage. And this in its turn would mean that his administration would be marked by a lack of vigour, inefficiency, and instability.

"Further, I should like to state that, in the choice of the Premier of a Province, the voice of its native population must prevail, and that no one should be imposed on it from above as its Premier, either directly or indirectly. Otherwise his Premiership would prove to be a dismal failure."

I believe that the Premier of every Indian Province except, recently, of East Punjab and, in 1947, of West Bengal, has been appointed, more or less, on this principle, and that this is as it should be. And whenever a departure has been made from this principle, the result has not been very satisfactory. After all, an adopted son cannot have the same feelings of love, devotion, and reverence towards his adopting parents as an actual son will have towards his own parents. This is an elementary psychological fact which no one, having any regard for truth, can ignore. The case of East Punjab is somewhat peculiar and its analogy, therefore, is not applicable to any other Province of India, and even to West Bengal. There has been a wholesale migration of Hindus and Sikhs from West Punjab into East Punjab, whereas over 80 per cent of the Hindu population of East Bengal are still there. And even in East Punjab a new Ministerial crisis is brewing, according to the latest\* Press reports from there; and I shall not be surprised if the present (Sachar) Ministry soon goes out of office. It would,

\* August-September, 1949.

therefore, be a great folly to ignore the facts of human nature in Politics. I believe that, out of regard for this psychology of men in Politics that the King of England "asked Mr. Baldwin and not Lord Curzon to form a Government" in 1922. In this particular case, the point of psychology was that under modern conditions the Prime Minister of England should be a member of the House of Commons, and not a member of the House of Lords, however otherwise qualified or gifted the latter might be.

There is also another aspect of the question so far as the Province of West Bengal (or of East Punjab) is concerned. If its Premier happens to be a man of the Province in the sense I have explained above, he can certainly render a much greater service to refugees in it than one who is not such a man. His policies and actions in regard to the refugees are much less liable to misinterpretation by the people of the Province than those of the latter. This also is a question of psychology.

#### WEST BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

The third important problem which has been seriously worrying, for a fairly long time, the minds of the vast majority of the native population of West Bengal is the question of the present composition of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (W.-B. P.C.C.). It is said that out of a total number of about 322 members who constitute the W.-B. P.C.C. today, as many as 149\*\* are really from East Bengal. This solid *bloc* with some representatives of Congressmen from West Bengal—and anybody with a little common sense can imagine how this may be possible—can easily capture, as has been the case recently, the Congress machinery in this Province, reducing the overwhelming majority of the true representatives of West Bengal Congressmen to political impotence and even nullity in their own Province. Now, it has been asked, I think very reasonably, what is the constitutional status of these 149 members from East Bengal? Whom do they really represent? East Bengal is now a Province of a separate Dominion. Therefore, they cannot represent on the W.-B. P.C.C. any Congress constituency there. Nor has the Indian National Congress any jurisdiction beyond the limits of India. Besides, there is a separate Congress organisation in East Bengal. Nor, again, do these members represent any Congress Constituency in West Bengal. Therefore, the fact is that they represent *none but themselves*—a preposterous illustration, it has been rightly objected, of personal weightage not at all justified either by reason or by any principle of democracy.

There is another, very serious aspect of this question: Many of these members still have their home in East Bengal or are maintaining separate establishments in East Bengal and West Bengal under different names. And many, again, have social and economic interests

in East Bengal and derive a good portion of their income from there. While many others do actually live there during a considerable part of time every year. And East Bengal is a part of Pakistan and we all know the relationship between Pakistan and India today! How can these people with such divided interests have the same kind of allegiance to India, or the same kind of loyalty to West Bengal and its economic and political interests, as a *bona fide* native of West Bengal? Situations may arise in which their concern for their social and economic interests in East Bengal may come into a serious conflict with their concern for their social and economic interests in West Bengal. Can they then pursue the same kind of policy in regard to economic and political matters in West Bengal as a true native of this Province? They cannot, and it is not psychologically possible either! Can it be, therefore, safe or desirable to entrust to them any political power in West Bengal till they have completely cut off all connexion with East Bengal as it is today, and thoroughly identified themselves with the interests of the native population of West Bengal? The matter is not one of sentiment, but of cold reasoning. We should not also forget in this connexion that very few of these East Bengal members have any contact with the masses of West Bengal. Fewer still own any land or homestead here. They are, therefore, neither rooted in the soil of the Province, nor have they much stake in it. They mostly maintain a sort of parasitical existence at Calcutta or its suburbs. When such a group of men who are not really children of the soil in the sense of being born and brought up here, or many of whom have not really made West Bengal their permanent home, renouncing all connexion whatsoever with East Bengal, tries, through the grace of the Congress High Command, to acquire a dominating position in the Politics of West Bengal, it naturally causes an understandable indignation in the minds of its native population. This indignation has already assumed an acute form, and is even producing a very adverse effect upon the attitude of the people of West Bengal towards the East Bengal refugee problem as a whole. It had also much to do with the defeat of the Congress candidate at the recent South Calcutta bye-election. Even the principle of co-optation of members either should not be carried to an absurd length. Unless the existing anomaly which has been practically imposed by the Congress High Command upon W.-B. P.C.C., and which is indefensible in a democratic organization which the Congress professes to be, is *immediately* removed and the genuine representatives of the people of West Bengal acquire a preponderating and effective voice in the Politics of this Province, the Congress organization in it will not regain its former prestige and influence so far as the overwhelming majority of its native population are concerned. The Congress Working Committee, therefore, should revise its recent decision regarding the W.-B. P.C.C. and direct its *immediate* reconstitution on an elective basis, as required by the

\*\* This number has been given out in more than one statement, without any contradiction from any quarter.



latest Congress Constitution. If, however, it permits the existing undemocratic arrangements to continue out of its solicitude for some East Bengal members of the W.-B. P.C.C., then I am afraid that the latter body will be totally disowned and ignored by the people of this Province, and the Working Committee should be prepared for a big Congress land-slide at the ensuing General Election recently directed by it to be held. The Working Committee should bear in mind that, for various reasons, the name of the Congress today will not have that glamour, prestige and moral appeal with a West Bengal elector as it had before. The "lamp-post" theory will not do now. I should, therefore, like to insist that the Congress Working Committee should direct the reconstitution of the W.-B. P.C.C. on an elective basis before the holding of the General Election in the coming winter.

I should like to take this opportunity of referring to a matter in connexion with the ensuing General Election to the Provincial Legislative Assembly. I am reliably informed that some would-be Hindu legislators are finding it extremely difficult to obtain safe constituencies for them at this Election. They are, therefore, thinking of approaching the Central authorities at New Delhi with a request to help them out of the difficulty by "gerrymandering" some electoral districts with a large number of Muslim voters put in them. As the next election will be held on the basis of joint electorates, they hope that they will be able to win it with the help of Muslim votes. It is sincerely hoped that neither the Government of West Bengal nor the

Central Authorities will countenance any such "gerrymandering." Once this process is started by the party now in power, it will be repeated by other parties when they will be in power, in total disregard of all electoral decencies and natural limits of constituencies. It will also lead to disproportionate representation of parties in our legislatures. We must not, therefore, introduce this evil process into our electoral system even if that means that some people cannot go to the legislature.

#### CONCLUSION

I have dealt above with some of the problems which are worrying the people of West Bengal today. Considerations of space do not permit me to deal with others now. Before, however, I conclude, I should like to say a word or two to those who are in power today in West Bengal or elsewhere in India. I would earnestly request them to see that their public conduct is above suspicion and not open to question even by their political opponents. They should always bear in mind the advice of Disraeli that "the interests of the party can never require an improper appointment: an improper appointment is a job, and nothing injures a party more than a job." Nor should they forget what Professor Ivor Jennings has said in connexion with the working of the Cabinet Government in England: "Nothing delights an Opposition more than a suspicion of a 'job.' It is as anxious for the chase as a hound that has scented the fox." Lastly, they must always keep in mind the following dictum of Rousseau: "Nothing is more dangerous than the influence of private interests on public affairs."

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## SWITZERLAND FOLLOWS GANDHI

By Principal S. N. AGARWAL

SWITZERLAND is well-known for its natural beauty of lakes and snow-capped mountains. But I was fortunate to be able to stay in this remarkable country for about three weeks and study its social, economic, political and educational aspects of national life. It was extremely interesting to visit the rural areas with their decentralised socio-political organisation. I was so delighted to find that Switzerland, besides being a charming country, was also a good follower of the ideals for which Mahatma Gandhi lived and died. Japan was a land of small-scale industrial organisation and possessed very picturesque countryside. But it went the wrong way and needed a Gandhi to raise it out of the present slough of despair. America admired Gandhi, but was far away from most of his ideals. It was a happy experience to observe that Switzerland had been, perhaps unconsciously, following Gandhi all these decades.

It was, indeed, a great achievement for this small country to be able to keep out of the two world wars which shook other bigger nations to the very founda-

tions. But this was not merely a matter of chance. The whole atmosphere and outlook of Switzerland was at the back of this dignified neutrality. The Swiss people are, by nature, a peace-loving and contented nation who have never thought of any aggressive designs on their neighbours. They are satisfied with their small country and its natural resources which are by no means rich. They are extraordinarily hard-working, honest and resourceful. Switzerland would neither dream of exploiting another country nor would tolerate the idea of some other nation exploiting her. They get up early in the morning, work hard the whole day in their fields, factories, and workshops and retire to bed much earlier than any other people in Europe. They have a keen sense of art for purposes of practical life. They do not believe in art for the sake of art nor in art for the sake of life but in making life a piece of fine art. The numerous original types of scientific devices they have introduced in their country for making the life of the masses happier are very noteworthy. But we do not find excess of anything in

their lives; they have been able to attain a balance in life which helps them to maintain an attitude of peace, international friendship and co-operative effort.

Gandhiji always stood for decentralised democracy in the form of village communities enjoying substantial political powers. The constitutional structure of Switzerland with maximum of local autonomy to the twenty-two cantons and the minimum of central control by the Federal Government is a living example of an old, experienced and successful Panchayat Raj. The Canton Governments preserve their local freedom in matters of education, agriculture, industry, public health and sanitation with the greatest care. This does not however, lead to chaos; it maintains unity in the midst of diversity. The Federal Government at Berne has been allowed to exercise its jurisdiction in specified matters of common concern like national defence, foreign policy, transport and communications and general policy of economic planning. The Cantons have well-organised district and village councils which manage their local affairs with great efficiency and consideration. The election constituencies are small so that the voters have every chance of knowing the candidates quite intimately. There is ample scope for indirect elections specially at the Centre. The Ministers are not members of the Swiss Parliament; they are whole-time salaried public servants continuing their office for life unless they are found guilty of misconduct. The election of the President of the Swiss Confederation is only a matter of convenient routine; it rotates among the seven Ministers year after year. The provisions of "referendum" and "recall" are the other remarkable features of the Swiss constitution which help to maintain a living contact with the masses. It is mainly owing to this kind of decentralised political organisation that I found the rural folk in Switzerland very much alive to their rights as well as duties and responsibilities. The Swiss countryside is a living organism and not a dead appendage to the powerful Centre.

Economically, Switzerland is again a follower of the Gandhian pattern of economic planning. It is a country of small-scale farming and decentralised industrial production. Agriculture, like Japan, is done mostly by hand or with the help of horses and bullocks. The poorer farmers use cows also for ploughing their fields. The village cottages are the small factories for numerous types of handicrafts like spinning, weaving, wood-carving, toy-making, metal-work and watch-making. Even the factories in Switzerland are not very big or on a large scale; they are dispersed and not concentrated. Zurich is supposed to be the biggest industrial town. But it is not congested and smoky like London or New York. Its population is only about 3,50,000, and since most of the factories use electricity in place of coal, the town is gay, clean and artistic, unlike other industrial cities. Berne, the Capital of the country, is a small, neat and quiet town with very few buses and trams. In short, the whole

country is a model of cleanliness which follows out of decentralised administration, decentralised industrialisation and a sense of peaceful discipline.

Socially, the Swiss people have learnt the fine art of living together peacefully with different languages and cultures. In Switzerland, we see a happy fusion of the French, the German and the Italian cultures. There is no rivalry between the three languages; almost everybody is well up in all the three. Public notices are printed in three languages, the proceedings of the Federal Parliament are conducted in German, French and Italian without any bitterness or difficulty. The cleavage between the cities and the villages is not as pronounced as in other European countries. The daily life of an average Swiss man or woman is quite simple; there are very few cinemas or theatres, although people enjoy their folk music and dance. It is difficult to find any restaurants open after nine in the evening. It is because of this social simplicity of the Swiss people that "tourists" do not find much attraction in this country.

The system of military training is peculiar and novel. There is hardly any standing army in Switzerland. Every adult has to undergo military training for three months to begin with. He has, then, to attend a military camp for three weeks every year till the age of forty-eight. The age-limit has been extended to sixty after the War. Thus every Swiss citizen is a soldier; he is allowed to keep his arms at home, although nobody is supposed to use them except for military purposes. Persons in public or private service continue to draw their usual salaries while under military training; the Government pay for their board and lodging expenses besides a small pocket allowance. The expenditure on the army, therefore, in Switzerland is comparatively small; yet, in the times of emergency they can produce a well-disciplined army of all their adult male population numbering about one and a half million. Of course, women in Switzerland have, curiously enough, no votes and, therefore, no civic or military responsibilities. Although military training is compulsory, I did not see any signs of 'militarism' in Switzerland.

There is one point, however, which makes me sad. Although the Swiss nation follows Gandhian ideals in many respects, they waste about ten per cent of their income on wine. In addition to the wine produced in their own country, they import wine to the tune of about forty million Swiss francs every year. Approximately ten per cent of their population suffers from infirmity of body or mind owing to this evil habit of drinking. It is hopeful to know that Blue Cross movement against the drinking habit is making steady headway in Switzerland and people are gradually reducing the quantity of wine consumed annually. Apple-juice under the name of 'non-alcoholic wine' is gaining popularity day by day. The earlier Switzerland frees itself from this curse, the better for the country and the world.

On the whole, Switzerland is a remarkable country from which we in India can learn a good deal. I earnestly feel that closer cultural ties between India and Switzerland will be mutually beneficial. Switzerland is small, but it is, perhaps, her smallness that makes for her greatness. India is big, but it is, perhaps, her bigness that has been the cause of her smallness in

the comity of nations. Both these countries, hand in hand, can, undoubtedly, produce a great culture worthy to be followed by other nations. Mahatma Gandhi can be a common source of inspiration and guidance in this great and noble endeavour.

Camp : Zurich

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## IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

By PROF. KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A.

If the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly of the U.N. on December 10, 1948 is not to be a high-sounding document only, it must be implemented. This, of course, is not an easy task. For here we pass on from the mere statement of an ideal to its realisation in actual life, from the region of words to that of deeds.

### NECESSITY OF A WORLD-STATE

Since rights always imply duties,<sup>1</sup> rights proclaimed internationally require for their implementation<sup>2</sup> duties also on an international plane on the part not only of each of the individuals, but also of the whole society through one or other of its organs. Let me illustrate my point.

The Declaration states that "everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person".<sup>3</sup> If this right is to be implemented, it is necessary, first, that the society through its state, its legislature, executive, judiciary, and its police and armed forces must provide for the suppression of all violent and fraudulent elements amongst us; and, secondly, that the indi-

vidual himself must have a genuine respect for his own life, liberty and security of person. No one would suggest that the life, liberty and the security of person could be protected if the individual himself was bent upon committing suicide or on selling his liberty and security for a mess of pottage, or if in the society there was no state or law, but only anarchy.

Now because we are thinking here of the implementation of rights on the wider scale of the whole human race, we cannot remain satisfied only with the institutions of national states and national laws, making the rights justiciable only on a national scale, but must aspire for an effective world-state and international law, making the rights justiciable also in the international sphere.

### SOCIALISM

If we carefully examine the rights in the Universal Declaration, we shall have further to suggest that the state and law proposed for the whole human race along with the national states and national laws must have also a socialistic bias.

A police-state for the world or a nation might protect us from slavery or servitude,<sup>4</sup> torture or cruelty,<sup>5</sup> recognise everyone of us everywhere as a person before the law<sup>6</sup> on a footing of equality,<sup>7</sup> ensure our right to own property individually or collectively,<sup>8</sup> and prevent other arbitrary interferences.<sup>9</sup> But it certainly could not realise for everyone of us the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work, to protection against unemployment,<sup>10</sup> or the rights to social security,<sup>11</sup> education,<sup>12</sup> adequate standards of living,<sup>13</sup> rest and leisure,<sup>14</sup> etc.,

1. An aspect of the relationship between rights and duties appears to be recognised in the Universal Declaration in its Article 29 which also speaks of the fact that no right can be absolute, but must be subject to limitations arising out of consideration of the rights and freedoms of others, and of the requirements of morality, public order, general welfare in a democratic society and purposes and principles of the U.N.

2. The Declaration itself may be said to contain suggestions regarding its implementation. It speaks of rule of law and of rebellion, if necessary (Preamble, paragraph 3), of co-operation with the U.N. (Preamble, paragraph 6), of common understanding (Preamble, paragraph 7), of keeping the Declaration constantly in mind, of teaching and education, of progressive measures, national and international (Preamble, paragraph 8), of remedy by the competent national tribunals (Article 8), of a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal (Article 10), of guarantees of necessary defence at a public trial (Article 11), of protection of the law (Articles 7-12), of protection by society and the state (Article 16), of national effort and international co-operation (Article 22), of compulsion in respect of elementary education, of education to strengthen respect for human rights and fundamental freedom (Article 26), and of a social and international order (Article 28).

3. Article 3

4. Article 4

5. Article 5

6. Article 6

7. Article 7

8. Article 17(1)

9. Article 9, 12

10. Article 23(1)

11. Article 22

12. Article 26

13. Article 25

14. Article 24

unless the functions of the different institutions within that state were organised under a scientific plan of socialisation of the major instruments of production. For without such socialisation no state can have the necessary means of meeting the progressive demands of the people.

It is generally believed that only in the U. S. S. R. a systematic as well as a successful attempt has been made through "the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production"<sup>15</sup> to implement such rights as the right to work,<sup>16</sup> the right to rest and leisure,<sup>17</sup> the right to material security,<sup>18</sup> the right to education.<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps this is true, though I am not certain on this point in view of the conflicting reports we get about the U.S.S.R. It seems true because in these days of machine technology wealth in the absence of socialist control has a natural tendency to concentrate in the hands of those who possess the major instruments of production. A few centuries ago when most of our productions were carried on the cottage industry basis, socialism in the economic sphere of our life was not so much necessary. To-day it is indispensable. Speaking for myself, the last half a century's history of capitalism with its paradox of poverty amidst plenty has convinced me that a wider and more far-reaching regulation of the rights in land and capital is necessary so that our major rights may be implemented.

Indeed, I even agree with the view that you cannot talk of freedom of thought, conscience and religion, of opinion and expression, of assembly and association<sup>20</sup> for poor workers and peasants when the printing presses, stocks of paper, radio stations and meeting halls are the private property of the capitalists. The owner of a newspaper may not allow the publication of any article or news item that does not meet with his approval. A radio company may not allow any announcer to broadcast anything its owner does not like. Most of the desirable premises for public meetings belong to capitalists, and the rent they demand for them is exorbitant, and they may even refuse to rent the premises altogether.

Similar is the case with regard to such rights as those of forming and joining trade unions,<sup>21</sup> of taking part in the government of the country, of making the government conform to the will of the people.<sup>22</sup>

Those who know the normal life of the poor, their constant fear of the morrow, their haunting sense of an impending disaster, their fitful search of a beauty that perpetually eludes, will realise well enough that certain important rights may not seem worthwhile to

their possessors, and might even be exchanged for some sort of economic security.\*

The way to implement these rights is the way to socialism, that is, an increase in the functions of the state with a view to improving the forces and relations of production. This is what the Soviet system in the U.S.S.R. is supposed to have done. If it is really so, it deserves all the praises from us.

But while praising the Soviet system for its socialistic tendencies, I must say something against its autocratic tendencies in recognising and encouraging only the Communist Party of the Soviet Union<sup>23</sup> and suppressing all other political parties as counter-revolutionary. I do not think a people can realise their rights to freedom of thought, opinion and expression, of assembly and association, of genuine elections, and of a government based on their will, if there be the dictatorship<sup>24</sup> of only one political party. The English and the Americans do not believe in any such dictatorship, and to me it seems that in this respect they have set up an ideal in regard to the implementation of rights, an ideal which we should follow in national and international affairs.

#### ONE MAN, ONE VOTE

If we are sincere about the implementation of the Declaration of Human Rights, many other reforms must be carried out sooner or later. I should like to speak here at least of two. The proposed world-state, like our national states, must be based, first, on the usual democratic principle of 'one man, one vote,' and, secondly, on the federal principle of recognising the autonomy of every well-defined cultural group in respect of its own affairs while limiting the same power when it deals with affairs in which others also are involved.

The U.N. could do nothing in the face of gross violation of fundamental rights against the Indians in South Africa, because in the General Assembly the South African Government received on racial grounds the unreasoning sympathy of the European and American Governments who predominate in the U.N. On a rough estimate it could be said that, as represented in the U.N., Europe with a population of about 440 millions has about 20 votes in the General Assembly, America with a population of about 300 millions has got more than 20 votes, while Asia with a population of about 950 millions has only about a dozen votes.<sup>25</sup>

Of the Asian countries, only China has been given a permanent seat on the Security Council.

No wonder that when Asian problems have been dealt with, the rights of non-white "races in South

15. Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Article 4

16. Ibid., Article 118, 12

17. Ibid., Article 119

18. Ibid., Article 120

19. Ibid., Article 121

20. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Articles 18, 19, 20

21. Ibid., Article 23(4)

22. Ibid., Article 21

\* Laski: *Liberty in the Modern State*.

23. Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Article 126

24. Ibid., Article 2

25. These figures are based on the Roster of the United Nations. *The United Nations Yearbook*, pp. 863-864.

Africa and Indonesia, for instance, the U.N. has sometimes seemed like a conspiracy to job or deceive the peoples of the eastern hemisphere.

If the individual is really to be entitled to all the rights set forth in the Universal Declaration, then in our local, national and international administration the individual should be recognised as the unit of representation without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.<sup>26</sup> For it is common knowledge confirmed by experience that discrimination in representation means that the legislative, executive, judicial, police and military powers may easily be manipulated to the advantage of the fortunate few.

It must not be supposed that I have any intention to minimise the factors of diversity among mankind. Provision can be easily made, if necessary, through an additional chamber, in all spheres of administration, local, national and international, for proper representation of all diversities amongst men.

#### FEDERALISM IN WORLD-GOVERNMENT

To emphasise these diversities a large amount of autonomy may also be reserved for well-defined groups. They may have for them the principle of 'sovereign equality'<sup>27</sup> in matters of their internal administration. But where problems affect the whole humanity, ultimate decision and action must be taken by the representative organs of the whole humanity and not by any single nation on the basis of the traditional theory of sovereignty or domestic jurisdiction.<sup>28</sup>

That is to say, the ideal world-organisation, capable of implementing the human rights due regard being had to the differences amongst human groups, must be based on the federal principle of constitutional distribution of powers between the Central Government of the world and its different units. It is only through federalism that we can reconcile everyone's right to a nationality<sup>29</sup> with his right to a social and international order.<sup>30</sup> In the absence of federalism in international affairs the unrestrained powers of certain nations may lead to colonialism and imperialism in some shape or form, destroying many human rights.

Obviously I have taken a more comprehensive view than those who speak only of national laws and education for the implementation of the Declaration of Human Rights, or suggest that the existing General Assembly of the U.N., or an International Court,

Commission or Committee on Human Rights would be sufficient, if only they received complaints regarding violations from nations, groups or individuals.<sup>31</sup> Such partial or haphazard methods may lead only to partial or haphazard implementation of the rights so solemnly proclaimed.

#### A POLITICAL L.C.M.

I think "if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression," "human rights should be protected by a rule of law,"<sup>32</sup> organised by the institutions of a socialist, democratic, federal world-state and similar nation-states.

I believe this ideal is some sort of a political L.C.M. which all the nationalities of the world can and should accept for real implementation of the human rights.

I hope, once this political L.C.M. is accepted by world public opinion, the Charter of the U.N. and the national constitutions will be suitably amended for better implementation of the human rights.

#### ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

It should, however, be remembered that it is after all the individuals who will have to operate the machinery that may be suggested for the implementation of their rights. The better an individual is in his body, mind and spirit, the better is he likely to do his duties relative to rights requiring implementation. It is said that during the recent troublesome days in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent Mahatma Gandhi acted as a one-man boundary force for the protection of many of our rights. Rights are implemented in any society not simply because there is a satisfactory social machinery, but also because there are in it men who have the courage to resist, men who do not mind doing their duties even if it means the hemlock, the cross or the bullet.

The more we have among us men who sincerely cherish the idea that we all constitute a single 'human family',<sup>33</sup> belonging to the same human race, speaking the same human language, believing in the same human religion, and having the same human culture, traditions and interests, the more ample will be the implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.\*

30. *For Fundamental Human Rights*, published by the Department of Public Information, United Nations, pp. 34-35.

31. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Preamble, paragraph 3

32. *Ibid*, Preamble, paragraph 1

\* This essay is based on a lecture delivered by the author at a meeting held under the auspices of the Political Science Association of the Dacca University.

26. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 2

27. Charter of the United Nations, Article 2

28. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 15

29. *Ibid*, Article 28



# THE FORGOTTEN PRECURSOR OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

By NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., B.LITT.,  
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It is a grievous mistake to assume, as many have rather too hastily assumed, that the Indian National Congress, the acknowledged fountain-head of India's freedom movement, was a sudden efflorescence of the blessed year of 1885. As a matter of fact, the Congress was a fundamental evolution of an era of political activity in this country. The period between the fifties and the early eighties of the last century witnessed the stirrings of national consciousness which gathered momentum and took tangible shape in the year 1885 when the Congress was actually born. The activities of political bodies like the British Indian Association in Bengal, the Bombay Association and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in the Western Presidency, the Native Association as also the subsequent Mahajana Sabha in the Madras Presidency marked the dawning of constitutional agitation in Modern India. But, none of the aforesaid Associations could claim to be the real harbinger of the Congress, for they were all of a purely local and provincial character, and were usually mouthpieces of particular or sectional interests. The conception of a national movement and of national unity, the notion of political agitation as a means to national advancement rather than mere ephemeral amelioration, and, what is more important, the idea of self-government as the foundation of national greatness were far removed from, if not wholly unrelated to the professed goal of these political entities.

There has yet been no end to the controversy with regard to the immediate forerunner of the Congress, and a number of theories have been advanced to explain the genesis of the Congress itself. According to one school of thought, the idea of the Congress may have been suggested by the Imperial Durbar held at Delhi in 1877. Some people, however, believed that it was the great International Exhibition of 1884 held at Calcutta, which may have inspired the foundation of the Congress. Again, the annual Convention of the Theosophical Society, which met at Adyar in 1884 is supposed by some authorities to have been the source of the necessary inspiration. Another plausible theory which has held the ground is that the Congress evolved out of the scheme of an All-India Association, mooted by Mr. A. O. Hume and said to have been blessed by the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin.

These assumptions are, however, not quite adequate; and not one of them furnishes a satisfactory explanation of the inception of the Congress. The Delhi Durbar must have impressed many observers as the forum of an all-India assemblage. Mr. Surendranath Banerji who attended it as the representative of the Hindu Patriot of Calcutta was himself so im-

pressed, as would appear from his own statement made thereafter. But, that a ceremonial Durbar which met at the bidding of the British Viceroy could suggest the idea of a national assembly of India is hardly convincing. If anything, the Durbar excited widespread resentment among the educated classes on account of the thoughtless extravagance of the Government of India at the time of an impending famine. The Calcutta Exhibition was merely a display of an industrial and scientific character, and, as such, could not have supplied political inspiration. The annual Convention at Adyar was a gathering of devout Theosophists and their sympathisers; and, although seventeen among the delegates on their way back from Adyar met in Madras in the house of Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao to take counsel together on matters of general public interest, they cannot be presumed to have initiated any scheme of a national assembly. The part which Mr. A. O. Hume played in the formation of a National Union is well-known. But, we have it on the authority of an ex-Congress President, Mr. W. C. Bonerji, that Mr. Hume originally believed that it would be of great advantage to the country, if leading Indian politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss only social matters, and that he did not at first desire that politics should form part of their discussions. Besides, the Indian National Union which was formed in 1884 at his suggestion was itself patterned on the National Conference of the preceding year.

A close examination of the details of contemporary political activity in India reveals the now-forgotten fact that the true prototype of the Congress is the Calcutta Indian Association which was founded in July 1876 with the object of starting a country-wide propaganda on the political side and to form a responsible organisation through which the Government might be made aware of the advanced public opinion of the country. It differed from the existing British Indian Association in all fundamentals. It was not a feudal and aristocratic organisation of the zamindars, but was in fact the first representative body of the educated and enlightened middle class. Its aims were frankly political, and, unlike the British Indian Association, it propounded a definite programme of political propaganda and action, which like the Promethean spark made the dormant embers of national consciousness aglow with a new awakening. It is indeed the work of this Indian Association which prepared the ground for the National Conference in 1883, the National Union in 1884, and, last but not least, the Congress itself in 1885. It is a pity therefore that our historians have paid scant attention to the rise and

development of a movement which anticipated the Congress by a decade.

The Indian Association came into existence through the efforts of a galaxy of popular leaders in Bengal, whose object was to inspire the people with a sense of national solidarity. The real master-mind of this movement was that illustrious orator-politician, Mr. Surendranath Banerji, whose recent dismissal from the Indian Civil Service had made him a popular figure in the province. The first President of the Association was Mr. Shyama Charan Sarkar, a distinguished jurist who was well-known as the author of the *Vyavastha Darpan*. His successor was the equally distinguished scholar and educationist, the Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerji. Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose who was the acknowledged leader of East Bengal was the first secretary to whose selfless labours the Association owed in no small measure its rapid growth and success. Among the other distinguished personalities who helped in the establishment of the Association were Mr. Dwarkanath Ganguly, Mr. Bannacharan Banerji, Mr. Bhairabchandra Banerji, and Mr. Jogendra Chandra Vidyabhusan who were all well-known as indefatigable social workers.

The Association launched propaganda of a kind which was unprecedented in the country. The reduction of the age-limit for the I.C.S. Examination to nineteen years formed the occasion for the opening of the first political campaign in Modern India on a country-wide basis. The Association organised a big public meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall to voice public opposition to that unjust measure. That was the starting point of an all-India movement of which Mr. Surendranath Banerji became appropriately the chief spokesman. He was called upon to undertake a country-wide tour for the purpose of rousing educated India to a sense of concerted political activity. He set out on his first political tour in 1877 when, undeterred by the heat of a North Indian summer, he travelled all the way from Calcutta to Rawalpindi, delivering popular lectures in all principal cities. He organised and addressed largely attended public meetings at Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow, Kanpur, Meerut, Agra, Aligarh, Delhi, Amritsar, Lahore, and Rawalpindi; and such was the magnetic effect of his orations that he was heard with rapt attention at all these meetings.

The lecture tour of Mr. Banerji was an unqualified success. Even educated Muslims were powerfully impressed by his speeches; and no less than Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan himself, the greatest Muslim leader of Northern India, came forward to preside at the Aligarh meeting, and even lent his support to the country's demand for a simultaneous I.C.S. Examination in India. At the Lucknow meeting also which was held in the historic Kaiserbagh Baradari, the vast audience included a fairly large number of educated Muslims. On his way back to Calcutta, Mr. Banerji broke his journey at places like Patna where he aroused similar

enthusiasm by reason of his impressive personality and forensic skill. The ridicule which the Anglo-Indian press poured on the leadership of the "Bengali Babu" made Mr. Banerji all the more popular in the country.

Inspired by the triumph of his North Indian tour, Mr. Banerji undertook his second hurricane tour in 1878 through South India; and, it is hardly necessary to add that he achieved the same resounding success which had attended him in the previous mission. He travelled in the Deccan from Guzerat to the Southern Presidency, and addressed meetings at such centres as Surat, Ahmedabad, Bombay, Poona, and Madras. He made his third tour in 1884 when he specially visited Multan and other places in the Punjab. These tours proved to be a spectacular achievement; and they also unmistakably showed that the Indian intelligentsia could be politically organised on a national level, if there was requisite leadership as well as planning. In other words, we discern the germination of the Indian National Congress in the country-wide political campaign launched by Mr. Banerji and his Indian Association.

The controversy with regard to the Ilbert Bill only further stimulated the activity of the Indian Association. The Bill itself was an innocuous measure which sought to remove the inequitous racial bar attaching to the Indian Magistracy in the trial of European offenders, but it raised a storm of opposition among the Europeans who did not like the abolition of one of their special privileges. The wild propaganda of the newly-formed Anglo-Indian Defence Association naturally provoked a counter-propaganda on the part of the Indian Association. A number of demonstrations and meetings were held in support of the Bill, and the Indian public opinion was aroused to an extent which was truly unprecedented. It was this agitation which opened the eyes of the Indians to the utility of propaganda as an effective political weapon, and eventually provided the impulse to create a national organisation.

Under the auspices of the Indian Association, a National Conference was convened in Calcutta in 1883, which was the first effort of its kind in India. This Conference was a unique event in the history of Modern India. Its very name is significant, and is indicative of the pulsation of a new spirit in the political life of the country. It is worth noticing that the programme of this Conference was almost the same as the one that was adopted by the first Congress two years later. As such, this Conference must be regarded as the true forerunner of the Congress of 1885. The Conference met in the historic Albert Hall in Calcutta, and was attended by prominent people—old and young—from all parts of Bengal. The event had more than a mere provincial appeal, and it evoked considerable interest in other parts of India, particularly Bombay. It was altogether an unparalleled gathering, and the excitement it caused was truly unheard of. Distinguished foreigners were also present at the three-day session.



prominent among whom were Mr. Wilfred Blunt and Mr. Seymour Keay, M.P. It is worthy of note that Mr. Keay was invited to address the Conference, and that when he rose to speak, he was given a patient and respectful hearing. The chance association of a Member of the British Parliament with India's first National Conference is of more than passing interest.

The success of the National Conference made the Indian Association a powerful force in the country. But, a new development took place at this juncture, when that masterful figure, Mr. A. O. Hume, appeared on the political scene and applied himself to the task of directing the Indian agitation into constitutional channels. It was at his instance that the leaders of the Indian Association formed in 1884 the short-lived Indian National Union which invited representatives from all parts of India to meet in conference at Poona in 1885. This conference did not meet at Poona, and its place was taken by the Congress at Bombay.

The Indian Association, however, did not cease to work in its own way, and in 1885 it convened jointly with the British Indian Association and the National Mohamedan Association the second National Conference which was attended this time by delegates not only from different districts of Bengal, but from other provinces as well. The Hon. Rao Sahab Viswanath

Mandlik came from Bombay, and His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga represented the Bihar Landholders' Association. There were representatives from Assam, Allahabad, Benares and Meerut. There were in all about 200 delegates. The Conference met on the 25th, 26th and 27th of December, 1885. It finished its labours on the 27th of December by passing amidst tumultuous applause a resolution welcoming the formation of the first Congress which was to meet at Bombay on the 28th of December. After this the leaders of the Indian Association rightly incorporated their movement in that of the Congress, for there remained no longer any need for two parallel bodies with an identical programme.

The Congress was thus the culmination of the same forces which had brought the Indian Association and its National Conference into being. The contribution of the Indian Association to the final consummation is manifold. It broke down the inertia of the educated middle class, and awakened its political consciousness by a country-wide propaganda. And, by organising a movement of concerted action through its National Conference and the National Union, it prepared the first concrete sub-structure on which the Congress movement was subsequently built.

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## HYNDMAN AND INDIA

By Prof SACHCHIDANANDA, M.A.

Though the liquidation of the British dominion in India was mainly the work of Indians themselves, the sympathy and goodwill of certain British public men and administrators was not the least important in arousing our national consciousness. Even at the time the British power was being rooted in the Indian soil, Edmund Burke championed the cause of India and pressed his thundering eloquence and unsurpassed rhetoric to avenge the wrongs done in the east. Later on Munro and Macaulay divined that it was the preparation of India for self-government that should be the goal of British administration. In the middle of the 19th century Sir Henry Durand gave a solemn warning :

"Retribution follows misgovernment with an iron step and crushes with inevitable ruin the children and childrens' children of an opposing nation. Strong as it may seem to some of our readers this idea is prevalent amongst the millions of India."—*Calcutta Review*, Vol. XV, No. XXX, p. 3.0. (1851).

Towards the close of the 19th century, Allan Octavian Hume, Bradlaugh, Cotton and Wedderburn advocated the cause of Indian home rule both in India and in England. Their name has come to be inseparably

linked up with the early years of the Indian National Congress. It is in this illustrious trail of politicians, administrators and legislators that Henry Mayers Hyndman finds a place. Few of us in India know what this 'British friend' did for us.

In England Hyndman is remembered as a radical thinker and founder of the Social Democratic Federation in 1884. The impression which Marx's vigorous intellect made on Hyndman was enormous and proved indelible. He had read the French edition of *Capital* and often visited its author to obtain further instruction by word of mouth. In the autumn of 1880 Hyndman called several times upon Marx who gave him information about the prospects of the revolutionary movement on the continent. With this information, Hyndman wrote on *The Dawn of the Revolutionary Epoch* in which Marx's information was made use of in an anti-revolutionary sense. From that time Marx came to look upon Hyndman with suspicion. In June 1881, Hyndman published his *England for All* in which he embodied the essential doctrines of his master on capital and labour, but knowing the prejudices of Englishmen against Marx avoided mentioning his name or that of his weapon *opus*. This deeply offended Marx, whose whole being

has come finally to be bound up with the fate of his book. Later on, Hyndman realised his mistake and in his next book *The Historical Basis of Socialism* he extensively quoted Marx and Engels. It is mainly due to Hyndman that Marxism found some footing on the British soil. For although Webb, Shaw and Morris have also been more or less influenced by the writings of Marx, it was Hyndman who became his English disciple and spread his views, in season and out of season, and for this he was dubbed as an 'incendiary' (*Quarterly Review*, Oct.-Dec., 1883, page 352) and even created an organisation which is based on the doctrines of Marx. He was the first to unfurl the banner that had fallen from the hands of Chartists and leaders of the International Workingmen's Association.

His leading ideas were the result of the teachings of Marx, 'O'Brien and Benjamin Disraeli and all anti-liberal and anti-capitalist thinkers and these ideas had been operating on an intensely English mind in revolt against commercialism. His organising activities began in 1881 when he had many meetings and conferences with various well-known men and women whom he thought to be in sympathy with his own aspiration or in revolt against official liberalism. He met Prof. E. S. Beesly, Helen Taylor, Joseph Cowen and several Chartists and members of the International Workingmen's Association. They finally decided to form a new party. It was with this object in view that Hyndman wrote his *England for All*, a manifesto embodying the principles of English democracy. It was written with ability and verve and revealed the author as a serious politician. On June 8, 1881, a conference of the founders of the new party took place and the Democratic Federation was born. Hyndman was aiming at the creation of the proletarian movement for which he formulated the following programme: (1) Universal suffrage, (2) triennial parliament, (3) equal electoral divisions, (4) payment of members, (5) corruption and bribery of electors to be treated as criminal offences, (6) abolition of the House of Lords as a legislative body, (7) Home Rule for Ireland, (8) self-government for colonies and dependencies and (9) nationalisation of land. Most prominent socialists of the country gradually joined its ranks, some among them being Ernest Belford Bax, a philosophical writer of much originality, J. L. Joyes, William Morris, a poet and an artist of renown, Eleanor Marx, daughter of Karl Marx. Among its working class members were James Macdonald and Henry Quelaf, editor of *Justice* from 1892 till his death in 1913. From January 1884, the Federation published a weekly paper *Justice* with its sub-title *Organ of Social Democracy*. In August 1884, the Democratic Federation changed its name to Social Democratic Federation. In February, 1886, Hyndman was arrested for leading a socialist demonstration in the Trafalgar Square but was acquitted on trial. When the Great War broke out in 1914, Hyndman took a strictly patriotic attitude and insisted that the party must support war effort.

From the very beginning of his public life Hynd-

man was an ardent student of Indian economics. He was a strong critic of British administration in India and stood for the oppressed people against the strong. His interest in Indian affairs was enhanced by his acquaintance with Dadabhai Naoroji who by that time was living mostly in England. In his autobiography called *Record of an Adventurous Life*, Hyndman has described his first meeting with Dadabhai. He had read Dadabhai's great book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* and made constant indents on Dadabhai for statistics, reports and literature concerning Indian affairs. Both of them held similar views on the question of drain of wealth from India. He was keenly alive to the need for propaganda and himself contributed informative and inspiring articles on Indian topics. He advocated sustained clamour for freedom both in England and India and stirred criticism even on the continent. In 1886, his articles on *The Bankruptcy of India* evoked much attention. As a token of his regard for Dadabhai Naoroji, he wanted to dedicate these to him but for certain reasons the latter declined the honour. Earlier in July 1880, he himself wrote that he had been full of work on the subject of 'drain.' A year after while forwarding his *England for All* to Dadabhai in which he had applied his principles regarding England to the whole of the British empire, he asserted that in the chapter on India he *did not mince matters*.

About the emancipation of India from British rule, Hyndman held his own view. According to it, India could never achieve self-rule unless the labour came into power in England. Now we realise how prophetic were the words he used in 1882:

"Nothing can be done for India until we have a revolution here. The upper and middle classes do not listen and will not care. I am therefore striving to bring about a revolution by peaceful means, if possible, but at a critical moment I should not shrink from force, if we were strong enough.

"The mass of the people here are in a deplorable state and worse. I sometimes think, than the starving wretches and famished labourers of Bombay and Madras. The charge of the cost of expedition to Egypt on Indian revenues is indeed monstrous. Yet what are we reformers doing? Gladstone approves, Harrington proposes, the whole liberal party supports and Fawcett has been bribed into silence. I can imagine nothing worse. What can they do when breeches pocket is arguing the other way. However we are working on to a great upheaval here. When it comes India will reap the benefit too. Honestly, the cause of India has by itself gone back with the upper and middle classes during the last year or two. With the working class, it has made progress. To them and them only you must look for justice."—Letter to Dadabhai, dated August 2, 1882.

Hyndman realised that the Indian question evoked little interest in the common people of England. Their interest could be roused by showing them that the same class, the 'Capitalists' who ruined India were also ruining the British working class. Hyndman strove all his life to propagate this and thus the move-



## DEVIPROSAD ROY CHOWDHURY

By P. V. RAJAMANNAR,  
*Chief Justice, Madras High Court*

Put for an accident Deviprosad and I might have continued to remain with a respectful distance between us, I following with admiration his artistic career and he supremely indifferent to or filled with contempt for the class of high officials of Government which unhappily included me. Though we had seen each other often at parties and meetings, it was at the opening of a small exhibition of paintings under the auspices of a recently started society of young men that we came into contact. I presided on the occasion and declared the exhibition open and he made a small speech and distributed the prizes. In my address I had made an appreciative reference to him which probably pleased him; but it did not bring us nearer. After declaring the exhibition open we went round together for a closer view of the pictures. I was making comments on the exhibits perhaps aloud. This roused the curiosity of Chowdhury. My remarks seemed to be a revelation to him. Strange that a Judge of the High Court should have so much familiarity with the technical aspects of painting. I felt he had been obviously convinced of the correctness of my approach to the subjects in relation to their treatment. The values were assessed more or less in the right manner. This apparently he did not expect. He then became profusely apologetic. I did not have the slightest idea why. My inquisitiveness naturally demanded an explanation. He paused for a while; I could see the restraint on his expression and came out, "I had been rude to you. Could you forgive me?" And he continued, "You know I refused to co-operate with you in judging pictures because I felt legal codes have not much in common with what is required for the discipline in Art. Hence co-opting diverse laws seemed to me an act of unwarranted intrusion which is liable to damage the cause rather than encourage the talents to grow." I interposed, "Don't you think there could be some exceptions as well?" The question was abrupt and went home. The effect removed the aloofness of

mere acquaintance. Affinity of views brought us closer and we became friends. Ever since I have been discovering more and more of his personality which is so aggressively reflected in his art.

This introduction is not intended to be a comprehensive survey of all that he is but an attempt to understand what he is.



Gossip (wash and tempera)

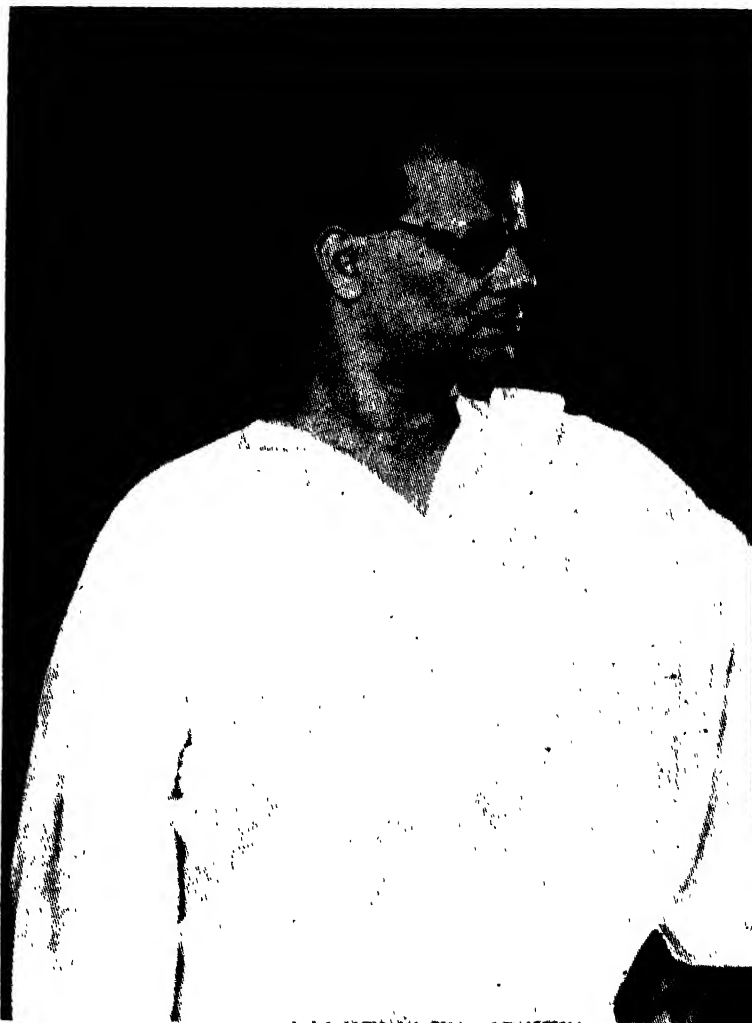
To understand Roy Chowdhury the artist is ultimately the same thing as to understand Roy Chowdhury the man. As Ananda Coomaraswamy once said, "The artist is not a special kind of man, but every man is a special kind of artist." Only a few men are very great artists like Deviprosad. What at once arrests the attention in his works is his amazing versatility. Versatility often tends to break on the rocks of hollowness and superficiality. But that is not the versatility which Chowdhury is possessed of. His

intellect is not afraid of responding to the most revolutionary of ideas and he has the courage to reject the most time-honoured notions of ethics or social etiquette if they appear false to his reason. Like all really strong men, he is also susceptible to infinite tenderness and delicacy in human relationship. In his art, likewise, he is master both of the bold and unconventional stroke and of the soft, delicate and minute touch.

The most significant thing about his art is that it is living. Life consists in a process of growth and therefore necessarily of change. Roy Chowdhury's painting does not tend to become static. He has at his command a variety of technique suited to different media and he is equally at home in water colours, in oils, in tempera and in line. He is keenly alive to the genuine tradition of Indian painting which comprises a thorough mastery of expert draftsmanship, purity of medium and fineness of finish. But he does not preclude himself deliberately as some of the modern Indian artists do, from exploring and utilising the values of light, shade and perspective. Nor does he hesitate to attempt the three-dimensional effect. His art does not cease to be Indian because these are the result of foreign influences. In some of his latest works, for instance, 'Road-makers' and 'Foul Weather,' he has used the palette-knife treatment in a marvellous manner to produce a three-dimensional effect. Walter Pater in his famous essay on the 'School of Giorgione' points out that although each art has its own specific order of impressions, yet it is noticeable that in its special mode of handling its given material each art may be observed to pass into the condition of some other art by a partial alienation from its own limitations. The fact that Deviprosad is a great sculptor in addition to his being a great painter enables him to lend to the art of painting the characteristics which belong to the art of sculpture.

There is both vision and design in pictures like these and as in all works of true Art, there is symbolism. It is this symbolism that gives the quality of poetry to them. Look at the road-makers! They are not just three men digging away at hard and unyielding rock; they symbolise the pioneer spirit of humanity. They

represent the struggle and the toil which have to precede order and civilisation. The artist has caught in his vision the eternal struggle of man against nature for a fuller life. But there is another aspect which also becomes apparent. These three men typify the neglected workers of the world, the people who with the sweat of their brow have suffered and given their strength and life so that others might enjoy the fruit of their labour. The arrangement of the crags



Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

with the three-dimensional illusion skilfully sustained, the pose of each of the three men and the background suggestive of storm and stress—all go to build up a powerful masterpiece. In 'Foul Weather' there is similar symbolism, the poor folk compelled to drudge along life's weary way in the face of adverse and inclement circumstances and environment. Here again there is the same sculptural effect.

Deviprosad, who can paint pictures like these,

## THE AUSTRICS AND THE AWAKENING OF OCEANIA

Among the peoples who still speak the "Austrie" languages the following are the most notable :

*Malaya* : (a) The Semangs, (b)\*the Sakais, (c) the Berisis, (d) the Jakuns, etc.

*India* : (a) The Khasis, (b) the Mundas, etc.

*Nikobor* : (a) The Nikoborcese.

*Indo-China* : (a) The Was, (b) the Palangs, (c) the Riangs, (d) the Samrehs, (e) the Kha-sos, (f) the Kha Tampuens, (g) the Schongs, (h) the Nahnangs, (i) the Mis, (j) the Khmus, (k) the Lemets, (l) the Chams, (m) the Laos, etc.

*Pacific-World* : (a) The Australians, (b) the Papuans, (c) the Tasmanians, (d) the Bataks, (e) the Dayaks, (f) the Tinguans, (g) the Ifugaos, (h) the Kalingas,<sup>2</sup> (i) the Illanons, (j) the other Polynesians, etc.

### THE CULTURAL COHESION

The cultural cohesion among the tribes and peoples of the Austrie-zone is also remarkable and it bears immense cultural and political possibilities in near future. Although there are formidable differences between the degrees of civilisation and culture between an Ifugao and Tinguian of the Philippines, a Davak of Borneo, a Lao of Indo-China, a Khasia of Assam and a Bengali gentleman, there is a basic unity between them, which can be traced in the popular cults, tales, fables and customs. This unity cannot be easily explained by wholly attributing it to the brave voyages of the ancient Hindus in the Southern Seas. It surely speaks of a great ethnic homogeneity<sup>1</sup> between the pre-historic races particularly of the Trans-Gangetic India and the Oceanic world.

### THE "BRATA-KATHA"

Many of the stories of Bengali *brata-kathas* apparently seem to be of Austrie origin. Their archaic and non-Aryan nature has been seldom doubted. Particularly, the stories of snake-goddess Manasa have real Polytlesian character. This suggestion may not be far-fetched as it may be indirectly supported after a perusal of the researches of Prof. Pryzluski.<sup>4</sup> According to the scholar, the Mahabharata story of Matsyagandha and some legends of the *Nagi* in Indian literature were "conceived in societies living near the sea, the societies of which the civilisation and social organisation were different from those of the neighbouring peoples : the Chinese and the Indo-Aryans." From this we may arrive at the conclusion that the cult of snake or Naga-worship was associated with the Austries, whose civilisation once spread with full illumination over the vast region from India to the eastern limits of Polynesia.

2. Will it be too hypothetical to connect these Kalingas (the Philippines) with the great Kalinga tribe of the ancient days, who lived in the Eastern shores of India? Pargiter thought that these Indian Kalingas, along with the Angas, Vangas, Suhmas and the Pandras hailed from the sea (vide *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1908, pp. 851-853; *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1897, Vol. I, p. 83).

3. Perry : *The Children of the Sun*.

4. *Journal Asiatique*, 1924 and 1926.

Levi : *Ibid*, Appendix.

### THE OTHER CULT-SIMILARITIES

The other cult-similarities amongst the Austrie-speaking peoples is no less conspicuous. The pre-historic megalithic cult of Oceania is still surviving in Manipur (Assam). This is not a meagre example, as it clearly establishes the pre-historic unity between East India and the vast Pacific. Apart from this the archaic cults of tiger-worship, spirit-worship and snake-worship are prevalent in Greater Bengal and the Indo-Chinese peninsula from ancient times. The peculiar cults of *Phi* in Siam, *Nat* in Burma and *Dharmathakur* in Bengal, have little difference between them. Some of the practices of the Talangs or Mons in Lower Burma bear great resemblance with such practices prevalent in Bengal. The former like some sections of the Bengalis regard the serpents as their own kinsfolk. That is the reason why they do seldom harm them like many inhabitants of Bengal.



A valiant Dayak warrior of Borneo

Another point is very interesting, that is, the tiger-worship. This cult is peculiarly in vogue in Bengal, China, Arakan and Siam. In Lower Bengal, the worship of the *Vyaghna-devatas* (tiger-gods) like Sona Ray, Dakshin Ray, etc., is very remarkable. In Arakan it is known as *Taman*.<sup>5</sup> In ancient China the tiger had been many times used as a sacred art-motif.<sup>6</sup> A similar cult is

5. Rex King : "The 'man-tigers' from Tamanthi" (*The Wide-World Magazine*, May, 1944).

6. Binyon : *The Paintings of the Far East*.

also in vogue in Siam, possibly, from historical times. Of course, some may argue that the tiger-cult is of recent origin in Bengal. But, here, we should be always aware of the archaic nature of the worship.

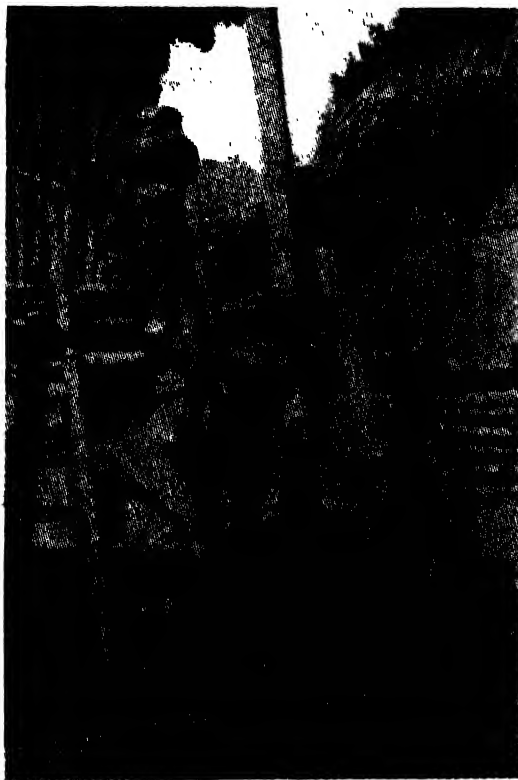
#### THE PRESENT STATE

At present the tribes and the nationals of the Southern Pacific and the Trans-Gangetic India are quickly advancing towards political and cultural greatness and, thereby, they are foiling the Euro-American projects for global supremacy. The backward Pacific tribes like the inhabitants of Polynesia, Melanesia, the Philippines and Micronesia are also gradually arriving

programmes added strength to the chauvinistic doctrines of General Araki and Baron Hiranuma. But, still, we should agree that the Japanese dream of Oceanic liberation was not fully a selfish motive for future mandatory over the Pacific, but a political ambition, which to a great extent breathed nobility. In that sense it should not be compared with the political plans of Cardinal Richelieu of 17th century Europe and the Atlantic Charter of the present age.

#### THE RESULT OF THE PACIFIC WARS

The recent war in the Pacific between the Japanese and the Anglo-Americans has sent a tremendous thrill



A Tinguian woman of the Philippines

at the light of the modern age, which will surely one day enable them to save their fair islands from the encroachments of the so-called "Democrats" from the foreign territories.

#### THE TANAKA MEMORANDUM AND THE AWAKENING OF OCEANIA

The awakening of Oceania has been synchronised with the promulgation of the so-called Tanaka memorandum in Japan, one of the greatest items of which was the liberation of the Pacific nationalities from the yoke of the foreigners. Of course, it may be argued that the so-called Tanaka agreement was the issue of the imperialistic ambitions of the Chosu Clan, which could produce such magnificent military geniuses like general Tanaka and Marshall Yamagata, whose political



A gigantic stone-image of pre-historic Oceania

into the hearts of the oppressed peoples of the Pacific-world. The Nipponese bombardment of Pearl Harbour, the sinking of the *Prince of Wales* and the *Repulse* and the capture of a large portion of Oceania, and South-East Asia by the soldiers of Japan and India during the last war have undoubtedly dispelled the illusion of European and American domination of Asia and the Pacific, although the actions might have been unjustified. Truly, the vessel of European imperialism in the Pacific has been wrecked on the submerged rock of East-Asian awakening. It is sure that the present preponderance of the White nationals in the Pacific is only a matter of short period. It is bound to suffer decay and elimination.

The Pacific peoples whose eyes were first opened by the cruel Spaniards, the Portuguese and the Dutch in the 16th century, due to their occupation of the



Philippines, Indonesia and other Oceanic islands, have become fully awakened by the present relentless struggles between their Nipponese compatriots and the Americans. Thereby, the rise of Nippon may be fittingly described as the first Pacific revolution against the domination of the opportunist Whites.

#### THE FUTURE TRENDS

There is no room for doubt that the peoples living in the Austric zone, *i.e.*, the peoples of the Southern

Pacific along with the inhabitants of greater East India, are pacing towards unity and progress, cohesion and revolution. We can never ignore this as the racial kinship and consciousness are great truths, and they have got always their final value. It is really showing a great possibility, which is in no way stamped with the chimeric dream of the 'Holy Romans' of the mediaeval Europe.

—:O:—

## RURAL PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES

IN America the corner-stone of the U. S. public school system is a free and equal educational opportunity for all of the nation's children, regardless of race, creed, or color.

Because of this fundamental objective the U. S. public school system, supported by public taxes, is one of the largest enterprises in America. In the U. S. there are 29 million students, 21 million of them in U. S. elementary schools, and more than a million professors and teachers are required to instruct this great body of students. Total expenditures on U. S. public schools in 1940 totalled more than 2,344,000,000 dollars.

Because America is often regarded as an industrial nation with many highly developed urban areas, it is a surprise to many people to discover that U.S. rural communities and farm areas maintain 88 per cent of all the school buildings of the nation. These rural schools house more than half of America's school children and employ more than half of America's teachers. To properly educate these country children requires thousands of modern consolidated county schools and community centers as well as more than 120,000 one-room rural school-houses. Each of the latter type of school is usually directed by a single teacher during the school year.

Everyone of the 48 American states consists of a number of sub-divisions called counties. In most U.S. rural areas the schools are under the general administration of the county in which the school is located, although every school district is under the direct control of its own board of local citizens.

• In these rural school-houses U.S. children are taught the four main objectives of elementary education in America. These are: (1) To learn how to get along with other people. (2) To protect and maintain one's health. (3) To learn wise uses of their leisure time. (4) To develop the skills and understanding needed to solve the problems of their homes, their communities, and their own individual lives. The "learn-by-doing" method of education applies with redoubled force to U. S. rural education, which is based upon the immediate problems of rural students.

Distances are so great in rural America that one-sixth of all U.S. country students depend upon motor-buses for transportation to and from school. The U.S.

spends more than 80 million dollars every year on school-bus transportation alone, and 93,000 buses, more than half of all the passenger buses in America, are in the service of U.S. rural schools.

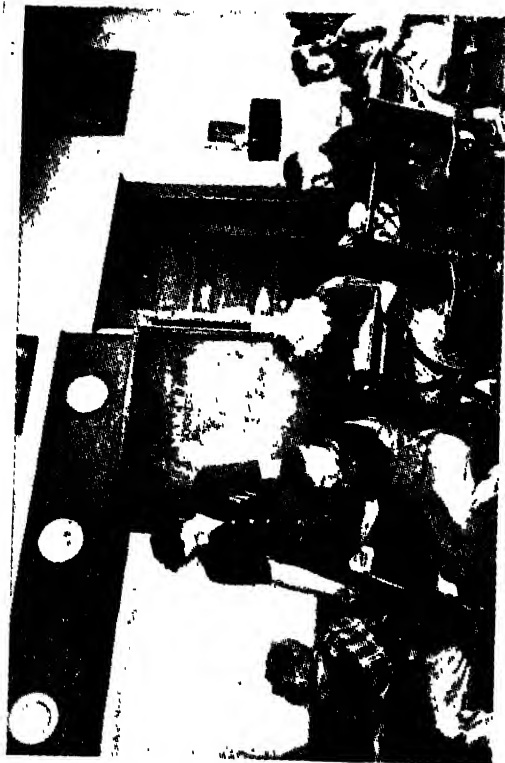


In a small country school-house, a young boy from a nearby farm is about to enjoy his lunch

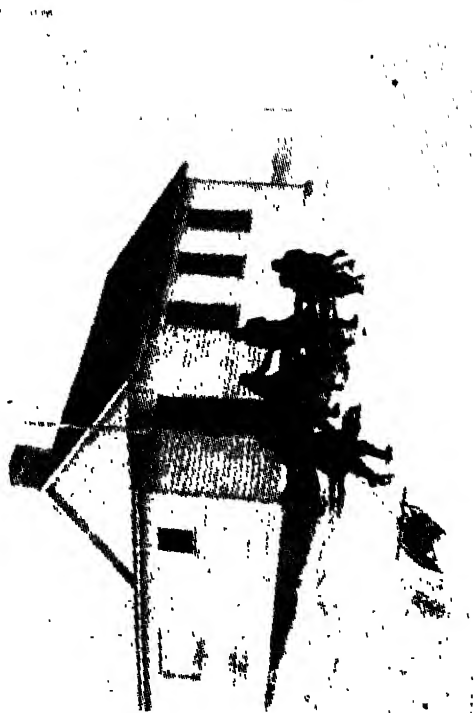
During the U.S. school year, usually from September to June, these children of America walk on country roads with lunch boxes and bundles of books, or are driven in big modern buses to their schools. In remote areas one encounters children riding on horses and mules. All of these children flock to these small but ably administered rural schools that dot the rolling farmlands, the deserts, the mountain regions, and the sub-tropical areas of the United States across 3,000 miles of the North American Continent.—*USIS*.



A familiar early morning scene in a country home. when mother prepares a luncheon for her children to take to their rural public schools two or three miles away



This American school teacher and her young pupils occupy a typical one-room country school-house



In the deep snow of a small village in the north-central U.S. state of north Dakota, three small boys prepare to set off for school



On a cold winter day five American children in a US country school house prepare to walk long distances to their farm homes

# THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF ASSAM

## My Experiences Amongst Them

By NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

NEARLY two decades have passed since first I came into contact with the Halams, an aboriginal tribe of Assam, inhabiting the hilly tracts at the foot of the Lushai hills. I was then putting up with one of my relatives in the Longai Forest Office. It was a solitary place full

The adventurous life of these primitive people captured my imagination and a desire became stronger day by day in my mind to spend a few months amongst the different hill-tribes of Assam in their homelands, situated at the top of inaccessible hills, with a view to know them thoroughly and study their manners and customs.

A few days after, a friend of mine who was a co-worker of the late Swami Provananda, the founder of the Ramakrishna Mission in the Khasi hills, wrote to me a letter from Shella, a village at the foot of the Khasi hills, to start as early as possible for the Khasi hills inasmuch as my presence there was urgently required by the Swamiji. Immediately after receiving the letter of my friend I bade goodbye to the land of the Halams and reached Sylhet wherefrom I started for Shella by boat. It was a long but pleasant river-journey. After reaching the destination I took shelter in the Shella Ramakrishna Ashram situated at the top of a small hillock



Lushai men and women taking rest by the way

of dense forests. The natural scenery of the locality enchanted me. After a few months' stay in the Forest Office when I was in close contact with those primitive people I was charmed by their simplicity and sincerity; and their manners and customs, festivals and rituals seemed to be highly interesting to me.

There was a small bazar near the Forest Office. Now and then the Lushais, both males and females, used to come down to the plains for purchasing dry fish and other articles from the bazar. There was no difference between the dress and ornaments of both the sexes and there was striking similarity in their appearance as well. It was, therefore, extremely difficult for a foreigner to distinguish between the males and females at the first sight.

These adventurous people used to take shelter on the bank of the river Longai. They cooked their food on the river-bank, at night they slept on the ground under the open sky and in the morning left the place carrying on their backs cane-baskets full of food-stuff and other articles purchased from the market.



Lushai girls in full dress.

not very far from the bank of the river Shella.

The Ashram was surrounded on all sides by judge-covered small hills, innumerable birds chirped all day long in the woods; far below, the river Shella flowed with a murmuring sound. Here at last I got the charm of the solitude for which my heart craved so much. I

made friends with the local Khasis and began to learn their language.

Shella was a sort of paradise in the jungle. But alas, I did not know that this paradise would, so soon, be lost to me.

One morning Swamiji told me that he had a mind to start within a day or two for Jowai, the district town of the Jaintia hills, on foot. He expressed his desire of handing over the charge of the Jowai Ramakrishna Mission School, which was established a year ago by him, into my hands and requested me to accompany him in his long adventurous journey. The beauty of the pine-clad forests of the Jaintia hills was calling me and that call was irresistible, so, I gave my consent to Swamiji's proposal and one fine April morning we left Shella for Jowai. We were three—Swamiji, myself and my friend Mr. Shome.



Fanais—these agoriginal people inhabiting the southern part of the Lushai hills have been greatly influenced by the Lushais

Our path lay through a dense forest. The greenness of the thick foliage of the tall trees soothed our eyes. After crossing the border of the village Shella we found ourselves at the foot of an inaccessible steep hill, about two thousand and five hundred feet high. A narrow path reached the summit of the hill in a zigzag course. We began to ascend the hill with utmost difficulty. When we reached Musta, a village situated 2,000 feet above sea-level, we were almost exhausted and sat by the wayside under a tree. Not very far from us there was an enclosure surrounded on all sides by stone walls. After taking rest for a while we went inside the enclosure which was very neat and clean. Some young Khasi boys were seated on the wall in playful mood. Swamiji called them aloud and said in their mother-tongue—*wan hangne* (come here). The boys responded to his call, came near us and having uttered '*khu Blei*' shook hands with us. The significance of the term *khu Blei* is as follows: "May *Blei* (God) bless you." The boys were dressed in sleeveless coats and half-pants and their heads were covered with caps made of black cloth. From their dress it was evident that they were Christian converts. The

manner in which they greeted us was an admixture of the Christian and their national customs.

Swamiji told us that such walled places could be found in many villages in this part of the Khasi hills. The village headmen assemble here occasionally in order to settle village disputes, and on festive occasions the dancing ceremony of the village girls also takes place in these places.

At about five we reached Nongwar, a beautiful secluded village, and stayed at the residence of my friend Mr. Shome, who was in charge of the Nongwar Ramakrishna Mission School.

Just before sunset I came out of the school-compound alone and wandering aimlessly through the forests climbed the summit of a hill. In front of the hill there was a deep gorge, behind which there were long ranges of dark blue hills stretching towards the blue horizon. Two waterfalls in the far distant blue hills, touching the sky, looked like two silvery ribbons. My heart was filled with joy to see this picturesque sight in such a fantastic background. But I could not stay there long inasmuch as within a few minutes the setting sun disappeared behind the lofty peaks and a veil of darkness descended over the hills. So I was compelled to leave this lonely place and within half an hour came back to our shelter.

Next morning we three started for Cherrapunji on foot. After crossing some uphill climbs we came to a village named Turna wherefrom the path turned off towards the right direction and ascended the top of a steep hill. No sooner did we reach the summit of the hill than we were simply astounded with the grandeur and magnificence of the natural scenery all around us. On the left side high ridges were standing leaning towards the sky. From the lofty peaks silver-white torrents of the waterfalls, coming down with lightning speed at the foot of the hills, flowed towards the plains with tumultuous uproar. Towards the south, far far below, the vast green meadows of Sylhet extended towards the horizon.

The cool sweet mountain breeze soothed our body and our fatigue was removed within a few minutes. With fresh vigour and energy we resumed our adventurous journey and soon came to the vicinity of a village named Maumlu where luckily we chanced to witness an archery competition between two contesting Khasi villages. One by one the competitors were shooting arrows on a target from a considerable distance. As soon as a competitor was able to hit a target the big crowd assembled at the place, cheered them lustily with loud applause. Archery is the main national game of the Khasis. When the result of the competition is finally announced the members of the party which wins the day return home singing and dancing merrily, the lonely hilly path resounding with their wild cries. As soon as they reach the village the young girls come out of their houses to greet them. One of the competitors gives a detailed description of the competition and the girls listen with rapt attention.

From Maumlu the path was easily accessible. There were no more ups and downs. After walking about two miles we reached Cherrapunji and stayed at the residence of Acharya Nilmoni Chakrabarty, the founder of the Brahmo Mission in the Khasi hills.

Next day we left Cherrapunji for Shillong by motor-bus and reached that beautiful hill-station in the evening.

dancing girl's head was adorned with crowns made either of gold or silver. The hairs of each girl were rolled tightly into a tail which was hanging down on her back. They were decorated from head to foot with picturesque garments and costly ornaments. Their eyes were down-cast and their hands were swinging rhythmically forwards and backwards. They were almost ready for dancing.

After a while the dance commenced. The girls began to proceed forwards, as it were on tiptoes with the slowest possible movements. This is called *ka shad kynthei* or the dance of the girls. Amongst the dancing girls there were some maidens of the royal family. Some female attendants were proceeding with them holding gold embroidered umbrellas on their heads. Some drummers seated on a high platform in a corner were keeping time with the dance by beating drums. Suddenly an old woman appeared on the scene and adjusting the hair-dress and ornaments of the dancing girls left the place.



A Khasi archery competition

Immediately after my arrival at Shillong I came to learn that within a few days the annual Nong Krem ceremony, one of the greatest festivals of the Khasis, would be held at Smit, a place not very far from Shillong. I heard that the dance of the Khasi girls was an integral part of the Nong Krem ceremony and I made up my mind to witness the dancing performances which would be held in connection with this ceremony.

On the fixed date accompanied by a teacher of the Hindu Anath Ashram, founded by Lachhmi-Narayanji and some Khasi boys I started for Smit. On reaching the destination we entered inside a vast courtyard in front of the house of the royal priestess. The place was covered on all sides by strong bamboo fencing. A great crowd consisting of both males and females assembled there. Males were sitting on one side and the females on the other. In the middle of the courtyard about fifty young girls were standing in different rows in dancing pose. All the girls were fair-complexioned and some were exquisitely beautiful. All of them were clad in costly silk *sarees* and coloured jackets. They put on necklaces made of gold and coral beads. Long chains made of gold and silver were hanging on their breasts. They wore gold earrings on their ears and their hands were covered with silver bangles. Every

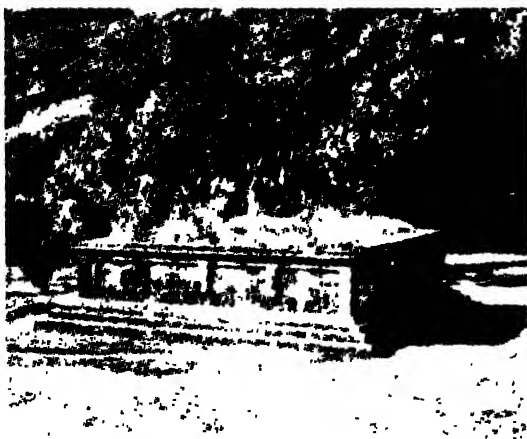


*Pom-blanc* or goat-killing ceremony at Smit

After an hour some Khasi males wearing warriors' costumes appeared on the spot. Their turbans were decorated with black and white cock's feathers, and all the garments they put on were gaily dyed. On their backs they were carrying arrows and cock's feathers. They were holding swords and shields in their hands. They began to dance in the middle of the courtyard waving fly-whiskers. At last they were divided into several pairs and each pair displaying mock sword-fight began to encircle the enclosure.

We spent more than an hour witnessing the dances. In the beginning I was a bit interested in the performances. But at last it seemed to be extremely

toring because the dancing of the girls, the beating of drums accompanying it and the mock-fight of the males, everything was monotonous. There was no variation in the gestures and postures of the girls. And their steps were so slow that any movement of their bodies was hardly perceptible. It became clear to me as to why some European observers had called it—"The Ant-killing Dance." I could not but admire the patience of the girls who would perhaps eternally repeat the same thing. But human patience is limited, so I could not wait till the end of the performances and started alone for Shillong.



Khasi burning platform

There is another ceremony connected with the Nong Krem Puja, and that is called the "Pam-blang" or the goat-killing ceremony in which goats are sacrificed for the propitiation of the Goddess "Ka Blei Synsar" (the goddess of fortune) on whose mercy depends the welfare of the kingdom. This ceremony is held under the direct supervision of the Siem (Khasi King) of Nong Krem.

Jowai, the district town of the Jaintia hills, is situated at a distance of thirty-three miles from Shillong. The aboriginal people inhabiting the Jaintia hills are called Syntengs. These people and the Khasis belong to the same stock of the Mongolian race.

One morning according to the Swamiji's arrangements, I started for Jowai with two Khasi mail-runners. The path lay through deep forests and sometimes the steep hills seemed to be insurmountable. After a long tedious journey when we reached Jowai at dusk I was more dead than alive.

Next day in the evening I went out for sight-seeing. After visiting some important places when I came to the outskirts of the town I was struck with wonder at the sight of the exuberance of the pine-trees there. Such beautiful pine-groves are nowhere found in the Khasi hills.

A few days after my arrival at Jowai I found the people busy making preparations for the coming

Beh-dieng Khlam ceremony. The town wore a festive look. It is the greatest festival of the Syntengs and takes place annually in the month of June at Jowai and other places in the interior parts of the Jaintia Hills. The term "Beh-dieng Khlam" means driving pestilence with the help of sticks.

By the middle of June the festival is in full swing. There are small secluded houses, called "Ka-ing-Pujas" in different parts of the town. In these houses public ceremonies are held. From the 16th June, both grown-up persons and young boys of the locality and the neighbouring villages began to flock together in different Ka-ing-Pujas and engaged themselves in different kinds of work connected with the coming ceremony. They had to work hard but it did not seem irksome to them because there were adequate arrangements for various sorts of amusements. Whenever I visited the Ka-ing-Pujas, I found everyone busy making toy-chariots with pieces of bamboo and coloured papers. Preliminary arrangements being over, one morning elderly persons and youths alike drank huge quantities of rice-beer and being assembled in a central place of the town performed wild dances with grotesque gestures and postures, clapping their hands rhythmically and shouting at the top of their voice. While the dance was in full swing some persons were busy cutting poles in the jungle. They brought home those poles and planted them in the courtyard of their houses. Being invited I went inside a Synteng house and saw that the male members were beating the roof of the house with sticks and praying the evil spirit of pestilence to leave the house at once.

In the evening a large number of people gathered together in an open field with paper-made balloons and here again the males began to dance with great spirit, the womenfolk having been dressed in their best attires and wearing valuable ornaments remained on-lookers. When the dancing was over the paper-made chariots were brought out from the different Ka-ing-Pujas. Some young boys carried them to a stream, supposed to be the dwelling place of the Goddess "Aitan." Then followed another dance there in knee-deep water.

While the dance was going on some persons rushed into the adjacent forest, cut down a long pole and brought it to the place. This pole, they believe, is the symbol of U Blei or the Creator of the universe. After placing that gigantic pole across the stream, all the people assembled there climbed on it. Then a contest ensued between the different parties for the possession of this pole. It is their firm belief that the winning party will enjoy health and happiness during the coming year.

A few days after the Beh-dieng Khlam ceremony one afternoon I was sitting on the verandah of my house when suddenly I chanced to see a funeral procession proceeding towards the burning place. The dead body covered by a cane-mattress had been placed on a bier and four persons were carrying it on their shoulders.

The mourning procession consisted of a large number of people, both males and females, who were accompanying the dead body and carrying betel-nuts, cooked rice and curry and rice beer, etc., with them. Following the procession, I came to the funeral place which was situated in the outskirts of the town. There on a small elevation the pyre had been prepared and the corpse was laid on it. Both men and women, then, placed betel-nuts and silver coins on the pyre. As soon as a man set fire to the pyre one of the maternal uncles of the dead man cut the throat of a fowl and poured some drops of blood into the fire. Then the fowl was roasted and cut into several pieces. An old man having pierced the pieces by a sharp-edged bamboo blade kept them in a corner. As soon as the corpse was burnt, to ashes the fire was extinguished by pouring water over it. The silver coins and the uncalcined bones were collected and wrapped in a piece of cloth. An old woman having taken the bones in her hands muttered some *mantras* and the relatives of the deceased placed betels and nuts on those bones. After this ceremony all went near a high monolith. Plantains, oranges, cakes and other eatables were placed on the ground and an old woman, regarded as the intermediary between this and the next world, uttered some *mantras* and poured large quantities of rice-beer on the ground. The maternal uncle of the deceased then kept the bones carefully under a flat stone slab, lying on the ground. On enquiry I came to learn that after a few days these bones would be removed to some other place in order to erect a memorial stone over them. These memorial stones are called "Ka-jing Kyn Maws." At Jowai innumerable Ka-jing-Kyn-Maws by the wayside attract the attention of the visitors.

"The Khasis and Jaintias live in the same range of hills designated after their names. In the eastern part live the Jaintias (Syntengs) and in the west the Khasis.....Formerly the Jaintia Kingdom comprised not only the Jowai sub-division in the Khasi hills district, the present home of the Jaintias (Syntengs) but the Jaintia *parganas* of the present-day Sylhet district and the Southern portion of the Nowgong district as well."—*Hill-tribes in Assam* by Jogen Saikia, pp. 12-13.

Both the Khasis and the Syntengs have got cultural affinity with the Mon tribes of Annam and the Khmer tribes of Cambodia. Hence the ethnologists have come to the conclusion that the Khasis and the Syntengs belong to the Mon-Khmer tribes of Indo-China. There is linguistic affinity between the Munda tribes (i.e., Sontals, Mundas and Karkus) and the Khasis. But as regards physical features the Khasis greatly differ from the above-mentioned tribes. In fact, the Khasis (and Syntengs) are Mongolians in appearance though linguistically they belong to the Austric-speaking Kolarian group.

The system of matriarchy greatly influences the socio-economic life of the Khasis. Inheritance passes from mother to the youngest daughter who inherits the lion's share of the family property. Other daughters also get their due shares, but sons are not entitled to inherit anything. The Syntengs adhere more strictly to the system of matriarchy than the Khasis. After marriage the Synteng bride does not go to her husband's house but stays with her mother as usual. Meeting between the husband and the wife is strictly forbidden during daytime. After dusk the husband visits his wife at her mother's house and spends the night there but he cannot partake of the food and drink in his mother-in-law's house, moreover he is bound to leave that house before sun-rise.

In the sixteenth century the Synteng Kings of Jaintiapur adopted Hinduism. They belonged to the Sakta sect and introduced many customs and rituals of the Hindus in their kingdom. Gradually a great number of Syntengs were converted to Hinduism and "acquired equal status in society with other Hindus of the province of Assam."

In olden days the Syntengs and other hill-tribes of Assam came into close contact with us, but alas, the connecting link between the aboriginal tribes and ourselves have been severed for obvious reasons. Every one interested in the country's welfare should realise that unless and until that link is re-established our nation-building work in free India will greatly be hampered.





# GREAT DANGER TO THE LIFE OF THE PORT AND CITY OF CALCUTTA

By NRIPENDRA KUMAR GUPTA

It is an irony of fate that the non-publication of the **Radcliffe Map**, demarcating the boundary line between the two newly formed provinces of Bengal, seems to have kept the citizens of Calcutta or for the matter

Parliament on 25.2.48, containing the questions and answers, regarding the non-publication of the Radcliffe map, would unfortunately throw no clear light on the subject. On the other hand, from the trend of the interpellations and answers, it would appear that both the interpollator and the Hon'ble Prime Minister giving the answers, had no idea of the gross errors in the map in question and the evil effects thereof. It is really regrettable that there seemed to be an attempt to shelve the matter altogether.

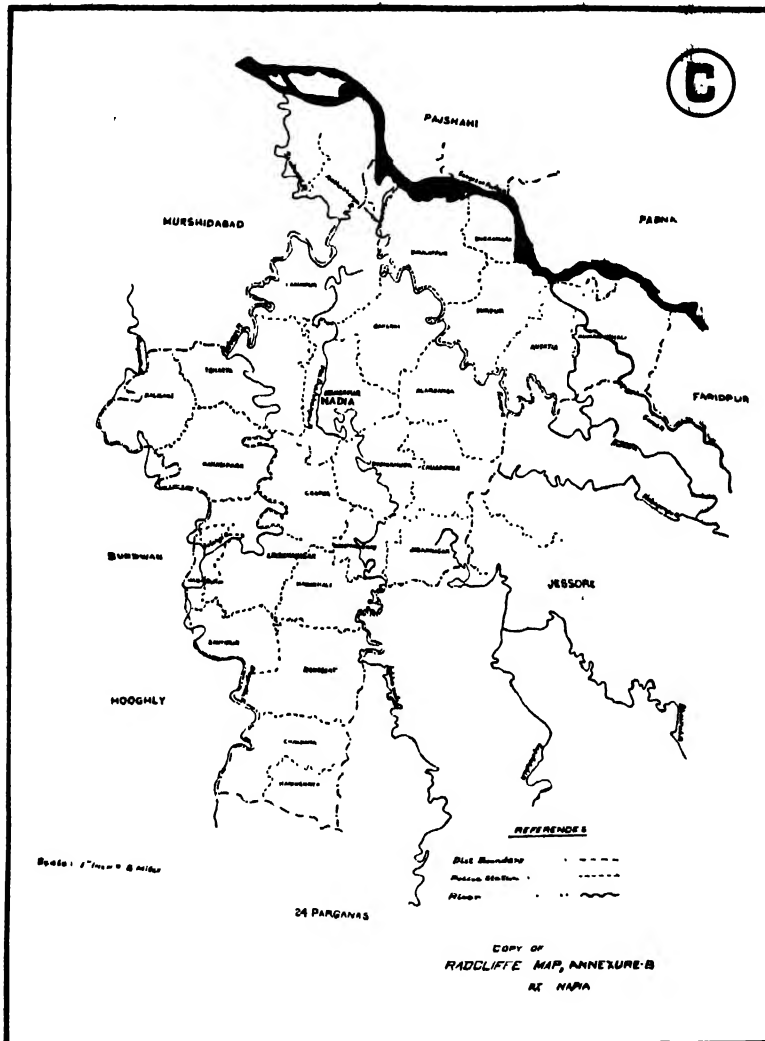
However, after considerable delay, it has now become common knowledge that the Radcliffe map, which has not been published even up till now contained gross misrepresentations relating to the placement of the river Mathabhanga, which could not but have misled the Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission himself in arriving at his conclusions and the result was the present wrongful award, causing great injury to the West Bengal State.

It is to be noted that Calcutta is situated on the river Hooghly, and this premier city owes 90 per cent of its importance and magnificence to its position as a river-port. The gradual development of Calcutta from its humble beginning as a trade-settlement founded by Job Charnock of the East India Company in the year 1690 A.D., to its present position as the first city of India, furnishes an important and arresting chapter in the history of India.

The life of Calcutta as a river-port depends on the navigability of the river Hooghly, and the

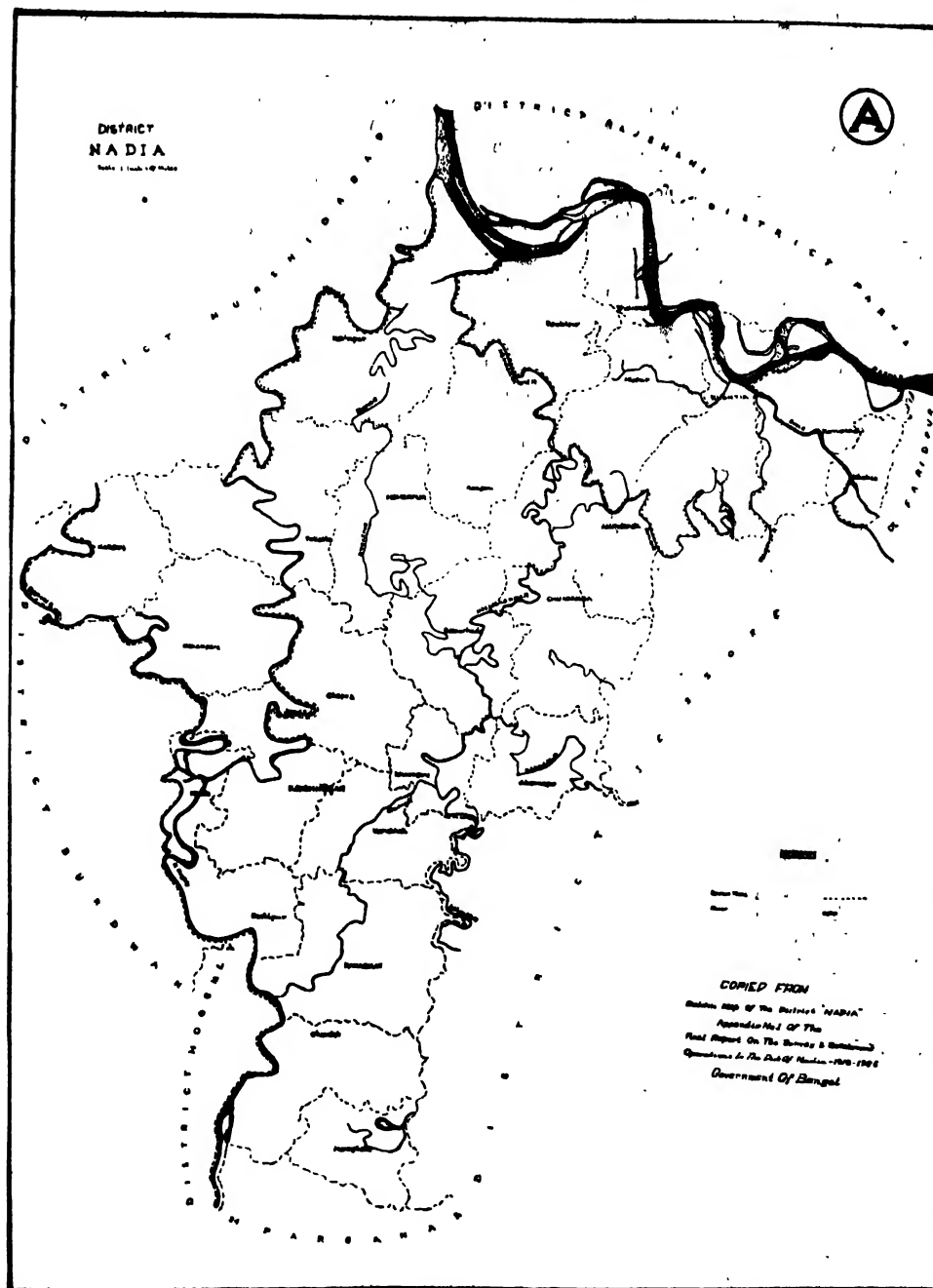
of that the people of India, in blissful ignorance of the lurking and grave danger threatening the future existence of the Port of Calcutta. The Government of India's inexplicable conduct also is, to say the least, mystifying. The report of the proceedings of the Indian

navigable capacity of the river in turn depends on its three main-feeders, viz., the Bhagirathi, the Jalangi and the Mathabhanga specially called the *Nadia* Rivers, which are "a group of off-shoots of the Ganges, which flow through the Nadia and the Murshid-



Relevant portion copied from the Map of Bengal "Compiled in Bengal Drawing Office in 1944," and adopted as Annexure B

Mark.—(1) The omission of the entire Mathabhanga-Churni channel, (2) the fictitious point of origin of the imaginary river line of the Mathabhanga, (3) the Bhairab misrepresented as the Mathabhanga



*Note.*—(1) The position of the Mathabhangha with its point of origin, (2) the position of the river Bhairab, (3) the three points of bifurcation of the Mathabhangha

abad Districts of Bengal and unite to form the Hooghly."

"It is also stated by no less an authority than Mr. A. Webster (*vide* his Report on the Future Development of the Port of Calcutta, page 5) that the existence of the Port of Calcutta depends entirely upon the maintenance of adequate water-supply in

the river Hooghly. Not only the existence of the Port of Calcutta but the health, sanitation and industrial life of the entire tract of land known as 'Central Bengal' hinges upon this river.....The Bhagirathi, the Jalangi and the Mathabhangha are known as the Nadia Rivers, and they are the principal fresh water feeders of the Hooghly. It is well known that the Bhagirathi which once constituted

the main channel of the Ganges, now practically remains cut off from the latter, except during the floods, and even then the share of the Ganges flood that it receives is almost insignificant....."—*Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, Vol. XVIII, page 281.*

"In order to prevent the Hooghly from languishing altogether it is absolutely necessary that the head waters (meaning the Bhagirathi, the Jalangi, and the Mathabhangha) should be under the control of the West Bengal State."—Quoted from the separate joint Report of Mukherjee and Biswas, J. J., members of the Bengal Boundary Commission, para 67.

"The entire river system is co-related, interlinked and interdependent."—Quoted from the same Report, para 69.

Now, the Bhagirathi ceasing to be of any help to the Hooghly, there remained only two head waters, but as fate would have it, the most important feeder, the Mathabhangha has been cleverly and fraudulently taken away from the possession of the West Bengal State by the East Pakistan Government, by means of manipulation in the map and the machinations of the champions of Pakistan.

By this time, it has become a known fact that the map of Bengal as supplied to Sir Cyril to work with, by the interested agency, was a specially manufactured map for the purpose. The spurious nature of that map of the so-called 'year 1944,' will be self-evident to even a superficial observer. In that map, the course of the river Mathabhangha, together with its off-take from the Ganges or Padma was suppressed and practically wiped out, and an unconnected and dead river *Bhairab*, 18 miles off, in places, was renamed and falsely shown as the Mathabhangha. A fictitious stretch of a river-line, misrepresented as the Mathabhangha, was also shown with an imaginary off-take 5 miles up the Ganges, away from the site of the real off-take. This sham off-take is the spot-light which clearly shows where the deflection of the partition line begins, as also the subsequent divergence of that line from the true alignment in its downward course (far away from its true course).

From a careful study of Sir Cyril's award, it is clear that he had taken this matter to be of vital significance. The fact that he has treated it as a *separate basic question* bears ample testimony to my thesis. That he has fallen into a tragic error is due entirely to the deception palmed off on him by the creators of a false and faked map. If effect is sought to be given to his real intentions, which are quite patent, then in bare justice to West Bengal, the portion of the award which concerns this matter must be re-interpreted, reinvestigated, revised and recast by an impartial body of adjudicators.

Sir Cyril who could not possibly have any local geographical knowledge, had to depend solely upon the map supplied to him, and he adopted that map as the basis of both his descriptions of boundaries, as well as the delineation of the boundary line between the two Bengals.

If the present unjust and invalid (because based

on spurious data) award stands, it will be no wonder, if some day the Eastern Pakistan authorities, bent on mischief, seek to divert the main channel of the Mathabhangha, through its eastern arm known as the river Kumar which flows through the Eastern Pakistan at the first bifurcation point.

As the actual course of the main channel with its off-take of the Ganges, is situated on the Pakistan soil, this operation which would technically be lawful, will result silting up the remaining portion of the Mathabhangha channel including its Churni branch (which feeds the Hooghly) and will thus sound the death-knell of the port of Calcutta.

As reported in the press, at long last, the matter under review was placed before the first Inter-Dominion Conference held at New Delhi, at the instance of the present West Bengal Government, through the Central Government, but its progress appears to have reached a stale-mate. The people are not to blame, if a sense of frustration has come over them. If the popular Government, with the prospect of the general election in the offing, remain callous and inactive in this vital aspect of the boundary dispute, it is quite natural that the voters smarting under their legitimate grievances, may transfer their allegiance to others, whom they may succeed in persuading to make it a live issue in the election programme.

Electors, unlike in the old days, are intelligent, and discriminating, and they are fully alive to their rights and vital claims. I hope they will read this article carefully in their own interest as well as that of the Province and the Indian Union. West Bengal, cramped, cribbed and caged cannot afford to lose an inch of its legitimate territory and interests, and we, its people, must defend our just rights persistently, actively and fearlessly. The Mathabhangha issue cannot and must not be neglected or shelved. I have attempted to the best of my ability in this article to draw the pointed attention of the readers of this *Review*, to *this vital question*, and it must be taken up without any further delay. Persistent, fearless and widespread agitation is necessary to wake up the authorities to an adequate comprehension of their responsibilities. Bengal has undone many a 'settled fact' in the past, and this so-called 'settled fact' must be undone if Calcutta's future life is not to be endangered beyond redemption.

It must be clearly stated here that the harm caused to the West Bengal State is really of great magnitude, involving as it does, the loss of the indispensable feeder river Mathabhangha and as a corollary to that, also of 600 square miles of territory lying along the course of that river. This large tract of land consists mostly of jute-growing areas and being sparsely populated, affords a capital opportunity of settling a good number of East Bengal Refugees in promising conditions.

Before I conclude I would append the remarks of Lord Mountbatten, the Governor-General, in his order as quoted below. It would show that even the Government of India considered the award to be unsatisfactory.

...in certain parts, and intended to seek  
to reach the terms of suitable methods.

**Order G.O. 485.** The following Order made by the  
Governor-General is published for general information.  
Certain provisions of the Order are consequential upon  
the awards of the Bengal and Punjab Boundary Commis-  
sions which were announced in the Gazette of India  
Extraordinary dated the 17th August, 1947. The  
Government of India wish to make it clear that they  
consider the awards to be unsatisfactory and unreason-

able in certain parts, and it is only because there was  
an agreement between the parties to the arbitra-  
tion proceedings to abide by the decision of the  
Boundary Commission that they propose, for the pre-  
sent to accept the boundaries determined by them.  
They intend, however to ask to modify the terms of  
the awards by such methods as may be found suitable."  
(Italics ours)—Vide the extraordinary issue of the  
Gazette of India published on the 7th September, 1947.

—:O:—

## BENEDETTO CROCE

### A Study in Aesthetics

By RAMENDRA KUMAR SEN, M.A.

LITERARY fashions like every other fashion change from age to age. Pope was once widely read, Tennyson was a hot favourite. Boys grow sick today at the mere mention of the names of Richardson or Sterne. Can we explain this change in literary taste? One easy way is to distinguish between two different attitudes towards literature; the first is the attitude generally taken by the French critics, and more or less followed by Arnold. This is classicism. There has been of late, a revival of classicism in England. Lascelles Abercrombie, F. L. Lucas and Alexander, the author of *Beauty and Other Forms of Value*, did valuable work in re-establishing classicism in its true and honoured place. Classicism gives more emphasis on form, balance and proportion. The other attitude is that of the Romantics. It recognises the fundamental claims of imagination, and thinks poorly of form or craftsmanship as expressed in balance and proportion. This is the general pattern of English criticism throughout the ages.

This is the pattern we find even today. Romanticism was perpetuated in a perverted form among those who held that art existed for its own sake. This doctrine was popular with some writers. They are Oscar Wilde, Henry James and Sir Arthur Pinero. With them, art became another name for mere fancy. Artists were to live in an ivory tower, far away from the common world of men. Now, let us look at the other side of the picture. Classicism is being perpetuated in a mangled form among the inheritors of the Victorian tradition. True classicism as advocated by Abercrombie and Lucas, is a much more difficult thing. Artists have come to love clarity and facility. As a result, they have turned towards Didacticism. Art and poetry are being sacrificed to a greater love. This love may be a writer's interest in the problems of sex-antagonism as in Lawrence, or a prophetic and spiritual urge towards creating a new world order as in Shaw, later Eliot or even in Huxley. Shaw in the Preface to *Three Plays* by Brieux writes:

"Great art is never produced for its own sake. It is too difficult to be worth the effort."

That is, in short, the general attitude of all, inspired by this reformist zeal. Poets are turning prophets;

novelists are crusaders. They insist on the extrinsic objectivity of art, which is frankly what art is not. It will be seen that both didactic art and art as mere fancy are very partial and one-sided description of what art is; and they cannot explain the total significance of the process of artistic creation. It is here that Croce comes in. He assures us that the conflict between Classical and Romantic ideals is only apparent. At bottom, there is a harmony. To discover this harmony, we must look at art from the artist's standpoint; and when we are so doing, it will be seen that art is neither classical nor romantic, but just the expression of the artist's intuition.

In *Ariosto, Shakespeare and Corneille* Croce starts with a discussion of that long-forgotten poet Ludovico Ariosto. It is a popular belief that Ariosto wrote *Orlando Furioso* just to ridicule the Romantic ideals of chivalry. Nothing could be farther from the truth, says Croce. Ariosto should have been a journalist then, with a cause to preach, a theme to popularise. How is it then, that he is a poet? Croce's reply is significant. Ariosto was interested not in exaltation or ironisation of chivalry; his interest was his art. Here Croce is apparently thinking in the same line as Wilde. But he is aware of it; and very significantly he says that no content in a work of art being an impossibility, there must be some content in Ariosto. Croce says that this content is not didactic, this particular thesis or that. What he means is that the content is one with form, so that without the form you can have no idea of the content. *King Lear* in any other form would not be the same "*King Lear*." Hence the futility of all translations. In any work of art, form and content are one. That is then, the starting-point of Croce.

Croce's thesis that "intuition is expression" has been widely misinterpreted. Art, according to Croce, is always expression of intuition. We must note that "intuition" has nothing common with mere felicity, idle thoughts on a subject without any indication of mental energy and comprehensiveness of outlook. Dante thought poetry to be "a laborious and painful toil." It has been suggested that Croce goes right against Dante, and that

as much of the facility which characterises poetic utterance. This is against the evidence of all great poets. Keats in his Letter says that if he was "able to bear without the shock of extreme thought and sensation without weariness" he might live up to eighty. Shelley in his *Defence of Poetry* speaks of the pangs a poet has to endure before he can break into musical utterances. Even Wordsworth thinks poorly of the facility of poetic utterance, which Croce seemingly demands. Among modern critics, Day Lewis in *A Hope for Poetry*, Herbert Read in *Phases of English Poetry* and Housman in *Name and Nature of Poetry* speak of the same arduous task which the poet has to face. But in reality there is no such antagonism between these two attitudes; between Dante's "Poetry is a laborious and painful toil" and Croce's poetry as "expression of intuition," Shelley, Keats and Wordsworth are speaking of an anterior process before the birth of poetry. Croce does not deny it; what he insists on is the process by which the "exteriorisation" of his emotions takes place. In a word, Croce starts where Wordsworth leaves off. Intuition means the maximum organisation of the sensations. By organisation is meant the correlating of one experience with another, the relation being not of a mechanical nature, but artistic and inwardly urged. It is when intuition attains this totality, this organic unity that it becomes fit for artistic expression. Croce's criterion of judgment in any valuation of a work of art is that the work should have a minimum length fixed for it. That should be the limit, conformable with the artistic impulse. The upper limit to the length has also been fixed, so that he would discourage with Aristotle the writing of plays on an epic scale. The upper and lower limits to the range must be governed, says Croce, by the intuition of the poet. Croce is typically Hellenic when he demands that the work of art must have organic unity, should have a certain definite length, neither too long like an epic, nor too short like a wistful tune.

With the Romantics, specially with Coleridge and Keats, poetry tended towards becoming wholly inward. As a result, they moved away from the tumultuous life of the day. Poetry decayed after a brief spell of brightness. Their best poetry is with the best in the world; but their worst becomes mere display of sentiment. More sharing in the life of Nature, having all sorts of experience, is a sign of primitive life. Shelley's "Make me thy lyre even as the forest is" is ecstatic; but it is, at the same time, denial of critical faculties. It has been poetry, only because of its eminently individual character. The poet is always trying to make a universal passion personally felt. Croce thinks that the Romantics were wrong in their over-emphasis on the poet's non-poetic personality. The emphasis was naturally on poetry's inwardness. The Victorians, on the other hand, believed in ideologies; so do the present communist poets. The poet must be socially conscious; that is how Ralph Fox and the Henderson interpret the birth of poetry and another writer, Candwell, though he recognises the

inwardness of poetry, says that no poetry is worth the name unless it is socially conscious. The poet must break a lance in defence of communism. That is how they argue. Croce finds elements of truth in both of these approaches; he tries to harmonise these conflicting attitudes by putting forward his own theory. Poetry, he admits, springs from the depths of the soul. Poetry is thus wholly inward. But at the same time the shaping and fashioning soul is being influenced by outside everyday experience. There is just no way of escape from the world of men; the would-be poet has no ivory tower where he can fly to, and start writing frenzied poetry.

Intuition as Croce understands it, insists on the wholeness, totality and comprehensiveness of vision. The more intuition a poet has the more comprehensive is his vision. It should be noted that Croce's outlook is essentially Hellenic. In *Ariosto, Shakespeare and Corneille* Croce speaks at length of Harmony. Here again, Croce defends Aristotelianism. A good part of the book might be taken as a poetic analysis of Aristotle's *Poetics*. He discusses the nature of aesthetic pleasure, for poetry is written for no other purpose but with the sole end of pleasing. This pleasure is neither hedonistic, nor moralistic, but essentially aesthetic. That is then the end of all fine arts. Lytton Strachey once spoke on the nature of this pleasure. Speaking of comic characters Strachey says:

'They are there neither to instruct us nor to exalt us, but simply to amuse us; and therefore the effects which would in reality follow from their conduct must not appear.'

Strachey speaks of the magic of comedy by which "what is scabrous, what is melancholy . . . in actual life, is converted into charming laughter and glittering delight."

This process of creation follows an antecedent process of destruction, in which the synthetic imagination of the poet fixes its attention on the "fixities" (as Coleridge calls it) or notions which are mechanically and not imaginatively held. Lastly, follows the Kathartic effect of art. We must not forget that this was one of the grounds why Aristotle defended arts; these had already established themselves. He was just analysing the way in which the artist works.

In his essay on Shakespeare (in *Ariosto, Shakespeare and Corneille*) Croce discusses the nature of the creative process of art. He says that the Form of Shakespeare's plays is inseparable from their content. What he means by Form is Expression, and his content is just Intuition. The logical deduction is, Intuition is Expression. Here is an anticipation of his thesis in *Aesthetics*. Croce thinks poorly of the concepts of technique or rhetoric. For Croce, there is nothing in poetry which is not poetry, there is no such thing as technique or rhetoric as divorced from poetry. Plato in *Phaedrus* speaks of rhetoric as integral to poetry. The difference in Croce's approach is that he does not want to call

anything which is integral to poetry by a different name. There is for Croce neither technique nor rhetoric, but just poetry. To distinguish between poetry and rhetoric is to presuppose that the two are not one, which is what Croce never says. Non-poetical considerations could have no claim on a genuine poet. Technique when it means more cleverness, or rhetoric when it is idle bombast, are outside the scope of art.

As it is with execution on the part of the poet, so it must be with interpretation on the part of the critic. Croce discusses the fallacy in the positions of Brandes, Harris and Bacon. They have set out to interpret Shakespeare; they have their own private thesis to propound, and they seek to fit Shakespeare within the four corners of their thesis. This gives rise to what Croce calls "deterministic error." Such errors are bound to be perpetuated, so long as art is looked upon not as art, but something else. Croce demands that the critic must look at arts from the artistic standpoint; in other words, he must have no axe to grind. Interpretation must be historical; it must be at the same time "disconnected." The only "connections" a critic has to recognise are dictated by the artistic conscience, there being no other considerations for him.

Croce's neo-Aristotelianism finds significant expression in his *European Literature in the 19th Century*. Speaking of Ibsen, he insists on the unity of inspiration in *Wild Duck* and *Rosmersholm*. Ibsen is, according to Croce, a pure artist, an opinion which many including Mr. Shaw do not share. Croce says that the thesis with Ibsen has itself become intuitive. Even the symbolism of Ibsen is lyrical in origin. Croce is enthusiastic when speaking about Maupassant. It is so, because there is nothing superfluous in him. Croce says that all that is not intuition is superfluous. The necessary conclusion is that Maupassant's works are all intuitive. But Croce is sceptic about Baudelaire's genius or even about Flaubert's art. Art, Croce insists, is pure form. But form or expression Croce warns us, must not be divorced from content, in order to "make of form itself a sort of lustfulness." This is something foisted upon the imaginative experience, and not vitally related with it. Real form is "internal form," one with the imaginative experience, or intuition, as Croce calls it. Flaubert has it not. Artistic form or expression never does dominate in Flaubert. That is a pity. There does Flaubert fail.

The same charge lies against Baudelaire. His poetry also seems to lack that purity of form. This is easily explicable. He has, as Croce says, other loves extraneous to the love of perfect form. These are his intellectuality and meditateness. From this standpoint Croce would discourage all communist poetry. This is dangerously near to the standpoint of Wilde and Pinero. But Croce is aware of such pitfalls. What saves Croce from the critics of "Art for Art's sake" school is his candour and sincerity. He insists not on facility but on the inwardness of art. Art must be organically con-

ceived, each part should be related to another by a spiritual urge which must be overriding. This unity is far away from the formal unity of the neo-classists.

Unity is made possible according to Croce by the synthetic personality of the poet. Intuition is eminently individual; yet arts have a universal appeal. In our ordinary selves, we are at war with each other. In our best selves we are one. Croce says that an art-work suffers only when the artist is expressing "a willed personality." Where there is no such "willed personality" we are no longer in the realm of interested advocacy or party politics; we are then in the realm of art.

What exactly is Croce's position in European Aesthetics? He thought little of the Romantic emphasis on content; this content tended towards wholly becoming imaginative and ephemeral. He gave even less importance to the pseudo-classical emphasis on Form, as did Pope or Flaubert. Croce's novelty lies in that he identifies the two, so that you cannot have any idea of the content without the Form, and the Form has little significance without that content. In this Croce is eminently Hellenic.

We would end this discussion with just a passing reference to some important aesthetic movements in England today. One is Alexander, the author of *Beauty and Other Forms of Value*. We have already referred to him. Another is Clive Bell. Alexander does not explain the process of artistic creation. He takes *Beauty* to mean just a formal disposition of parts. It is the pure expression of the artistic conscience. The poet, according to Alexander, must be disinterested; which is what Croce also demands. Bell's "significant form" is Croce's Expression. For Expression is not true expression unless it is significant. Alexander and Bell fix their attention on the work of art. For them, it exists in vacuo. But Croce looks at it from the artist's standpoint, from the moment of its first inception to the time of its final execution. Croce does not leave it there. He even analyses the nature of aesthetic enjoyment. The responsive reader in his enjoyment is as well a poet. As in aesthetic creation the poet is all-important, so in aesthetic enjoyment the reader stands very high in Croce's scheme. The reader must be well-equipped so that he may respond whole-heartedly to the poet's call. Croce does never discuss what this equipment may mean. This involves what I. A. Richards calls, a reorganisation of our mental make-up. This is a work for psychologists. Croce does not bother about these extra-territorial questions about art. He has no word to say about how best to secure this mobility of the mind. He never discusses how to purge the soul and attain the pre-requisite with which he always starts. That is a point of weakness in Croce's scheme. What he says comes to this. "Give me responsive minds; and I'll show you what this art-process means." Where to get responsive minds, the sceptic might ask.



## REFUGEE STATISTICS OF WEST BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.S.S. (Lond.), F. A. Econ. S. (Lond.)

Migration of Hindus from Eastern Bengal began soon after the Noakhali atrocities (October 1946) perpetrated by the Muhammadans under the leadership of Gholam Sarwar, with tacit approval of the League Ministry in power at Calcutta. The tempo increased after the Partition of India. On the other side of India, the Hindus and the Sikhs were massacred, looted and expelled wholesale from Western Pakistan. In Eastern Bengal the expulsion was not wholesale for fear of revenge by the Hindus in Calcutta. In the Calcutta riots, organised under the auspices of the League Ministry, at first, the Hindus suffered most, but Hindu retaliation mounted fast and surpassed the Muslim effort. Most of the Muslim leaders of *goondas* were killed and thus the sword-arm of the Muslims was broken. And Calcutta was the brain-centre, just then, of Muslim India. It was not merely the presence of Mahatma Gandhi at Calcutta which made the Muslims throw open the Nakhoda mosque to the Hindus and fraternise with them during the Independence week, but fear of retaliation at Bellaghatta and other places. As soon as the brains of Muslim India were peacefully removed out of Calcutta the oppression, slow but systematic, of the Hindus in Eastern Bengal began, and it has now intensified.

Refugees began to pour in West Bengal, especially to Calcutta. The East Bengal Government said the number of emigrants to be 2 lakhs; while some public men estimated the number to be some 30 lakhs. In this situation Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru suggested a census; and S. J. Kahitish Chandra Neogi came down to Calcutta in April 1948 and organised a survey of the Refugees. The task was entrusted to S. J. Nihar Chandra Chakravarty, the best man available to the West Bengal Government. He made a thorough enquiry in the summer of 1948, and finished by September 1948; and submitted the Report to the Government early in 1949.

But such is the hush-hush policy of our rulers, both Central and Provincial, that the Report and the Survey has not seen the light of the day in West Bengal. But the Report is somehow available in the Home Secretariat. It is said that during one of the many conferences between the Chief Secretaries of West Bengal and East Bengal, ten copies of that Report were given to the East Bengal Government. We have somehow secured one of those, and we have summarised some facts found by the Survey and publish them to draw public attention in the matter. Lastly we respectfully request the Government,

be it Central or Provincial, to publish it at an early date, and invite public discussion on the matter.

Let us now give the statistics with our interpretation of the same. We may be wrong, but the facts being there let the public judge for themselves.

The migration from Eastern Bengal began with the Noakhali atrocities and increased in volume after the Partition of India. Up to the time of the Survey the distribution of refugee population by period of migration is as follows:

TABLE I

No. of pre-partition migrants	1,71,248	12.8 per cent
No. of post-partition migrants	11,64,099	87.2 "

Total No. of persons in all  
refugee families living in  
W. Bengal during survey 13,35,347

Partition has produced an effect, which even the Noakhali atrocities failed to do.

The following table is almost self-explanatory. It shows the distribution of refugee families with reference to the number of families which have come in whole or part.

TABLE II

*No. of Refugee Families*

Wholly in West Bengal during survey	1,65,267	67.0 per cent
With part in Pakistan during survey	81,296	33.0 "
Total	2,46,563	100 "

Number of persons per refugee family living in West Bengal = 5.4. In 1941 the number of persons per house living in East Bengal was 5.75. This means that some portion of the family, especially helpless dependents have been left behind. See Table VI and our observations in this connection. The disproportion in sex cannot but be due to the fact that widows and women-folk have been left behind. It is not, merely that a portion of the family consisting of both males and females has been left behind to look after the family property and take care of the home.

In Table III is shown the distribution of Refugee families by community.

TABLE III

*No. of Families*

Caste Hindus	2,23,650	90.1 per cent
Scheduled Caste	22,394	8.1 "
Others	499	1.8 "
Muslims	80	.. "

In the natural population of Eastern Bengal, the composition of the Hindus according to the 1931 census was as follows:



Sub-castes	Per cent	Population in lakhs
Caste Hindus	35.7	41
Caste Muslims	40.1	43
Caste not returned	21.2	23
	100.0	

Even if we assume that half of those who have not returned their castes in 1941 are caste Hindus, their total would be 53 lakhs; of whom 12 lakhs have already migrated to West Bengal, i.e., more than one-fifth have come here. We wish the Survey had recorded castes of the migrants. 35 per cent of the Brahmins, 65 per cent of the Kayasthas and nearly 60 per cent of the Baidyas are in Eastern Bengal. So far as our experience goes these castes have moved to West Bengal almost wholesale, especially the Baidyas and Brahmins. Why this is so, we do not know and we should not hazard a guess.

Home Districts of Refugee and Direction of the movement is shown in Table IV below. As it would be tiresome to give details by administrative districts, we give below only an over-all picture.

From Division in Eastern Pakistan	TABLE IV Per cent movement to Divisions in West Bengal		
	(New) Presidency Div. South of Padma	Burdwan Division North of Padma	
Presidency Div.	88.0	2.1	9.9
Rajshahi Div.	42.7	47.1	10.2
Dacca Div.	77.8	8.2	14.0
Chittagong Div.	70.7	2.5	26.8

As 55.8 per cent and 14.7 per cent of the Refugees are found in Calcutta and 24-Parganas it would be interesting to note from which part of Eastern Pakistan they have come.

TABLE V  
Percentage distribution of Refugee families coming from each district of Eastern Pakistan and Western Pakistan. (i.e., percentage of all Refugees from the units found in—)

	24-Parganas	Calcutta	Total number of Refugee families from—
Kusthia	7.9	13.6	9,998
Jessore	29.9	38.0	16,310
Khulna	24.2	58.8	11,682
Rajshahi	6.1	18.6	2,938
East Dinajpur	0.1	2.3	3,069
Jalpaiguri	..	..	167
Rangpur	5.6	24.1	1,785
Bogra	10.3	38.0	1,077
Pabna	11.6	41.5	6,309
Maldah	12.1	5.6	277
Dacca	15.3	62.9	59,696
Mymensingh	15.9	42.3	11,199
Faridpur	14.7	67.1	41,364
Backerganj	17.7	59.9	27,508
Tipperah	15.7	60.2	14,327
Noakhali	7.5	42.8	15,869
Chittagong	11.4	68.4	5,520
C. H. Tracts	..	..	7
Sylhet	7.5	79.1	1,304
W. Punjab & Sind	5.4	59.0	569
Unknowns	7.7	44.8	504

It will be seen that the volume of immigration is greater from the districts of Dacca Division, and they are more concentrated in Calcutta. The cause of this fact should be enquired into.

The following Tables are self-explanatory; they reveal cross-sections of the social aspect of the Refugee problem.

TABLE VI  
Persons who have completed the age of 14 have been taken as Adults.

Male—		
Adult	4,49,648	33.7%
Child	2,69,651	20.2%
Female—		
Adult	3,60,670	27.0%
Child	2,55,378	19.1%
Total	13,35,347	100.0%

The sex-proportion is thus 856 females to 1000 males. In 1941 the sex-proportion in East Bengal was of the order of 929 among the Hindus. This means that widows and other helpless females have been left behind. This does not speak well of the Refugees, especially in view of the facts stated in Table XV and the systematic abduction of women in the past. The consequence of the migration of males has been increased in abductions in areas, where there was little, e.g., Kusthia.

TABLE VII Percentage of—			
Earners	..	..	29.9
Students	..	..	21.0
Others	..	..	49.1

TABLE VIII Distribution of Refugee population in West Bengal by academic qualification.	
Illiterate	4,10,872 (30.8%)
Literate up to Class X	7,90,426 (58.4%)
Matriculate and above but not graduate	1,12,783 (8.5%)
Graduate and above	25,620 (1.9%)
Other standard like Pandits, Astrologers, etc.	5,646 (0.4%)
	.. 100.0

In Table IX the distribution of Refugee earners or those employable by education is shown. This Table is more important than Table VIII. For while Table VIII shows that the cream (educationally and socially) of the Hindu population of Eastern Bengal is coming to West Bengal leaving the poorer and backward classes leaderless and more helpless, Table IX shows the number employable. If all of them are to be employed in Government and semi-Government bodies, like the Calcutta Corporation, then there will be no room for any genuine West Bengal candidates for years together to come.

West Bengal must grant (b) licenses to Sikhs; otherwise 'the strong man of India,' Sardar Patel, will accuse them of Provincialism. West Bengal must provide for the refugees, for that is pure 'Nationalism,' while Assam, Bihar and Orissa are free to drive out even the domiciled Bengalees. Calcutta Port Commissioners are to employ Sindhis and Rajagopalachariar's fellow provincials, for we are all Indians first and Bengalees last. So West Bengal must provide for all the Refugees, even though her own sons may starve! Has this aspect of the question been considered by the fortune-hunters of the Congress for the Ministry?

A Minister of the Suhrawardy Administration told us that 80 per cent of the Hindus employed under the United Government of Bengal came from Lord Mountbatten's 'notional' East Bengal (i.e., East Bengal before the Radcliffe award consisting of Muslim majority districts only); and all of them have opted out for West Bengal. We believe it to be true; we hope in the interests of West Bengal to be wrong. Will the West Bengal Ministry publish the truth, showing the number of Hindu and Muslim employees district by district. Will some Hindu West Bengal M.L.A. interpellate on the subject?

If the truth be anything approaching what we have heard the position of West Bengalees is deplorable indeed. It cannot be contended that East Bengal Hindus are superior to the West Bengal Hindus. Amongst religious leaders, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Rama Krishna Paramhansa Dev and Vivekananda are all West Bengallers; in the field of literature Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee are all West Bengallers; in politics Ram Gopal Ghosh, W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Subhas Chandra Bose are all West Bengallers; in law Sir Rash Behari Ghosh, 'the most brilliant product of British Themis on Indian soil', Sir S. P. Sinha (later on Lord Sinha), Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar are all Western Bengallers; as judges no country or community can show men like Dwarka Nath Mitter, Sir Gooroodas Banerjee and Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, all of whom are West Bengallers; in medicine West Bengal can show Dr. Goodeve Suriya Coomar Chakravarty, Dr. Mohendra Lal Sarkar and Sir Nilratan Sircar; in journalism there is Harish Mukherjee, Kali Prasanna Kabyavisharad and Ramapanda Chatterjee; in Engineering there is Nilmoney Mitter and Sir Rajendra Nath Mookerjee; in archaeology no one can compare with Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra or Rakhal Das Banerjee. We have confined ourselves to those who are dead only. We do not say that no East Bengaller was and is an eminent man; but what we do assert is that a West Bengaller is an equal of any Indian. Why then this paucity among Government servants? Since loyalty to the British and the consequent back-stairs influence are things of the past, a fullstop should be put to such things.

Table IX

Educational qualification	Employable refugees	
	No.	per cent
Illiterate	41,791	10.48
Literate	38,448	9.64
School education but under-Matric	2,08,722	51.09
Matriculates, Junior Cambridge, etc.	67,867	17.02
I.A., I.Sc., I.Com., Senior Cambridge, etc.	16,360	4.10
B.A., B.Sc., B.Com., etc.	14,127	3.52
M.A., M.Sc., etc.	2,455	0.62
Trained teachers (L.T., B.T., B.Ed., etc.)	863	0.22
Muktears, Pleaders, Bts., etc.	2,214	0.57
L.M.F., M.B., Kavirajas of some standing	1,371	0.34
Practising Medical practitioners of different schools not availed by L.M.F., M.B. or Kaviraja	2,642	0.67
Compounders, Nurses, Sanitary Inspectors, etc.	1,679	0.42
Accountants, Auditors, Stenographers, etc.	241	0.06
Electric, Motor, Civil and Mechanical Engineering, Survey and allied branches	3,047	0.76
Misc. Diploma and Certificates	784	0.20
No records	1,172	0.29
	3,98,781	100.0

The difference between Table VIII and Table IX is due to the fact that the former includes old and decrepit persons, retired pensioners, and women.

The following Table X is more important, showing the occupation of the Refugees after migration.

(See Table X)

Our comments on Table X are merely introductory; they cannot be, for want of other necessary materials, be helpful or analytical.

The numbers of service-holders in the three categories high, middle and petty services before migration were 2,386; 56,789; and 75,998 totalling 1,35,173. After migration the numbers of those who have secured services—high, middle and petty are 1,641; 50,103 and 1,05,808 totalling 1,57,552 an increase of 22,000! The number of those who were mainly unemployed before migration was 82,000; and after migration 1,37,000—an increase of 55,000.

Table XI shows the Distribution of Refugee earners by occupation before migration. "The occupational distribution shown (in this Table) clearly indicates the socio-economic status of the refugees. The following Table (XII) will show that by far the largest section of the refugees come from educated and semi-educated middle class families who were dependent not on land or manual work but mostly on business or profession," says the Report.

TABLE X  
Distribution of Refugee earners according to occupation before and after migration.

	Receivers	Supervisors	Calliculture	Other agriculture	Cottage and other industries and caste profession	Trade	Transport	Liberal arts and learned profession	High service	Middle service	Petty service	Unspecified	Total
Occupation before migration													
Rent Receiver	1,534	306	—	128	59	483	—	23	2	623	1,179	2,388	6,725
Agricultural Supervisor	136	2,149	42	355	303	3,090	—	116	—	551	3,764	7,115	17,821
Cultivator	107	48	2,795	728	637	545	—	2	67	133	3,341	3,319	31,723
Other agriculture	—	—	146	1,913	313	1,576	71	281	50	1,215	4,957	5,090	19,615
Cottage Industry and caste profession	194	90	95	134	19,335	983	21	94	—	123	5,039	9,254	35,361
Trade	351	645	307	379	1,600	36,700	8	613	110	2,121	10,204	22,817	75,653
Transport	—	—	96	—	2	46	109	—	—	—	415	138	601
Liberal arts and learned profession	99	132	46	42	403	488	—	7,547	4	482	972	7,344	17,359
High service	13	—	—	—	102	148	—	—	857	605	163	498	2,358
Middle service	147	136	25	113	44	1,957	—	290	384	3,607	7,368	10,243	53,789
Petty service	104	192	122	249	886	3,995	29	35	44	5,709	54,746	9,887	75,298
Unspecified (mainly unemployed)	15	—	—	91	1,422	4,830	50	50	123	2464	13,600	59,022	82,945
Total	2,700	3,698	3,674	4,132	25,105	54,842	288	9,669	1,641	50,103	105,808	137,120	298,781
Percentage	0.7	0.9	0.9	1.0	6.3	13.8	0.1	2.4	0.4	12.6	26.5	34.4	100.0

TABLE XI  
Distribution of Refugee earners by occupation before emigration

A. Agriculture—		
1. Rent Receivers		6,725
2. Farmers (Agri-supervisors)		17,821
3. Cultivators		11,723
4. Cultivators-cum-share-croppers-cum-agri-labourers		6,568
5. Other agriculture		9,044
	Sub-total	51,681
6. Agri. services		388
7. Farm servants		3,760
	Sub-total	4,098
	Total Agriculture	56,779
B. Cottage Industry—		
1. Mason		599
2. Tailors		22,227
3. House builders		836
4. Rice pounders		926
5. Cane and bamboo workers		318
6. Leather workers		28
7. Signboard writers, painters and photographers		289
	Sub-total	4,823
C. Cottage Industry as caste profession—		
1. Modak		188
2. Milkmen		999
3. Blacksmiths		928
4. Potters		2,082
5. Carpenters		2,984
6. Gold and Silversmiths		2,529
7. Weavers		7,793
	Sub-total	17,592
D. Caste profession—		
1. Washermen		298
2. Barbers		1,535
3. Fishermen		4,437
4. Priests		2,304
5. Others		6,897
	Sub-total	15,451
E. Industrial services—		
1. High service		58
2. Middle service		1,432
3. Skilled labour		547
4. Unskilled labour		266
	Sub-total	2,303
	Grand total of B, C, D and E	39,969
F. Learned professions—		
1. Priests (vide D 4)		
2. Allopath doctors with Degree or Diploma		896
3. Do without Degree or Diploma		1,288
4. Homeopaths, Kavirajs with Degree or Diploma		778
5. Do without Degree, Title, or Diploma		2,310
6. Other medical (Compounders, Nurses, Sanitary officers, etc.)		1,575
7. Trained teachers		853
8. Others		4,157
9. Practising Lawyers		1,894
10. High service		406
11. Medium service		1,594
12. Others		1,482
	Sub-total	37,395

**G. Trades—**

1. Moneylenders	418
2. Big business	5,159
3. Small business	64,793
4. Hawkers	1,452
5. Brokers	636
6. Business, service and others	3,518

Sub-total 75,966

**H. Transport—**

1. Boatmen, carters, etc.	517
2. Transport services	648
3. Other transport	62

Sub-total 1,227

**I. Services (not covered by services mentioned before)—**

1. Higher Grades	1,751
2. Medium services	52,764
3. Petty services	69,654
4. Domestic servants and others	1,771

Sub-total 1,25,940

**J. Unemployed**

82,345

Grand total from A to J 3,98,781

TABLE XII

*Distribution of Refugee earners by Socio-economic groups.*

A. Socio-economic groups	No. of earners	Percentage
Trade	75,966	19.05
Learned professions	17,555	4.40
High and Middle, Industrial services	1,490	0.37
Rent-receivers and agricultural supervisors	24,346	6.11
Agricultural services	338	0.09
Signboard writers, photographers, etc.	289	0.07
Gold and Silver-smiths	2,629	0.66
Priests	2,304	0.58
Transport services	648	0.16
Higher and medium services	54,515	13.67
50 per cent of persons holding petty services assumed as belonging to semi-educated middle-classes	34,827	8.73
Sub-total	2,14,907	53.89
B. All other classes	1,01,529	25.46
C. Unemployed	82,345	20.65
Total	3,98,781	100.0

In this connection, in order to appreciate the nature of migration, the facts shown in Table XIII will be useful. In that Table percentage distribution of refugee families is shown by the income they were earning during survey, from all sources including that from properties left in Pakistan.

"It should be seen from above that persons in Group A, who can be easily assumed to come from educated and semi-educated middle-classes, constitute a very large section of the refugee earners and consequently of the refugee population," says the Report.

We think to accommodate them. Muslim recruitment should be stopped and Scheduled Caste recruitment reduced all over India so that they may be gradually absorbed.

TABLE XIII

Percentage distribution of refugee families by per family and per capita income per month.

Income groups—	Income per head not exceeding Rs.	Per cent of Refugees in the group
Income per family		
Up to Rs. 50	9.25	31.5
Rs. 50 to Rs. 100	18.6	25.2
Rs. 100 to Rs. 150	27.84	14.8
Rs. 150 to Rs. 200	37.3	8.4
Rs. 200 to Rs. 300	55.5	9.1
Rs. 300 to Rs. 400	74.0	4.7
Rs. 400 to Rs. 500	92.6	2.3
Rs. 500 to Rs. 750	140.0	2.2
Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,000	185.2	0.8
Above Rs. 1,000	—	1.0

100.0

In the above, the income includes income derived from charity and help of relatives but does not make allowance for indirect help obtained by refugees by way of free food and accommodation by relatives. Even so, the position is alarming. And this was in the autumn of 1948. What the position now is, who knows?

It is not for mere fun that the Refugees have left their hearths and homes in Eastern Pakistan. The value of assets left by the Hindus and Sikhs in Western Pakistan has been calculated at Rs. 2,000 crores.

The assets left by the Refugees up to September 1948 is as follows :

TABLE XIV

No. of families	2,46,563	
Total land in acres	17,05,991	
	Rs.	Per cent of assets
Value of landed property		
in town	189,958,000	4.5
Business centre	180,917,000	4.3
Village	2,487,609,000	59.5
Total	2,858,484,000	68.3
Value of Other Assets		
House and Building	960,624,000	23.0
Furniture	99,578,000	2.4
Utensils	75,515,000	1.8
Ornaments	73,809,000	1.8
Domestic animals	34,551,000	0.8
Stock-in-trade	46,599,000	1.1
Appliances	7,857,000	0.2
Others	23,066,000	0.6
Total	Rs. 1,321,099,000	31.7

Grand total Rs. 4,179,583,000 100.0

The average per family assets left in Pakistan works out to Rs. 16,951. This means all the richer Hindus, especially the middle class Hindus have left Pakistan; and only those who cannot afford to leave it are there. The value of assets left by the Refugees in Eastern Pakistan up to the Survey is Rs. 418 crores. Since then there have been more migration; and more assets left by the Hindus.

The volume of Muslim migration to Western Pakistan is not inconsiderable; and the assets left by them are estimated at Rs. 500 crores. But the volume

of migration of Muslims from Western Bengal to Eastern Pakistan is very small. The total number of such Muslim families is 1963, of whom 958 are from Murshidabad; 448 from West Dinajpur and 331 from Calcutta. So far as the Murshidabad and Dinajpur Muslim emigrants are concerned we know them to be Bihar refugees settled there by the League Government.

The reason for migration of the Hindus has been tabulated in the following Table XV :

Reasons	TABLE XV Reasons for migration Percentage of refugees examined who gave reasons on the left as the—		
	1st reason	2nd reason	3rd reason
Desire to live outside Muslim sectarian state	3.0	4.0	2.5
Apprehension of riots and disturbances	7.0	10.0	8.0
Apprehension of loss of life and property	20.5	22.0	18.0
Apprehension of loss of means of livelihood	23.5	27.0	31.0
Apprehension of dishonour to women-folk	38.0	31.0	36.0
Apprehension of dishonour to religion	4.5	4.0	3.5
Apprehension of loss of culture	1.5	1.0	1.0
Other (opting out of Hindu officers, etc.)	2.0	1.0	..
	100.0	100.0	100.0

An idea of the plight of the refugees may be gathered from the following facts :

TABLE XVI Distribution of the Refugee families according to the types of residence they occupied during Survey	
Single types—	Percentage
Own house	7.3
Rented quarters	47.8
Mess and boarding	0.6
With relatives	9.5
Others	0.5
	65.7
Mixed types—	
Rented and relative	1.7
Rented and mess	1.9
Mess and relatives	0.3
Other combination	28.7
No record	1.7
	34.3
	100.0

TABLE XVII Extent of disintegration of Refugee families	
No. of families residing in—	Percentage
One place	60.9
Two places	31.5
Three places	5.9
More than three places	1.6

Even now 17.1 per cent of the Refugee families were willing to return to Pakistan if conditions improve; but 82.9 per cent were not willing to return at all. Why? Are they mere fortune-hunters; or are theirs some deeper cause or causes?

According to the Survey, the condition of the Refugees was as follows :

56.7 per cent were living in starvation condition.  
32.3 per cent were just carrying on somehow  
7.0 per cent were living above want  
4.0 per cent were living in comfort  
What were the proportions before migration? What is the economic condition of genuine West Bengallers? Are they much better placed?

The following Tables XVIII and XIX show why there is land-boom in Calcutta and suburban areas.

TABLE XVIII Distribution of Refugee families in West Bengal according to possession of landed property in India	
Percentage	No. of Refugee families—
Land purchased before partition of Bengal	3.5
Land purchased after partition of Bengal	13.2
No land purchased	83.3

Of the Refugees 33.7 per cent desire to settle in 24-Parganas and 26.3 per cent in Calcutta; 6.9 per cent in Nadia and 6.2 per cent in Burdwan.

The following Table XIX shows the types of Government help desired by them :

TABLE XIX Distribution of Refugee families by types of Government help desired by them	
(N.B.—The percentage numbers are not mutually exclusive as some families have in some cases asked for more than one kind of assistance)	

	Per cent
Land for household	61.0
Land for cultivation	18.8
Grant for house-building	33.3
Loan for house-building	7.9
Loan for trade	40.1
Loan for industry	0.3
Loan for profession	0.5
Grant for profession	1.0
Service or other help	32.6
No help	2.7

The fact that refugees require help does not mean that all of them are mere hangers-on. There are families who are willing to invest money; they require help and guidance from both our great leaders and the Governments, Central and Provincial. But all that our party-leaders are doing is to use them as political pawns in their scramble for power; or to exploit their misery in organising processions, etc.

The following Table XX shows the refugee families according to capacity of investment :

TABLE XX Capacity and Families willing to invest in—	
intention of investment	Trade Indus-try Profes-sion Other Total
Up to Rs. 500	7.3 0.1 0.1 7.2 14.7%
Rs. 501 to Rs. 1000	3.8 .. 0.0 3.5 7.3%
Rs. 1001 to Rs. 2000	2.6 0.0 0.0 2.6 5.2%
Rs. 2001 to Rs. 5000	2.7 .. 0.1 2.5 5.3%
Rs. 5001 and above	1.8 0.0 0.0 1.0 2.8%
	17.7 0.1 0.2 16.8 34.8%
No investment	65.2%

Total investment offered	
in lakhs	612 0.85 6 622 124085
Percentage	49.3 0.1 0.5 50.1 100.0

We stop here, and again urge the authorities to publish the Report entire. The Centre should be more generous to West Bengal.

# THE AFGHAN PEOPLE

By Prof. MANORANJAN CHAUDHURI, M.A.

"We don't want to annex any of the territory between the Durand line and the Indus. All we ask is that it should be free. It is Afghan territory; there were Afghans there in the days of Alexander the Great." These observations were made by the Afghan Ambassador to Britain, Sardar Faiz Khan. Consequent upon an agreement reached between the Amir and the British Government, the Durand line was created in 1895, separating about 55 million Pathans from the Afghan territory, an event that sowed the seed of the present Pak-Afghan dispute. Sir William P. Barton, who served as a political officer, in the foreign and political department of the Government of India, writes :

"In the country between the Indus and the Persian and Russian borders the predominant element in the population is Pathan or Afghan of Turko-Iranian origin, speaking a language more or less akin to Persian with a history, tradition, culture and religion remote from the currents of Indian, and especially of Hindu life."

In reality, the most important element in the population of the North-West Frontier Province is the Afghan—a fact which makes a strong case for the formation of Pathanistan in that area. Afghanistan furnishes a conspicuous example of the ethnic and linguistic diversity in Asia. Yet she has ever maintained her national solidarity amidst all chaos and calamities. An analysis of the different racial elements in the Afghan population will be attempted in the following lines.

The Afghans claim themselves to be Ben-i-Israel, (*Arabic*, children of Israel) and trace their descent from king Saul (whom they call by the Mahomedan corruption Talut) through a son to whom they ascribe the name of Jeremiah, who again had a son called Afghana. Only nine years after Prophet Muhammad's proclamation, the Afghans sent a deputation to Medina headed by Kais, a wise and holy man. All the members of this mission became zealous converts, and when they returned, they converted their own countrymen to Mahomedanism. From Kais and his three sons, the whole of the genuine Afghans claim descent. Early chroniclers of Afghanistan hold this view. The famous historian Ferishta also says that he has read that the Afghans descended from the captains of the race of Pharaoh. There are also other views.

With Ahmed Shah Durani's announcement of the independence of his State, the Afghans have styled themselves as Durani. It must be remembered in this connection that the term Afghan really applies to one section of the people though however it is the dominant section. They are principally inhabitants of Kandahar and the adjacent areas extending up to Seistan and to the border of the Herat valley. Eastward they spread across the Afghan border into the

Toba highlands, north of the Khojak, where they are represented by Achakzai and Sadotzai clans. They are found in the Kabul districts as Barakzais (the Amir's clan) and as Mahmundzai and Tusufzai. They occupy the hills north of the Kabul river, Bajnor, Swat Buner and part of the Peshawar plains. Different tribes in Afghanistan claim different origin, but on the Indian frontier any inhabitant of Afghanistan is known as Afghan.

The Pakhtuns or Pathans are the next dominant people in Afghanistan after the Afghans. They represent a variety of tribes and many of them are said to be of Indian origin. They dwell in the hilly regions along the British frontier. To the south of the Khyber and Peshawar, the highlands are occupied by the Afridi Jowaki and Orakzai clans. North of the Goinal, the Pathan hills are inhabited by the Toris of the Kurram, the Dawaris of Tochi and the Waziris of Waziristan. The Khattak and Bangush clans inhabit the Kohat district. Hence Pathans are found on both sides of the border. The Ghilzais are reckoned as Pathans, though they are also connected with the Afghans. They have however a distinct origin. They only claim ties of faith and affinity of language with other Afghan people. The Ghilzais are famous for their military strength, courage and commercial enterprise. Many Ghilzai chiefs are prominent Afghan leaders. They hold extensive sway over the trade between Ghazni and the Indian plains. They come down to the plains in the cold weather and return again to the hills before the summer-heat sets in. Angus Hamilton observes in his travel book on Afghanistan :

"During the winter months thousands of them circulate through the farthest districts of the Peninsula, where it not infrequently happens that they prove to be troublesome if not dangerous visitors."

"Underlying the predominant Afghan and Ghilzai elements in Afghan ethnography, there is the Tazik, who representing the original Persian possessors of the soil, still speaks his mother tongue."

There is no dearth of pure Persians in Afghanistan, such as the Kizil Bashis of Kabul and the Nao-shirwans of Kharan.

The Mongol Hazaras rank next in importance to the Tajiks. They speak a Persian dialect and belong to the Shiah sect of Mahomedans. They mainly live in the highlands of the upper Helmond valley, spreading through the country between Kabul and Herat as well as into a strip of territory on the frontier slopes of the Hindukush. In the western provinces they are known as Hazaras, and the same people are known as Jamshidis, Taimanis and Fezoskhois in other districts. They are, however, distinguished by the territory they occupy. Pure Mongolians as they are, they have, uninfluenced by their surroundings, retained their racial characteristics in full.

"In Afghan Turkistan, the Tazik is allied with the Uzbek and Turcoman, the chief Turcoman Tribes left to Afghan rule, being the Alieli of the Daolqta-

1. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated Calcutta, Friday, June 24, 1949.

2. *Geographical Magazine*, July, 1942

bad, Andkhui and the Ersaris of the Khwaja Salar section of the Oxus frontier. Originally robbers and raiders, they have now beaten their swords into plough-shares and concern themselves with agricultural pursuits."

An analysis of the different racial elements in the land will show that no other race in Afghanistan is identical in physical type, speech, religion, culture and political aspiration with the Afghans. The Duranis, the Ghilzais, the Wazirs, the Afridis, the Mongols, the Mohmands, and the Jusufrais—each represents a distinct community and separate interest. Ahmad Shah Durani endeavoured to give a national importance to his tribe and called the inhabitants of the land "Bar-Duranis." His attempts to seek unity in ideology amidst diversity of racial elements succeeded in this sense that despite repeated foreign aggressions the people of Afghanistan have maintained their distinct culture, distinct superiority and distinct individuality.

The Afghan has a fine figure, aquiline nose and fair complexion. Hospitable in nature, the Afghan is smiling and courteous to his guests. He is every inch a soldier. Though sober and stern, sometimes he is very cruel. The cultivators are skilled irrigators and

the Ghilzais are specially skilled in building underground water channels (Karez). The Afghans live mainly in villages. Generally they leave the cottage industry in the hands of the subject races. Afghanistan is a stronghold of Islam, majority of the people belonging to the Sunni sect, others are Shi'as. The Kaluts are non-Mohammedans living in Kafiristan.

The official language of Afghanistan is Persian, which is also the vernacular of the people living west of the Helmond. Pushtu is spoken mainly by the people towards the east. People in the north speak in Turki also. The Afghans have a rich literature. The oldest treatise is written in Pushtu about the conquest of Shakt Mahi, a chief of the Yusufrais. Kaju Khan became the chief of the clan in 1491. During his reign Bunni and Panj Kora were completely conquered and he wrote a history of the same. Of all the Afghan poets Abdur Rahman who lived in the 17th century, is the best-known poet among scholars outside Afghanistan. Khusal Khan is another poet who flourished in the times of Aurangzeb.

Afghanistan furnishes a bright example of a State, strong and united, despite wide ethnic differences.

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## PATHANS AND PATHANISTHAN

By JYOTIRMOY ROY

THE Pathans, inhabiting a region where meet the three great cultures of Asia—Indian, Iranian and Chinese, constitute a basic racial stock by themselves. They spread over an area bounded by Soviet Russia on the north, China and Kashmir on the north-east, Afghanistan and Iran on the west, and Pakistan of which it forms a part on the south. Sir Mortimer Durand divided the land in 1893 between Afghanistan and India by drawing an irregular line, called the Durand line which still forms the international frontier. A common culture and Pushtu language maintain the fundamental unity of the race living under two different authorities. Of the 7 millions of Pathans more than 3 millions live on the side of Pakistan and the rest remain on the other side of the Durand line. The Afridis, Mahauds, Wazirs and Mahsuds are the major Pathan groups dwelling within the territory of Pakistan. The general characteristic of the race is that they are intensely freedom-loving and hate any kind of subjection. Hence the British sovereignty over this area was only nominal. Sir George Cunningham, the latest British Governor of the North-West Frontier Province, says :

"Our task during the British rule in dealing with the independent tribes was largely just a matter of making personal contacts and friendship with individual tribesmen, of encouraging them trading with settled districts, of giving them education and medical help whenever they would accept it, and settling their private and tribal disputes."

In spite of all efforts on the part of the British to make friendship with these freedom-loving Pathans, they were extremely anti-British. In 1919 when Afghanistan attacked India some tribes gave support to the Afghan

army. In Waziristan this support continued for 2 or 3 years.

The Afridis and Wazirs played a great part in the non-cooperation movement in 1930 when tragic incidents at Peshawar and other districts caused much excitement among these people. They avenged the blood of the non-violent resisters by attacking military outposts and other strategic places. In the negotiations for peace they demanded the release of Badshah Khan and Gandhiji.

Due to religious grounds and extreme anti-British feelings Pathans look favourably to Afghanistan. Many individuals on the eastern side of the Durand line always "maintain connection with the Afghan authority" and they take pride in it. But this pro-Afghan feeling does not mean that they prefer Afghan sovereignty. On several occasions they resented and resisted Afghan intervention.

### DEMAND FOR PATHANISTHAN

The voice for an autonomous Pushtu speaking land was first raised in May 1947 by the Red Shirt leader Badsha Khan. The idea could not materialise due to the formation of Pakistan in the next August (1947). In July 1947, while the transfer of power was being prepared the Afghan Government laid claim to a major part of the territory between the Durand line and the Indus on the ground that it was not British but Afghan. Pakistan opposed this and claimed the area herself. The dispute over the area has not yet met with a satisfactory solution. The Afghan territorial claim beyond the Durand line has been replaced by the demand for an independent Pathanistan. Afghanistan's



permanent delegate to the United Nations, Sardar Abdul Hamid Khan Aziz said :

"Pathans of the tribal area and the North-West Frontier Province were racially, culturally and by language a completely different political entity from the rest of Pakistan. They have always been independent and have recently raised the flag of free Pakhtunistan. They are quite capable of leading an independent existence."

The Afghan Government is actively sympathetic towards their demand for a Pathanistan. It has been declared by the Afghan Parliament that Afghanistan does not recognise the Durand line and the agreements or pacts concerning the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent made with Britain as the British had left India. Reports from Karachi said that Afghanistan had moved two divisions of infantry and some of its air force to a place on the Pak-Afghan border. It is also stated that men of a particular age group have been called up to give moral support to anti-Pakistan activities on the Pakistan side of the Durand line.

It is often argued by the Pakistan Government that the Pathans during the time of the formation of Pakistan declared their intention to remain within Pakistan and hence the demand for a free Pathanistan has no real ground. Sir George Cunningham, former British Governor of the North-West Frontier Province, toured the tribal territory and interviewed the jirgas of all the big tribes. In his own words :

"Without exception they stated that they were part of Pakistan. This agreement was ratified by the Pakistan Government and has been re-affirmed by both the parties."

But Kabul objected to such agreement, which in their opinion was "brought about by economic force" and "does not represent the free will of the tribes concerned."

It is relevant to note that the Afghan policy towards the Pathans is not wholly a disinterested one. The late King Nadir Shah of the present Afghan dynasty owed his success to tribal support from both sides of the Durand line when he was fighting for the throne against Bacccha Sagao in 1930. Henceforth the stability of the throne depends largely on continued support of all the Pathans. This is why the present king Nahir Shah and his advisers are concerned to strengthen the ties that bind them and their blood brothers. That is why in the tribal territory, they want to see an autonomous state of Pathanistan.

The attitude of Pakistan is very stiff regarding the formation of "Pathanistan." J. C. Kumarappa, commissioned by the Congress before partition after a thorough investigation found traces of gold, silver, iron, coal, sulphur, lead, antimony, copper, nitre ores and oil in this tribal area. Hence Pakistan cannot so easily yield to part with a territory so rich in mineral resources.

The movement for Pathanistan has caused much tension between the Pakistan and the Afghan Governments. Pakistan also is not sitting idle. Recently Kabul Radio accused Pakistan planes for having dropped bombs within

the Afghan territory. The matter after investigation by a joint Pak-Afghan Commission has been found to be true and the Pakistan Government has agreed to compensate the damage caused by bombing.

We possess a very meagre information regarding the real attitude of the Pathans towards the formation of a Pathan State. The situation represented by the press seems to us to be a game between Pakistan and Afghanistan. For the Pathans have no organ to focus their feelings. The popular leaders like Badshah Khan who first raised the demand were thrown inside the prison bars by the Pakistan Government immediately after the formation of Pakistan. The Fakir of Ipi, the leader of the Wazirs, always challenged the British authorities in the frontier and fought in support of the Indian Nationalist forces. It is heard that the Fakir is opposed to the present Pakistan Government because according to him Pakistan finds its strength in Britain and is following the same British policy regarding the frontier. The official Afghan agency has recently claimed that

"A number of Mahks and Khans in the tribal area of Bajaur lying between Pakistan and Afghanistan have hoisted the flags of independent Pakhtunistan on their residences and declared themselves independent."

Though we may or may not believe in these reports, it is a fact even admitted by the British rulers that the Pathans led in fact an independent way of life and the occupying power had no control over them. This is a sufficient argument against those who are pretending to assume the guardian's role over this tribal territory.

The division of the Pusta-speaking people between Afghanistan and British India on the basis of the Durand line was arbitrary and absolutely devoid of any principle. Both geography and culture favour the formation of a separate Pathanistan. But in that case also the will of the people is the most important factor to receive first consideration. If a separate state of Pakistan could be formed by the division of India according to the will of the followers of the Muslim League then there is not much reason in resisting the formation of an autonomous Pathan State if demanded by the majority of the tribesmen in the tribal area.

The tension over this issue between Afghanistan and Pakistan is daily mounting. The matter is very delicate and should be carefully handled in time before it comes to a breaking point. Further delay may add undesirable complications. Russia will not leave this opportunity of applying her method of peaceful penetration in this tribal zone very near to her boundary. Any way there is no reason to keep the same Afghan people divided under two different authorities. If the Pathans want to remain free, then there is no justification on whatever ground to deny it to them. But if after a thorough investigation of all facts it is found that they are unable to form and conduct the affairs of a Government without any assistance then the guidance of the U.N.O should be more welcome than of any other individual power.

# THE ECONOMICS OF FOOD SUFFICIENCY

By S. K. DEY,

*Secretary to the West Bengal Government, Agriculture and Irrigation Department*

THERE is danger in being too close to a problem. The larger setting in which it occurs may escape the view and the right solution thus evade the understanding. The pressure of mounting demand on food supplies is acute and urgent enough in all conscience. There is also sudden awareness of the threat of early cessation of foreign assistance. A frantic search for desperate expedients to make good the estimated deficit is only natural under the circumstances. Such an attitude may, however, easily lead to a neglect of basic issues, and by confining action to superficial measures, which do not touch the roots of the problem, pile up only greater difficulties in the end.

It is by persistent refusal to face and tackle fundamental defects of our economic situation that we have arrived at our present state. The shortage of elemental necessities we are now experiencing is by no means a bolt from the blue. It was and could have been foreseen a long time ago. It is the extreme manifestation of our growing poverty. It would be misleading, therefore, to think of the food problem in isolation. In a deep and significant sense, there is no food problem, nor an agricultural problem, nor the problem of industrial development. There is only the general problem of poverty, arising out of economic backwardness, of which these are particular aspects, fully intelligible and tractable only when treated as parts of the whole.

We shall perceive this truth if we pursue the solution of our particular crisis with logical consistency to the end.

The tasks of increased food production, as well as the measures required for their accomplishment, can be most profitably grouped under three separate categories. These, in the order in which they appear to the view, may be conveniently described as technological, organisational and psychological.

Technological shortcomings in our cultivation process leap most prominently to the eye. The considerably higher yield of crops achieved in other countries requires no substantiation by a parade of statistics. This is ascribed to intensive exploitation of land through the more elaborate use of scientific aids to field labour. Pedigree seeds, controlled water supply, copious manuring or application of chemical ingredients to the soil and the use of mechanical equipment are the four main props of this programme, which commands universal advocacy and is pressed with particular vehemence by technicians and scientific experts. The introduction of these measures would result demonstrably and directly in a rise in the soil's yield. Still they do not gain wide currency. Since it would be contrary to democratic profession to ascribe this to any perversity on the part of cultivators, the fault is believed to lie with the administrative department of Government in charge of agricultural improvement. There is a great deal of talk of overhaul of the Extension

Service for this reason, because this is the branch of administration responsible for securing the acceptance by actual producers of the results of technical research.

The Extension Service of the State Agriculture Department is undoubtedly far from perfect. Yet the fundamental reason for the lack of spread of improved technique does not lie in its deficiency. Two concrete instances will illustrate the point.

## CONTROLLED WATER SUPPLY

The largest single factor responsible for a satisfactory crop outturn is timely and assured supply of water in adequate quantity. Absence of this facility must nullify the benefits derivable from all other ingredients of good crop husbandry, such as quality seeds, rich manures and efficient implements, however excellent these may be. In a considerable measure the explanation of the poor results obtained from the services and supplies distributed under the Grow More Food campaign must be traced to this defect in our farming technology. When it is remembered that no more than thirteen per cent of the cropped area in West Bengal is served by artificial sources of irrigation, it will be clear how the yield obtained in the vaster area depending entirely on the monsoon must influence the total harvest figures and completely blot out of the final picture any achievement which may have been registered in the area of assured water supply. Do what we will, our production continues to depend overwhelmingly upon the caprices of nature.

The greatest stress in any technical plan for improved farming is for this reason rightly laid on the provision of controlled water supply through installation of artificial irrigation and drainage. It is worth noting that most of the projects proposed or executed do not ensure any independence of monsoon supplies. It is only the necessarily few long-term schemes of dam construction which aim at the impounding of monsoon rainfall for gradual release according to seasonal requirement. Most schemes, large and small, have to be content with the wider distribution of whatever rainfall occurs in a period by taking it to fields beyond the reach of the natural water courses carrying this rainfall down. They are of limited value for this reason, although their importance to *kharif* crops is not negligible, particularly in years of uneven monsoon.

## CULTIVATORS UNWILLING TO PAY

It will seem obvious that these installations ought to be extended to cover the entire cropped area. Yet the extension programme meets with increasing resistance, in that the users are less and less prepared to pay the full price for this service. It is calculated that the cost of providing water to one acre of land at present rates of labour and material would vary from about Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 according to the nature of the ground and

the type of installation set up. At present-day agricultural prices the value of the extra production attributable directly to this water supply would more than meet its cost. But to the individual producer, whose farming unit is of very small size, the actual amount of profit arising from this difference does not appear to be substantial enough to act as a sufficient incentive. Where the supply is of *kharij* irrigation only, the effective demand is still less, because the full value is realised only in years of bad rainfall.

In these circumstances irrigation is being provided either free of charge, or at a price which does not cover its full cost. That means it is being paid for, wholly or in part, out of the wealth produced by non-agricultural industry. There is no help for it in the present situation when we have to raise food at any cost. But this state of affairs cannot continue for long without serious detriment to the entire economy. Agriculture is our basic enterprise and the natural course of progress is to build up non-agricultural industry with the surplus from agricultural production. To sustain our primary enterprise with subsidies is to reverse this process, leading to wholesale economic retrogression.

The same difficulty arises in the case of the use of chemical fertilisers. Without entering now into the technical controversy about their ultimate effects on the soil, it may be noted for the present discussion that their application, preferably in certain admixtures with organic manure, is a recognised means of effecting quick increase in crop production. A maund of ammonium sulphate, which is the most widely known of these products, is stated to raise the yield of paddy by two maunds. The cost price of a maund of this fertiliser at the selling centre is calculated to be Rs. 14, while the controlled price at which the extra paddy obtained from its use can be sold is Rs. 15. This margin of profit becomes much less when the cost of transport of the fertiliser to the actual field and of the labour involved in harvesting the extra production are taken into account. The consequence is that, with the decision to charge the full cost to the cultivator from the current year, the sale of this product has suffered a drastic decline and the question of resuming subsidised sales has had to be reopened again.

#### FARM REORGANIZATION AND USE OF TECHNOLOGY

It would be easy to multiply instances and demonstrate that the same considerations hold good in respect of most, if not all, of the measures advocated for improving the technological level of our agricultural practices. The same problem is also encountered in current attempts to reclaim waste lands for cultivation. These lands lie beyond the margin of profitable cultivation under the existing organisation of the cultivation process. Their exploitation must involve a large capital outlay. In a different way, the more intensive working of lands already under cultivation would also imply a larger capital outlay. Such outlay would pay for itself for the present on account of the steep rise

in the demand for agricultural produce. But there are signs of a fall in the world grains market; and even neglecting that prospect, the net return from the extra outlay to the individual producer is too slight to act as a tangible incentive to expansion in spite of the present favourable market.

An increase in capital outlay in production is economically justified only when it leads to a net fall in production cost per unit of output. This can be possible only by increasing the output of each unit of production. This means, in the present instance, that the condition under which the margin of both intensive and extensive cultivation can be pushed forward further today is by enlarging the scale of farming operations. This is a problem of organisation and not of technology. Improvement in agricultural technique must undoubtedly be the direct and immediate cause of increase in productivity. But the minute scale in which production is carried on at present is not suited to the application of the desired improvement in technique. This can be accommodated only in a larger framework. Logically, the organisational solution must be found first, and only then can technological reform be introduced with any chance of permanent success.

#### POPULATION INCREASE AND AGRICULTURE

The present petty scale of farming is the result of the dependence of an increasing population on agriculture as their sole means of livelihood. Any attempt at increasing the size of the farming unit must come up against the problem of relieving the overcrowding on land by finding alternative occupation for a large percentage of these people. Thus the improvement of agriculture is conditional on the expansion of non-agricultural industry and the increase in employment opportunities in such industry. At the same time, industry cannot expand unless agriculture provides it with an increasing surplus of production beyond what is consumed as food, for use as raw material for processing, no less than as wealth against which its own products can exchange. Progress in the two major spheres of the economy is thus closely linked and can proceed only as parallel and complementary processes.

The problem of food sufficiency must be viewed in this perspective. That problem cannot be solved by aiming to produce only what is required for food. There must be an increasing surplus over consumption<sup>1</sup> out of which industry can be built, which will, by absorption of the excess labour in agriculture, make room for agricultural expansion itself. What is required is the release of the productive forces generally, an extension of the frontiers of the economy in every direction.

The pressure of population on our immediately available resources complicates this task. Over-population is a relative concept depending on the organisation of the economy prevailing in a country at any time. Whatever our potential resources—and we are far from possessing any reliable inventory of the same—the incapacity of our existing productive system

to sustain the present population on a civilised level can scarcely admit questioning. It can be also seen that agricultural improvement, which must be the starting point of economic expansion, demands a net retrenchment of the labour engaged in this enterprise at present. Another significant fact to be borne in mind in this connection is that modern mechanised industry, which offers the best hope for rapid expansion of wealth, provides relatively little scope for employment of labour, compared to the vast capital investment required. And the main source of this capital must be the meagre surplus from our present production.

The pattern of economic expansion has to be planned with a clear appreciation of these basic limitations. It is evident that, for some time to come, we cannot aspire to the level of efficiency and wealth production achieved in the industrially advanced countries. We should refuse to be dazzled by that vision in laying the foundations of our own advance. This means that the pace of technological improvement in agriculture must be slow at the start, so that the displacement of labour may not be too rapid and too large. It means the scope of mechanised farming will be negligible. It means that industrial expansion will have to be geared closely to farming reorganisation and the composition of new undertakings will have to find room for more labour and less capital.

#### DECENTRALIZATION INEVITABLE AT PRESENT

The type of reorganisation which follows from this argument is one that is suited to the complementary planning of agriculture and industry on the basis of local, territorial units. Decentralized planning on the basis of local groups is incumbent for two reasons. The first of these is technical and economic. The industrial expansion required for the specific purpose of reviving agriculture has to be organized on a small and medium scale at multiple rural centres if it is to keep step with the prevailing conditions of labour and capital supply. There is a second and no less compelling reason. There is no other way of harnessing the enthusiasm of the people themselves. This is where we have to take stock of the mental climate and come up against the psychological task.

The urge to reorganise the economy has to be borne among the people themselves who are the primary producers, without whose initiative no forward move can be possible. There is an alarming atrophy of incentive paralysing production in the countryside. This is responsible for the cultivators' indifference to advice and propaganda and even to the few chances which are offered for their improvement. It gives rise to the paradox of shortage of agricultural labour prevailing in the midst of overcrowding on land. This explains the neglect of the cultivator to put forth greater exertion and bring every inch of land under production notwithstanding the advantage offered by a rising market for his product. It leads to inelastic conditions of agricultural supply.

#### THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

This inertia of the will represents a moral and psychological problem which one can hope to tackle only by holding out the promise of a complete transformation of the villager's life, in terms which are not vague, general and remote, but concrete, specific and well within his grasp and means. The disparity between the minimum requirements of civilised living and his present subhuman existence appears to be too large for him to feel enthusiastic over fractional remedies and partial reforms.

The voluntary association of villagers for the improvement of the entire economy of their area through their own joint efforts would be a practicable enterprise; and such a programme could capture their imagination and enthusiasm if held out with sufficient vividness, concreteness and confidence. Our people are basically not different from other human beings. Only through chronic adversity they have sunk into a submerged twilight state from which they can be roused into complete consciousness and capacity for normal response only by a sharp and powerful stimulus. The offer of minute concessions here and there cannot serve this purpose. It is only the integral picture of a radical change in the totality of their living conditions which can kindle their active interest. The start would be difficult, there would have to be sustained educative work carried out with missionary zeal, progress in the beginning would be slow. But every gain would be secure in the steadily growing stature of the human participants and there would be gathering momentum in pursuit of a greater fulness of life.

Such a pattern of organisation could undertake the efficient utilisation of land in larger units through the joint enterprise of the people subsisting on it now and build up its industrial complement with the surplus arising out of the increased production. The industrial sector, in its turn, would generate its own surplus, create new wealth and employment and sustain further agricultural expansion. The perspective is not limited to the closed economy of the self-sufficient village. Expanding circles of prosperity and capital accumulation starting from multiple centres of local effort would meet and set up new organisations covering wider spheres with corresponding growth in the complexity of their economic structure.

#### PRODUCERS TO GET INTERESTED

It would be a mistake to characterise the present analysis and proposal as possessing only a long-term significance with little or no relevance to the pressing problem of achieving self-sufficiency in food by 1951. If the logic of the argument is sound, it has as much validity in the present as in the future. It has, moreover, a practical bearing on the measures requiring to be taken immediately. There is no suggestion for postponement of action. By taking a long view of the problem and setting it out in its complete perspective it lays down the correct basis for action here and now.

The argument points out, what must be a fairly obvious fact, that schemes for increased food production cannot yield concrete results unless the growers in the fields take up their execution with genuine enthusiasm. It suggests that this enthusiasm will not be forthcoming by advocacy of piecemeal measures promising isolated gains of infinitesimal magnitude to the individual petty producers; that their imagination could be captured only by showing them the way to a wholesale transformation of their entire living condition; that such transformation was within the bounds of practical achievement through the concerted efforts of local groups; that it is by joint action of such groups alone that the maximum value of technological measures can be realised and tangible gains secured for sustained progress.

The practical conclusion which follows from this is that the organisation of joint enterprise of local groups for the planned development of their areas should receive the first priority in the food production plan. There is no other sure way of attaining even the limited target of food sufficiency we have set ourselves in the immediate future. This does not mean that action on other fronts is to be suspended or even relaxed. Propagation of improved seeds, extension of irrigation facilities, use of fertilisers and manures, application of efficient equipment and reclamation of cultivable wastes have to be proceeded with. But these measures must be planned in the context of joint local undertakings if they are to produce assured results.\*

\* The paper was read at the Symposium on Food and Population held at the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, on the 16th July, 1949.

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## MUSCAT—AN INDIAN SETTLEMENT IN ARABIA

By "ART-LOVER"

WITH the attainment of Independence the foreign Indian settlements become of increasing importance to India and one of the nearest and largest Indian colonies is the State of Muscat on the Oman Coast of Arabia, at the entrance to the Persian Gulf.

Muscat's political stature is very ambiguous but it is an independent State ruled by the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. There was a French Consulate there before the War, but the British Consulate, which also represented Government of India, has always had substantial influence in the administration of the State. Though the Sultan recognises the British Representative there only as a Consul, the latter has been known as a Political Agent and has been looking after the interests of the British subjects there. The Consulate, which was under the Government of India, External Affairs Department, during the British regime, with an Indian political service officer in charge, has, I understand, since been handed over to His Majesty's Government.

Muscat is about 500 miles from Karachi and can be reached by sea or air. The Bombay-Basrah steamer lines touch Muscat harbour. The State is mainly deserty and practically the major portion of the territory is not under any administration. The main ports on the seacoast where *dhaus* and countrycraft from India, East Africa, etc., arrive, are controlled by the Muscat Government. The only town in the State, of any significance, is the capital, Muscat. The total population of the State may not exceed a couple of lakhs. The town of Muscat has a population of about 10,000, mainly Arabs and Indians. The commerce is mostly in the hands of the Gujarati Hindus from Bombay province and a few Sindhis. There are also some leading Arab merchants, Britain's chief interests there are only in the Royal Air Force aerodromes in Masisan and Ras-al-Hadd in the South-East Coast of the State. Even the contracts for labour and materials for these aerodromes are controlled by Indian businessmen. There is

an American Christian Mission which has been functioning there for some years and have been, I was told, able to convert a two-digit figure so far! The mission maintains an excellent hospital which conducts a great social service. There is also a free dispensary run by the British Political Office.

Muscat has always depended on India for all its supplies of food, cloth and other essential commodities though before war, there were regular imports from Japan and other foreign countries. The Princes of Muscat as well as the wealthy citizens have had their education only in India.

Muscat has perhaps one of the world's worst climates and in summer the temperature goes up very high and the hot breeze reflected from the rocky hills makes it a real cauldron. But it has a beautiful natural harbour surrounded by rocky mountains. The steamers could come within a few yards off the shore, but the beauty of the harbour was tarnished by SS. *Dakpa*, which was torpedoed within the harbour by a Japanese submarine during the war. Properly handled this could become an excellent harbour and commercial base at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. During summer practically no vegetables are available there, but it is an interesting feature that the majority of Indian settlers there are strict vegetarian Brahmmins. Water scarcity is naturally acute in summer. The town of Muscat is electrified, but has no conveyance system whatsoever!

Drinking in public is prohibited in Muscat State and the Arab citizens are not legally permitted to touch liquor. Theft and crimes are practically non-existent in Muscat town and there is a permanent curfew order which prohibits anyone coming out without an oil lamp after three hours after sun-set. The law is very strict with crimes. There is a Post Office, which till recently used to function under the Indian Postal Department. The Governmental machinery is very loose and indefinite. The departments which function on an

administrative model are only, perhaps, the Customs and the Police.

There are two temples at Muscat which are regularly attended by the men and women of the Hindu community. There is also a Gujarati school and a Gymkhana run by the Indian traders. There is no cinema or any other type of entertainment. The sailors from *dhaus* and countrycraft spend their nights singing and dancing, which might perhaps have the appeal of a folk-dance to an Uday Shankar. The Arab women observe strict purdah.

Muscat's exports are dates and fish, which have a good market. But her industrial possibilities are yet to be investigated. The currency is only the Indian rupee, but actually the exchange is conducted through the medium of what are called "Maria Theresa Dollars". They have a history behind them and are made of pure silver with the impression of the Queen Maria Theresa on them. The exchange value of the dollar

fluctuates with the price of silver in India and Iran, and the availability of the dollar in the market. The cost of materials in the market in terms of the rupee also fluctuates very much. Speculation on dollars is also an important business. The Government of India had a Treasury at Muscat, for the sake of the Indian merchants, since there are no banking facilities there.

The Arabs of Muscat are mostly uneducated and unenriched, but are very hospitable to Indians. The two communities live in perfect harmony. The Indian settlers there have wide commercial and financial interests there and as the nearest Arabian port to India, it has great strategic significance. Muscat has had close ties with India for many centuries and even for any new enterprises to be started in Muscat State, the assistance of personnel from India and Pakistan will have to be called for. Perhaps before long the External Affairs Ministry may appoint a representative to look after the interests of the Indians in Muscat.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto be answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

### ENGLISH

**GANDHIANA** (A Bibliography of Gandhian literature) : Compiled by P. G. Deshpande. Navajivan Publishing House, Post Box 105, Ahmedabad November 1948. Pp. 7+xiii+280. Price Rs 3-4.

A good beginning has been made by bringing together the names of books in Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Urdu, Kannad, Sanskrit, Sindhi and English written by and on Mahatma Gandhi. Naturally, it does not pretend to be exhaustive; and it will take some time before a more comprehensive bibliography can be prepared. It is, however, a useful book, and will prove indispensable for those who have to deal with Gandhism.

There is one point however which the reviewer would like to point out. It would have been good if a very brief idea could be given of the content of the book or article referred to. This has casually been tried, but a more uniform practice would prove helpful. Secondly, it is not necessary to give vent to the feelings of the compiler as has been done occasionally. One should be able to record the views of any author, whether friendly or hostile, in a dispassionate spirit.

**HOMAGE TO MAHATMA GANDHI** : *All-India Radio*. Price Re. 1.

An admirably printed collection of the speeches which were broadcast by the All-India Radio on the death of the Father of the Nation. They cover the speeches of the Prime Minister, the Governor-General, Devadas Gandhi, Horace Alexander and many others. It is a treasure which many would like to preserve.

**EXCAVATIONS AT BANGARH (1938-41)** : By Kunja Gobinda Goswami, M.A. *Asutosh Museum Memoirs No. 1, University of Calcutta, 1948. Pp. ix+42 with one map and thirty-three plates.*

The University of Calcutta undertook the task of excavating the ruins of Bangarh in the Dinajpur district; and the present memoir is a report of the work actually done during the period 1933 to 1941.

The earliest stratum laid bare is presumably of the Maurya or the early Sunga period, while the latest belongs to the late Mohammedan period till which time the site seems to have been in occupation. The excavation is thus of special interest and significance, as it reveals a facet of the earliest history of Bengal, of which so little is actually known.

The work has been done with care, and the Director has not hesitated to state where his evidence is insufficient. Plans and sections have been executed satisfactorily; but, we believe, the printing of the half-tone blocks might have been improved to a certain extent.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**TO THE ISLES OF SPICE WITH FRANK CLUNE** : *Thacker and Co., Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 7-14.*

Mr. Frank Clune is not only an explorer himself, but he has been a lover of works of exploration written by eminent travellers in the past. He has a critical and observing eye, and whenever he observes something worth noting, he jots it down for comparison with his own native land—Australia. The comparisons

may or may not be favourable to the land of his birth, but that does not matter. He is a realist, and he tests the idealism of other people, his countrymen not excluded, by shrewd observation. He has an eye for beauty and a love for mankind, and the book has become the richer for many photographic reproductions, the number of illustrations coming up to 32.

Java, Borneo, Celebes, Indo-China, Cambodia and Bali—the “Isles of Spice” have been a veritable hunting ground for men and women from all quarters of the globe, and for diverse reasons.

Mr. Clune takes a more detached view. He is justified in describing his book as a “kaleidoscopic synopsis of the geo-ethno-historio-travelography of Indonesia and Australasia,” because his interests are not narrow. The amount of information packed in the book proves the right sort of sequel to the remarks from Dr. Johnson which preface the contents: “The world is not now contented to be merely entertained by a traveller’s narrative. They want to learn something.” It will be a useful addition to the libraries.

P. R. SEN

**THE MOST CIVILIZED PEOPLE IN EUROPE:** By Hamilton Fyfe. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Ruskin House, London W.C.1. Pp. 102. Price 3s. 6d.

The book has made its appearance at a most opportune time. It shows how German-speaking, French-speaking and Italian-speaking Europeans can live under the same State without feeling the strains and stresses born of different historic memories, of differences in culture-forms and their varied expressions. The existence of such a State in the heart of Europe is an argument that strengthens faith in the sanity of human nature.

The writer has taken us through a history that was broken up by dynastic ambitions, and religious conflicts that ushered in the Reformation. Even during the French Revolutionary wars, Switzerland was not free from the intrusions of foreign Powers. But the Congress of Vienna (1815-16) declared the country independent and “guaranteed its neutrality.” We would have liked to be told the reasons of this monarchical wisdom. It could not have been idealism only.

The solution of Federation in which this country has found safety had a longer tradition than since September 12, 1848 when the present Charter was accepted by popular votes. But it has been a miracle that these three peoples could co-operate to set it up and continue their co-operation during the Italian war of independence, during the Franco-German war, during the two world wars that we have been witnesses to. The secret of this success is “Good Sense” as the writer characterizes the quality in the ascendant at the end of his book. Nations more powerful have not shown it. The Swiss have. And that is a title to their glory.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

**INDO-MUSLIM CULTURE:** By V. Raghavendra Rao, M.A., B.T. Published by Vichara Sahitya Ltd., Balepet, Bangalore City. Pp. iii+123+iv. Price Rs. 1-8.

The monograph under review contains much useful information gleaned from second-hand authorities. After referring to the phenomenal spread of Islam and the toleration for which he alleges it to have stood, the author sketches the beauty and goodness of Moslem rule in India, in a rapturous, almost hysterical vein. Thus, the “Arabs were the most intelligent branch of the Semitic race”; their leaders “surpassed Hannibal and Alexander in their military genius no less than in their administrative acumen.” On Indian Sultans

and Padishahs, his remarks are equally original. Jalal-uddin Khilji “humanised politics and Indianised the alien system of government,” his predecessor Balban having already “secularised it.” Mohammad Tughluq, the half-mad Sultan “can claim a place by the side of Akbar.” Shayesta Khan was “an accomplished Sanskrit scholar and could compose verses in it.” Akbar was an “accomplished Persian and Hindi poet” and so on. The great fun is that the author supports almost every observation by citing some discredited second-hand writer. To this self-inflicted labour, the author puts himself, because of the great need to salvage the Moslem rule in India, from a “good deal of misrepresentation of ideas and distortion of facts” responsibility for which is laid upon the Moslem chroniclers themselves and their interpreters (not interpreters but faithful translators), Elliot and Dowson. The author’s success in this curious task has been anything but satisfactory, because the range of his study is limited and therefore his account one-sided. Some of the authorities cited by him are themselves misleading, e.g., Dr. J. B. Chowdhuri’s *Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Literature* cites an extract from Chatur Bhuj’s MS where the poet merely says that he composed the work *Rasakalpatmakam*, for the gratification (*manumanjanaya*) of Shayesta Khan. No reference to the poet’s being favoured by the Khan with any kind of gift is mentioned nor is anything said about Shayesta Khan himself knowing Sanskrit, yet the learned doctor presumes the Khan’s patronage to have been extended to the poet.

The attention of Prof. Rao is recommended to a recent publication, *Indo-Muslim Relations* by D. Burman (Jugabani Sahitya Chakra, 28 Kabir Road, Calcutta 29) which presents the other side of the medal and also to the present reviewer’s article, “Islam in India,” in the Jaipur Congress number of the *Hindu-Indian Standard*, a Calcutta leading daily.

For Jalaluddin Khilji and Muhammad Tughluq, the author may conveniently look up the pages of *Su Devisson Ross Comm. Volume*, published by B. O. R. Institute, Poona, and *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, 1942. Is this a sample of how history is professed in the Mysore University in the middle of the 20th century?

N. B. ROY

**A CRITIQUE OF HINDUISM:** By Pandit Laxmanshastri Joshi *Tarkatirtha*. Published by Modern Age Publications, Navsari Chambers, Outram Road Fort, Bombay. Pp. 131. Price Rs. 4.

Pandit Joshi is a recognised Sanskrit scholar of Maharashtra and the President of Prajna Pathashala of Wei, the outstanding seat of Sanskrit learning in the province. He is also the Editor-in-Chief of *Dharma-kosh*, an encyclopaedic work on Hindu religion conceived by his guru Pandit Narayanshastri Marathe. He spent a few years at the Sabarmati Ashram with Mahatma Gandhi, participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement and is now a leader of the Radical Democratic Party.

The R. B. Paranjpe Extension Lectures of 1941 were delivered in Marathi by the author under the auspices of the Nagpur University. The lectures, three in number, were originally published by the University of Nagpur in a book and recently translated into English by Sri G. D. Parikh of Ramnarayan Ruia College, Bombay, with the help of the author. As the title of the book signifies, Hinduism has been subjected here to higher criticism by the historical and sociological methods. Quoting Karl Marx, the scholar critic contends that the criticism of religion is the



beginning of all criticism. The first lecture is devoted to a criticism of religion in general. The second lecture deals with the definitions and the criteria of religion advanced by the Hindu philosophers of ancient times and also with the thoughts of a number of contemporaries about these problems. The third lecture discusses "the general and particular features of Hinduism, its various aspects, the different sects and subjects included in it, their historical sequence and its significance." While critically examining the recent developments in Hinduism the ultraist author classifies religious reformers as rationalist and spiritualist. "The tradition of spiritualist reformers," remarks the author, "continues for the last half a century also. Vivekananda, Ramakrishna, Tilak, Gandhi, Dr. Radhakrishnan, all belong to this tradition. They have tried to brighten up through window-dressing the old Hinduism and its philosophy. It is a mistake to call them rational reformers, for they are defenders of divine revelations, Yogic visions, reincarnation and various other mystical doctrines." (p. 123). The book abounds with such perverted views and biased criticisms. Pandit Joshi's critique of our religion is far from rational and lacks critical judgement, synthetic vision and deeper understanding. It is more destructive than constructive.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF WEST BENGAL :** By Prof. P. C. Chakravorty, M.Sc. Published by the City College Commerce Department, Calcutta 1949. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is an interesting study of the new province. The partition of Bengal has thrown the economic life of both parts into confusion so that the two provinces need replanning and readjustment. Dry statistics is not of much help in such studies and plannings. A geographic synthesis provides the right background and Professor Chakravorty has done well in providing this in his present attempt, however brief. The Cartograms will prove very helpful.

KANANGOPAL BAGCHI

**HANDBOOK OF ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY** (Vol. II) : By Prof. Swa Prasad Mookherjee. Published by Messrs. H. Chatterjee and Co. Ltd, 19 Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Pages 168. Price Rs. 3-12.

The first volume of this book published sometime back dealt with Economic Geography of the World, but the present volume has been written with special reference to India—particularly after the partition of the country into two independent dominions. The subjects dealt with are Agriculture, Animal, Mineral, Fruit, Manufactured Products, Transport, Ports and Towns. Two short chapters have been given on Foreign trade and Burma. Although the economic position of Pakistan is shortly described in each chapter, the author has given all-India figures in several instances before the partition as recent figures are not available. Partition of India has created, rather than solved economic and political, more economic than political, problems, which it will take years to tackle effectively for the statesmen of both the Dominions. The book is well-illustrated and altogether forty-seven maps and diagrams have made the book very suitable for our commerce students of the university for whom the book is meant.

Now that the university authorities have given the option to candidates to answer questions in Bengali, the author will do well to bring out a volume in Bengali which will not only benefit students preparing for university examinations but the general public as well, interested in such a useful subject.

A. B. DUTTA

## HINDI

**JAVANO :** By Mahatma Bhagwan Din. Purvodaya Publication, Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore. Pp. 215 Price Rs. 2-8.

Here is tonic thought for our youngmen : it will shake them certainly, but also make them into active 'idealists,' rather than let them go on priding themselves on their so-called political or personal philosophy (such being the fashion!). The author's Socratic simplicity and analytical aptitude are, indeed, a lever for raising the consciousness, character and conduct of our growing generation. For, his outlook and argument have something of the fire which Prometheus stole from the secret chambers of the jealous gods in order to enlighten (and also lighten) the path of humanity. *Javano* is a challenging book, a clarion-call to be a hero in the battle of life.

**GRIHA-TATTA SWASTHYA-VIJNAN :** By D. V. Pandya. B. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Agra. Pp. 227 Price Rs. 2.

This is the second volume of the author's work in Domestic science, embodying parts two to parts six, dealing with first aid, household management, rearing of children, making of clothes. A useful publication for our schools

G. M.

## GUJARATI

(1) **HUN NISARGOPACHAR TARAF KEM VALYO :** By Ramanlal Engineer Cloth-bound Pp 160. Price Rs. 2.

(2) & (3) **GANDHI BAPU**, Parts I and II : By R. N. Pathak: 1947 and 1948 Cloth-bound Pp 419 and 604. Price Rs 4-8 each.

All three published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangha, Ltd, Ahmedabad and Bombay

The title of No. 1 means "How I Inclined towards Nature Cure" and is a translation of Dr. Lyndhar's *How I Found Nature*. The author of the original had studied and obtained degrees, in Allopathy, Homeopathy, Osteopathy, and other branches of Medical Science, but was satisfied with none of them. Natural Therapeutics alone appealed to him. His practice of that branch and its success induced him to write books on the subject and Mr. Engineer has given in clear language what the Doctor desires to point out and practice. Mahatma Gandhiji's insistence of nature cure has given an impetus to this instrument of relief to diseases of men and the contents of this book go far towards putting the cure in practice. A chapter on that fell disease Meningitis adds to the value of the book, which also contains a vocabulary of technical words and their equivalents and a note which guides the reader. The two volumes on Gandhiji's life are full of details, and very carefully written by Mr. Ram Narayan N. Pathak who has been at considerable pains to gather available material and reproduce it in such simple language as could be understood by country-side readers. Little entertaining incidents, interesting talks humorous situations and the lighter side of Gandhiji's life, have been set down in their proper places, and apt illustrations of the high principles preached by him and practised have not been neglected. Altogether it is a work which should be read by everybody. The price is, however, prohibitive.

K. M. J.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Bicentenary of the Sage of Weimar

One of the greatest literary geniuses that the West has produced Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the bicentenary of whose birth falls on the 28th of August, was more than a dramatist, a novelist and a poet. He was a great cosmopolitan, a builder of bridges between peoples and between the West and the East. Dr. F. K. Bramstedt writes in *The Aryan Path* :

In accordance with the tradition of Western humanism, in which Goethe stands out as one of the greatest figures, wisdom may be defined as a positive or constructive attitude to life, based on a clear insight into the possibilities and limits which constitute our individual and collective existence. A sage following this path takes a profound interest in the development of art, science and scholarship and constantly tries to cultivate his mind and his sensibilities. Yet his deep interest in truth, objectivity, beauty, never degenerates into a mere concern with scientific technicalities or to an "art for art's sake" bias. It is concrete, practical, helpful, sustained by the belief that all human defects and vices can be overcome by true humanity.

Perhaps it was providential that Goethe at the age of 26 years, then an extremely individualistic introvert, was called to Weimar, the centre of a small German Duchy, to take up an appointment as State Councillor and soon afterwards as Minister of State. There gradually the playboy changed into a citizen, the man of letters into a man of affairs and there began the process of externalisation, of reaching beyond the limits of his self which has recently been so aptly described by Professor Barker Fairleys in his book *A Study of Goethe*. Through his administrative experience and his growing interest in the phenomena of nature, deepened by a study of botany, geology, anatomy, Goethe gradually acquired a counterweight to the creative subjectivism of his inner life. For some time he suffered from the discrepancy between the poet and the man of action, between the introvert and the extravert in himself—a contrast of types he has strikingly brought to the fore in his play *Tasso*. But after his famous Italian journey of 1786-1788 he reached that new balance between inner self and outside world, between nature and culture, feeling and thought, which is reflected throughout his later works, his correspondence and his conversations with Eckermann.

Unlike his great contemporaries Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Goethe was not a systematic abstract thinker, nor was he primarily a politician, wanting to change society by devices of organisation or social planning. There have been few minds whose observations and thoughts have been so concrete, so close to the object and yet so full of significance, ever prone to new interpretations. As a poet Goethe stressed the value of individuality ; as a member of the Western World he put a positive emphasis on the importance of relevant activity. His often-quoted words "Greatest bliss for the children of this earth is alone personality" are as characteristic of his outlook as are the four lines :

*One thing is not good for all.  
See each of us how he fares,  
See each of us where he lands,  
And he who stands that he does not fall.*

Goethe believed in the necessity of an active life, for to him it meant that we can determine rather than be determined by circumstances and surroundings.

Though Goethe was on the whole averse to dogmatic axioms, he believed to the end that only constant endeavour makes this short life worth living. As Faust says at the end of Part II :

*This is the last word of wisdom :  
Only he deserves his freedom and his life  
Who daily has to fight for them anew.*

Even life after death is visualised by Goethe as an active way of existence. "I must confess"—he said in old age to von Mueller—"I would not know what to do with eternal bliss, if it would not offer me new tasks and new difficulties."

Activity, understood properly, means self-realisation, the development of one's gifts and talents to the degree of excellence. Wilhelm Meister begins as an amateur actor and seeks fulfilment in the glittering world of the theatre. By shirking his social obligations, he wastes his potentialities and gains nothing. Eventually, however, he becomes a surgeon and thus finds a profession suited to his personality and at the same time of marked value to others. Though Goethe was not a utilitarian in the usual sense of the word, in later years he stressed very much the blessing of productive labour, both for the individual engaged in it and for society. In this manner Goethe could hold that : "where I am useful there is my country" and could let Elpenor say to her mother :

*Is it not true, mother :  
He whom the Gods love  
Is led to the place  
Where he is needed ?*

It was certainly not easy for his many-sided genius, endowed as he was with a rare degree of spontaneity, to recognise that "only in limitation is the hand of the master seen." He said in 1876 :

"It remains true forever, to confine oneself, to need a few things truly and thus to love them truly, to be attached to them, to turn all their sides round, to identify oneself with them, this it is that makes the poet, the artist, the man."

In the moral sphere, self-limitation means control over one's passions, and may make renunciation imperative.

Whilst the young Goethe has been often criticised for his erotic instability, it is little known that he later wrote one of the finest and most profound novels in European literature on the problems of marriage and passion. The importance of *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (The Elective Affinities, 1809) lies in the fact that the idea of renunciation in it is proclaimed

more indirectly than directly, more through the realistic presentation of the disastrous consequences of a breach of the marriage bond than by any obtrusive moralising.

It is true that in the first part of *Faust* Mephisto cynically remarks: "For all existing things deserve to perish," but Goethe himself was free from that contempt for human nature which is so widespread in our own fashionable philosophical literature. Misanthropy à la Swift, or despair of mankind in the manner of Aldous Huxley or Jean-Paul Sartre today, were entirely alien to Goethe. He believed that we can give a meaning to life by striving for truth, beauty and goodness. His concept of life was dynamic for he held that a constant growing and decay, an uninterrupted change, is the basic law of nature. "Die and be reborn!" is the message in one of his profoundest poems. Goethe neither overlooked the significance of decay nor did he regard it as absolute; to him, it was part of a cosmic process:

"One sees flowers fade and leaves fall, but one also sees fruit ripen and new buds shoot forth; Life belongs to the living and those who live must anticipate change."

Yet in the midst of this constant change there remains for us citizens of two worlds the continuous task:

"Noble be man, helpful and good! For this alone distinguishes him from all the beings we know of."

Goethe was an educationist in the widest sense of the word, though certainly not a schoolmaster.

To a universal mind with a wide range of interests the idea of balance is of particular significance; balance not only as harmony between the parts and the whole, but also balance in the relationship between human beings. The ideal of the *uomo universale* of the days of the Renaissance found a new embodiment in the sage of Weimar. (There are, by the way, some striking parallels between Goethe and Michelangelo.)

"Whosoever is not convinced that he must develop all human capacities, his senses, his reason, his imagination, his understanding into a real unit will be at odds with himself and the rest of the world to the end of his days."—(Goethe, 1824).

If there should be balance within each individual there should be the same between the individual and his fellow-beings. Unlike the leaders of the French Revolution, Goethe, the "liberal conservative," as Dr. G. P. Gooch has called him, did not favour a readjustment of the social balance by way of force and was equally averse to anarchy and tyranny.

Goethe, in some ways a pupil of Spinoza, held a view, suggesting what one might call a philosophy of semi-identity, a partial overlapping between man and nature or man and God, between the forces inside and outside ourselves.

He explained to Eckermann in 1824:

"If I had not carried the world already in me

through anticipation, I would have remained blind with seeing eyes, and all my exploring and experience would have been nothing but quite a dead and lost endeavour. The light is there and the colours surround us, but if we had no light and colours in us, we should not observe such outside ourselves."

The same idea is beautifully expressed in a poem in *Faust*:

*Were our eyes not sun-like  
How could we see the sun?  
Were there no God-spark in us,  
How could we rejoice in the Divine?*

With few modern thinkers was an affirmative attitude to life so unambiguous and sincere as with the mature Goethe, who understood the *Weltschmerz* (world-weariness) in others because he himself had once shared and had overcome it.

"Enjoy with moderation blessings and plenty, let reason for ever be present where life rejoices in life!" These words express the Goethean attitude as much as his famous advice that we human beings "should explore the explorable and revere quietly the unexplorable."


This champion of what he called "quiet culture" (*ruhige Bildung*) was a cosmopolitan, a citizen of the world sustained by his belief that the common pursuit of science, learning and art should transcend all political frontiers and national differences.

There is nothing bitter or laboured about his rejection of nationalist passions. To him it was a matter of course, "How could I have written songs of hatred without feeling any hatred?" he explained to Eckermann in retrospect a few years before his death.

"I did not hate the French, though I thanked God when we got rid of them. How could I, to whom only culture and barbarism matter, have hated a nation that belongs to the most cultured on earth, and to whom I owe a great deal of my own education? Altogether, it is a strange thing with national hatred! You will always find it strongest and most violent on the lowest levels of a civilisation. There is, however, a level on which it completely disappears and where one stands, so to speak, above the nations and feels the happiness and the sorrow of one's neighbouring peoples, as if they had happened to one's own."

He was enchanted by Oriental poetry, as can be seen from his delightful collection of poems *West-Eastern Divan*.

At the beginning of the same century, Goethe, the humanist, had however proclaimed joyfully that "Orient and Occident are no longer separable." Goethe's wisdom, emanating from rich experience and in so many ways timeless, full of vision and yet astonishingly practical, balanced and profound, grows in significance as generation succeeds generation.



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**Postmortem**

CHINA

*The New Review* observes :

The great ally of yesterday is as good as dead, swamped away in the Red tide, and more than one democratic leader is saying: good riddance. It is openly said in the U.S.A. which is a land of realism where politicians shun reticence as the biggest sin against democracy. It is even suggested in the Secretary of State's White Paper which reads like a coroner's report.


Why was Chiang Kai Shek's China lost? Dean Acheson's answer is blunt: 'The Government and the Kuomintang . . . had sunk into corruption, into a scramble for place and power and into reliance on the USA to win the war for them . . . Its leaders had proved incapable of meeting the crisis confronting them, its troops had lost the will to fight and its government had lost popular support . . . History has proved again and again that a regime without faith in itself and an army without morale cannot survive the test of battle . . . The nationalist armies did not have to be defeated; they disintegrated.'

In its clumsy attempts at helping China, the U. S. laid spent two billion dollars, relatively more than on any nation of the West after the war. The Generalissimo refused to follow the repeated advice of American generals and ambassadors. The facts were stubborn, the Generalissimo was more stubborn. It was a bad business from the start; why throw good money after bad money? There remains only 'to encourage in every feasible way the development of China as an independent and stable nation' and to stand doggedly 'opposed to the subjection to any foreign power.'

The White Paper is a methodical conviction of Chiang Kai Shek and an erudite apology for America's

policy-makers. Yet American citizens are not quite convinced that their State Department was uniformly sagacious in its diplomacy. They wonder how sagacious statesmen could so long remain blind to China's disease and disaster. Worse still, they are shocked and angry at the handling of General Wedemeyer's report in late 1947. The General's report said that after V-J Day China's economic situation was 'surprisingly good and contained many elements of hope.' As late as 1947 the Nationalists were 'at the very peak of their military successes.' Far from suggesting that China should be abandoned to her fate, it recommended 'a sweeping five-year aid programme, dependent on drastic domestic reforms in China.' 'A wait-and-see policy would lead to disturbance verging on chaos, at the end of which the Chinese Communists would emerge as the dominant group.' The report was factual and showed a way out. What happened to it? It was consigned to the departmental files and sedulously ignored. It was only this month that it was released. This strange delay is excused by the State Secretary on the plea that 'Wedemeyer proposed Manchuria should be placed under the trusteeship of the United Nations, and that was a measure that would have offended and disheartened the Generalissimo.' The excuse is put forth seriously though Dean Acheson and everybody well remember that at the time Manchuria was almost completely subjugated by the Communists.

In the eyes of the American public, their government badly floundered in China, and their policy-makers cannot 'save face' with platitudes and recriminations. Loud criticism of one's government may shock Victorian folks; in a buoyant people it is a token that their sense of freedom keeps its vitality, and it is a comforting phenomenon in these days when most governments are allergic to any form of criticism.



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C A L C U T T A C H E M I C A L

### Realization of Full Value for the Money Spent on Our Food

Dr. K. S. Mhaskar writes in *The Social Service Quarterly*.

The word "Food" has not necessarily the limited meaning of what we purchase in the market, but its utilization in the body for growth, repair, heat, energy, disease-resisting powers, procreative capacities, for longevity, for satisfaction of a primary need, and for happiness. Food must, therefore, be considered right from the point of view of its origin in the soil, to all other factors which contribute to its use in the body. Farming in all its aspects, quick marketing, correct but varied purposes according to the needs of a balanced diet, the art of cooking and of serving, the art of reducing food-waste at every stage, the psychological aspect of food and nutrition, habit formation are factors which are not only good in themselves, but are useful for building up character and increasing the sum-total of our happiness.

Land in India as also in many parts of the world had been deteriorating with consequent deterioration in crops, in the health of the people and that of farm animals; dairy products are at the lowest level, both in quantity and quality, for want of proper fodder and there is not even a swallow of milk to go round. Fish industry, both inland and that in the sea, is still in its infancy. Transport and marketing facilities for fresh food articles, are in the hands of middlemen whose first concern is profit, so that parts of the country which are most productive, are perhaps in need of even the barest necessities of life, and articles good or bad are passed on to those who are free with their cash. The art of storing grains from the depredations of insects and creatures large or small, is still to receive adequate attention. Dehydration, Canning, Pasteurization, and cold storage are in an experimental stage.

Scientific farming helps us not only to increase the quantity of food and make the land yield more than two heads of corn where only one was formerly available, but to increase the quality of its proteins, its salts and its vitamin contents. Artificial manuring with chemicals had its days; we are now returning to improvement of the soil by natural methods and by organic manures; by elimination of weeds, insect pests and fungus pests and by correct watering. Mechanical farming is also adding its quota to the increase in the amount of food for the money spent. "Back to land" is a worth-while cry if farming is made a lucrative business.

Education in diet and nutrition is our second great need. Balanced Diet and its implications are so little understood, that the present propaganda has not given sufficient incentive even to few individuals to meet their own requirements, at least in a partial way. The slogan of "Grow More Vegetables" has fallen on deaf ears. "Kitchen gardens" have ceased to be the pride they were a decade or two ago. Hydroponics or soil-less cultivation is still a curiosity, in spite of its possibilities in crowded cities and its cheap but efficient turnover. Bee farming, a valuable source of excellent food and vitamins is looked upon more as a fad, than as a healthy hobby or vocation. Educating the adults has produced little results. We must now tackle the youngsters in the schools, teach them to love nature and interest them in the resulting benefits, by incorporating such subjects in their studies and in their text-books and make "deficiency diseases" a thing of the past.

Even our hospitals do not yet realize the necessity of engaging the services of a Dietician and getting full value out of her.

The patients' diets are monotonous, unappetizing, unattractive and often served in such a shoddy, indifferent and heartless way that it is enough to drive away a healthy person's appetite, let alone a patient's. With all due deference to experts in medicine, I would like to maintain that 50 per cent. of the credit in curing a patient, is due to the Nursing Profession and 30 per cent should be due to the diet that is given to him. The total amount of calories required for each patient and the constituents of food are rarely looked into by the medical officers, who do not realize the value of a diet prescription. Even our Typhoid patients continue to be dieted on the old irrational lines of 50 years ago with butter-milk and orange-juice. Dieto-therapy, which should really form 30 per cent of every therapy is practically non-existent. The employment of Dieticians to every hospital would not only bring down the per capita cost of treatment, add so much to the mental and physical contentment of the patients and have an enormous propaganda value, but there would be a quick turn-over in the patients and the hospital facilities be available for a larger number. The Dietician would not only provide correct dietary but introduce variety, prepare them in the nicest way, serve them hot or cold as per patient's taste, stimulate his appetite with cheerful words of solace and march him on to the road of recovery and out of the hospital in double quick time, than what would otherwise have been possible.

Study of the seasons and of the markets, the art of storing food, the art of cooking and that of serving are lost arts in these days when Kitchen work has come to be considered an abomination, even in private households. If more value is to be realised for the same amount of money and labour spent, no work should be considered below one's dignity, as Kitchen-work is now-a-days considered to be.

What is good for a diseased person (a patient) is more than good for a healthy person and for a devotee of strength. We want organised canteens in charge of Dieticians, canteens which can pay their way and give a return in health and goods a dozen fold than the commercial restaurants would. Dieting is an art which deserves to be revived and made popular in lieu of the "hurry" which seems to be the curse of city-life.

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## The Prospects of Salt Raising in the Coastal Regions of West Bengal and Orissa

Jitendra Kumar Nag writes in *The Journal of Scientific and Industrial Research*:

From an examination of the climatic factor and the salinity of brine obtainable along the sea-coast of West Bengal and Orissa it may be concluded that the litoral is not unsuitable to salt manufacture. This conclusion is supported by the fact that a flourishing salt industry had been established in these two provinces before the days of East India Company. The question arises whether climate and salinity factors are favourable for salt culture by solar evaporation. The span of the salt season is almost equal to those of Bombay or northern Madras. The only factor for consideration is the rain and storm due to Norwesters. Naupada is equally subject to rain and storm during April and May. It would appear that salt can be raised in West Bengal and Orissa as in Naupada; if it cannot be done entirely by solar evaporation it should be possible to manufacture salt by combining solar evaporation (70 per cent) with boiling by heating (30 per cent).

The old salt industry in these regions was dependent both on solar and artificial heat and the process in vogue was different from that now used in southern Orissa and Madras. The people of the coastal regions used salt earth instead of salt water to get concentrated brine, which they boiled to recover salt. This method of leaching the salt earth and boiling the leachate is current on a cottage scale, having been revived after the lifting of the restriction on salt making in 1930. The people in the southern coastal area of Orissa have adopted the Madras practice of raising salt from brine by solar evaporation.

For the commercial manufacture of salt along the coast-land of West Bengal and Orissa, the method as followed in other places of India is recommended. Successful results have been achieved in a few of the West Bengal salt factories which have introduced this method. It is however, advisable to provide for boiling if the level of production has to be raised.

The sea-board of Contai in the district of Midnapore has been surveyed by the author on behalf of the Provincial Government. It affords vast tracts of waste land, flooded by tidal flows of the sea highly suitable for salt manufacture. From the land records of the Government, these tracts cover 9,000 acres of land and creeks of which only 150 acres have been developed to salterns by limited companies. The sea water can be impounded during high tides and utilized, but irrigation pumps will be necessary towards the end of the manufacturing season.

If these vast tracts of waste land flooded by tidal flows of the sea in Contai are fully developed, more than 40 lakhs mds. of salt, the present annual requirement of West Bengal, can be produced.

This level of production can be maintained, if provision is made as stand-by for boiling during adverse weather conditions.

In the combined process of solar evaporation and boiling, as practised in Burma the cost of production is a little higher than that in the solar process, but the quality of salt is better and the rate of production can be maintained. The cost of salt production in Contai factories is estimated to be little higher, but as the markets are near, there will be considerable saving on transport.

As to the availability of fuel (coal) for boiling, Calcutta will be the source of supply, and the vessel which would tranship salt from Contai to the port of Calcutta will carry coal on their return voyage. The quantity of steam coal required is about 25 srs. per md.

of salt, and the transport of coal to the Contai salt sources will not be uneconomical.

Two firms have been established at Contai for manufacturing salt (combined annual output of 30,000 mds.) by solar evaporation. The bigger of these two firms has furnaces to boil saturated saline when necessary. The following data, collected from the factories, will prove useful for developing the areas surveyed by the author.

Average densities of brine on the Contai sea-board are as follows:

### AVERAGE BRINE DENSITY ON CONTAI SEA-BOARD

	°Be		°Be
Nov.	1.0	Mar.	2.6
Dec.	1.5	Apr.	2.7
Jan.	1.8	May	2.8
Feb.	2.5	June (up to 15th)	2.7

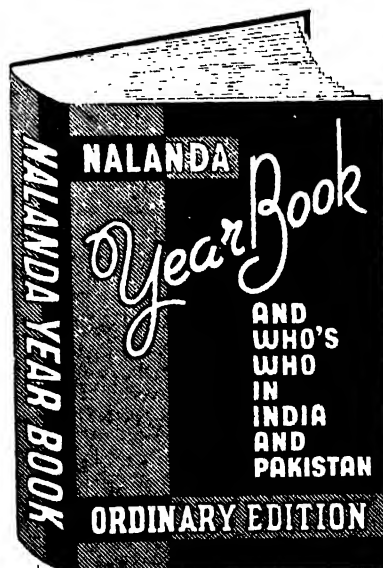
### APPROXIMATE RATE OF EVAPORATION PER DIEM

Pond	I	°Be	INCHES
"	II	2.5-4	0.20
"	III	4-8	0.18
"	IV	8-12	0.17
"	V	12-18	0.16
"		18-23	0.15

Besides the lands already surveyed on the Contai sea-board, there are suitable lands in the 24 Parganas (Sunderbans). The estuaries to the west of the rivers Hugli, Saptamukhi, Thakuran and Matla are salty during the dry season and on both sides of each of these estuaries there are lands suitable for the raising of salt. In the Sunderbans area about 5,000 acres of waste land will be available, from which 15 to 20 lakh mds of salt can be anticipated. The transport by water will be easy and the prospects for raising salt in this region are very bright.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## India's Industries

India is one of the world's greatest industrial nations—an all-important fact not yet recognized by the West, which still tends to think of India as a vast horde of under-nourished colonial peasants. This view prevents the United States from guiding her relations with India according to the realities of today and of the near future. Only lingering nineteenth century facts and fancies prevent the West from recognizing India as the one great stable, modern-minded, peace-loving democracy in Asia.

Not only is India one of the six or seven greatest industrial powers, but the rapidity of her industrialization suggests that she will outdistance all but two or three nations within a decade. And this in spite of grave difficulties: currency restrictions that curtail the purchase of American machinery, and social, boundary, trade readjustments required by the shift from colonialism to freedom, from a loose conglomeration of hundreds of political units including many feudal principalities, to a modern nation.

To industrialists and investors of India, Europe and America, the recent announcement of India's 1949-50 budget was a revelation. The budget balances without sacrificing major projects. There is even a small surplus. Income taxes are reduced for lower groups; capital tax is abolished; concessions made to private industry include some related to depreciation of plant. Duties on raw materials needed by India's industries are lowered. Meanwhile, the general economic picture in India, from current reports, is on the whole most encouraging to foreign private enterprise as well as to Indians. Production is moving upward and inflation seems at last under control.

## INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

From 1922 to 1942, India's factories doubled in number. Since she became a free nation on August 15, 1947, countless specific instances have indicated that Indian industrialization is solidly grounded. For example, the past year production of cotton cloth increased over five hundred million yards; that of cotton yarn increased by far more than a hundred million pounds, of plywood by ten million square feet, production of soap more than doubled. The steel and iron industries are being greatly expanded, while the Tata mills remain the largest single steel plant in the British group of nations. The number of Indians engaged in industry is now between two and a half and ten millions, depending on one's definition of terms.

During 1948, many "firsts" were achieved in Indian industry: the first Indian-made steamship was launched from India's first shipyard; a first batch of steam road rollers was turned out; the first truly Indian aircraft were built. Research in scientific subjects has become far better co-ordinated and much more interrelated with immediate industrial purposes than before, thanks to a chain of laboratories in whose work industry and government share. Important work is being done in the field of atomic energy, for which India possesses useful raw material as well as some of the world's great physicists.

Symptomatic of Indian industrial trends, the population of Calcutta, second largest city after London

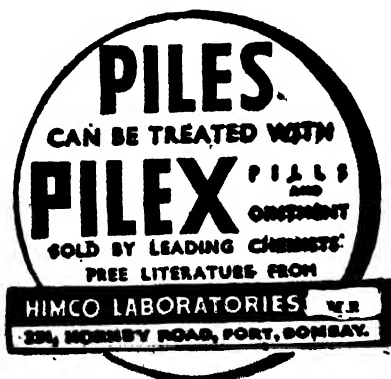
in the Commonwealth of Nations, has jumped in the past six years from 2,200,000 to 6,600,000 and is now clamoring for a subway.

Industrial growth is so rapid, eagerness for it among virtually all effectual groups of India so sure, and there are so many vast projects now being carried out, that the miracle would be if India were not to astonish the world by her industrial output two to five years hence. Already possessing the world's vastest irrigation system, India's harnessing of her potential 30 million h.p. of water power is as yet but a fifth completed but will increase greatly through water-control projects that will be completed in the next few years. Present investigations with the help of American engineers of large coal deposits in southern India may lead to their conversion to much-needed gasoline. Factories being built tend to follow the latest most efficient plans and to profit from the advances and errors of generations of Western experience.

The central government is the most conspicuous promoter of this progress but this need not obscure the impressive progress being made by Princely States, by governments of provinces, by foreign and indigenous private enterprise. For instance, since India's independence, under its governor, world-famed poetess Sarojini Naidu (who died in March, 1949), the political unit called United Provinces has raised its nation-building budget six-fold, has started construction of cement, cardboard, and scientific instrument factories, and has set up a \$30-million industrial credit corporation. Mysore, one of several princely states which had launched industrialization years ago, is now adding a fertilizer and chemicals plant of 50,000 tons annual capacity, a sugar factory with crushing capacity of 1,000 tons of cane a day, expansion of an electric plant to include manufacture of electric motors, and factories for making plastics, rayon, bicycles, aluminum.

## EARLIER DEVELOPMENTS

Modern industrialization gains from having a background in India's past. Her cottage and court industries were highly developed in quality and active on a large scale throughout ancient times and until the country became fully dominated by Britain. This craft tradition was still remembered when shifts toward modern industry were made in the nineteenth century,



accelerating at the time of the Boer War (1899-1902). A marked increase of industrial activity took place in World War I when India equipped a large overseas army.

When the Congress party announced independence as India's political goal, Xmas week, 1929, Nehru simultaneously proclaimed a set of economic plans which served as a reminder that India did not aim at political without economic freedom. In the summer of 1938, the many conflicting philosophies of national planning and industrialization were weighed carefully when the Working Committee of the Congress party convened with the Ministers of Industry of the Congress-elected Provinces "to explore the possibilities of an All-India Industrial Plan."

During World War II the imprisonment of many of India's greatest leaders disturbed the smooth evolution of industrial planning. But on the other hand tens of millions in India shared during the war years in a modern mechanized life who had previously lived in a truly agricultural and hand-work environment. Western resistance to the industrialization of India succumbed to the desperate need for war goods. Shipping Indian raw materials to England for processing became impractical when submarine sinkings in the Mediterranean forced freighters to abandon Suez for the tedious round-Africa route. India mobilized the assembling and partial manufacture of 500 auto chassis a week, the repairing of a war total of 4,000 vessels, the making of all types of munitions, and the clothing of vast Allied armies. She won the name of the Arsenal of the East. And her two million soldiers gained knowledge of cars, tools, travel.

By 1944 the picture of India's future industrialization was clear enough so that eight of the country's major industrialists, hard-headed practical men amalgamated their concepts in "the Bombay Plan." By following it they forecast that India's industrial production would increase five-fold and India's per capita income would be doubled, within fifteen years.

In December 1947, four months after independence was won, a conference between the new indigenous government, key heads of industrial management, and labor leaders, clarified a number of issues. Nehru's appeal for industrial peace on that occasion has not been forgotten and although there have been many strikes, the man hour loss from January to September 1948 was less than half that of the same period of the previous year (that is mainly prior to India's independence).

#### RAISING STANDARDS OF LIVING

One of two primary factors that slow up this vast industrial upsurge is India's determination that her Industrial Revolution should be primarily, fundamen-

tally, premeditatedly, for the welfare of the masses. She is fully aware of the variety of paths industrialism has taken and can take. She has even had frightful slums of her own. She has seen sudden unemployment strike throngs of men uprooted from their villages—villages which in the farmers' rush to quick money in the cities had so deteriorated that they could not serve as havens for victims of an industrial depression. Centralization versus decentralization, efficiency of huge versus small-scale plants, controls versus laissez-faire, the need to create consumer wealth before asking potential but impoverished consumers to buy processed goods—all such questions were being examined in India long before there was a tangible prospect of the political freedom needed to work out the national destiny.

Throughout the long struggle for freedom, India's leaders reiterated their concern with the economic as with the social, religious and political aspects of India's future. Such "younger" men as Nehru and the late Subhas Chandra Bose, and even such lofty minds as Tagore, always linked their country's political aspirations to the economic welfare of her millions. Mahatma Gandhi was an economist and as concerned with the livelihood of each of India's 700,000 villages as with the welfare and liberty of the whole nation. Speaking as a saint, he said you should not expect piety from a man whose stomach is empty. Today's leaders have indicated that they consider industrialization to be no goal in itself but a precious aid with whose help they hope to place their people in a position to resist the seductions of totalitarian propaganda.

#### IS INDIA SOCIALIZING INDUSTRY?

Aside from the self-imposed brake that careful concern for public welfare represents, the foremost cause of delays in the path of India's otherwise rapid industrialization is the doubt persisting in the minds of foreign and domestic financiers as to how far India's Central Government will go in the direction of socialism, of control or ownership of industry. Investors are worried because the new regime controls ordinance plants, railways, and power sources including atomic research. Study reveals, however, that industries owned or controlled by the Central Indian Government came into its hands, generally speaking, by chance, by entirely voluntary transfer, without any fixed nationalization plan. As a great Indian scientist puts it, "Nationalization (in India today) is not a policy or a program but simply the most practical technique for operating" some public utilities. The Indian policies when analyzed do not seem as earth-shaking as those of Roosevelt, Truman or the British Labor Government.

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In April 1948, the Indian Parliament laid down some general rules which Indians greeted as fair to foreign and domestic industrial investors. These resolutions envisaged leaving all existing privately owned public utilities, strategic and basic industries, in their owners' hands for at least ten years, after which adequate compensation would be awarded in case the State should take any of them over. All classes of industry except certain key types of public utility and defense plants, which were specified, were declared entirely open to private enterprise and to participation of foreign capital. No movement in India today, even outside the government, threatens investors with forced expropriation.

Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, assured the Madras Chamber of Commerce on February 22, 1949: "Take it from me as gospel truth that the Indian government has neither the capacity nor the means to take up nationalization at present." He appealed to businessmen to help reconstruct the country with their *business* rather than immediate gains in mind.

Prime Minister Nehru, at the January 24 meeting of the Central Advisory Council of Industries, in New Delhi, stressed that fears of such nationalization as would discourage private enterprise were unfounded. While no government could guarantee the future in a changing dynamic world and while the whole question ultimately depended rather on external factors than on official pronouncements, the Indian government had neither the skilled manpower nor the financial capacity to run the nation's industries. The government's keenest concern with industry was to see that high productivity was quickly reached in the more needed fields.

Yet the fact remains that private enterprise in Europe and America has been lukewarm thus far in participating in that thrilling, momentous adventure, so important in determining future world affairs—the industrialization of India.—*India Today*, April, 1949.

### You and Poliomyelitis

Knowing the facts about *infantile paralysis* gives you a positive advantage in facing the summer of 1949. It has been determined that in many instances, fear permeating a community, and especially the terror felt by a mother and father, can affect children adversely. Sometimes the scars of insecurity and fright remain beyond the results of the disease itself. You can only keep your children mentally at ease if you avoid hysteria yourself. And knowing the facts will contribute to your equanimity.

There still is no preventive, no miracle drug to arrest the progress of paralysis. But these facts you should find very reassuring:

*Infantile paralysis is not usually a killing disease.* Some 5 per cent to 10 per cent of those who get it die. But about 8 per cent of those who get diphtheria, a wholly preventable disease, also die.

*At least half of those who contract infantile paralysis come through without any permanent crippling.* Another 25 per cent to 30 per cent have weaknesses so slight that they can lead perfectly normal lives. Thus, only about one-fourth of those with a diagnosis of infantile paralysis become cripples and of these, many can be aided by treatment and surgery in ways impossible a quarter of a century ago.

*Those who contract infantile paralysis have access to prompt, modern care that can almost eradicate deformity and minimize crippling.*

*Payment for treatment is available through more than 2,800 Chapters of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis—for those who cannot meet bills without financial assistance.*

What can we expect this year? Unfortunately, predictions as to where infantile paralysis will strike, and how hard, are useless. Last year, there were more recorded cases (27,894) than in any year since 1916. Indeed, during the last six years there has been an

unusually high number of reported cases. One reason for the high figures lies in the fact that diagnosis has improved and public health services can consequently report more cases. Many mild cases, formerly overlooked, are detected and hospitalized today. Precautions in the box below are most important to parents of children under 16, for the bulk of those who get infantile paralysis are in this age group. But older children and adults *do* get the disease; indeed, the age group most affected has been rising steadily in recent years so that today five to nine-year-olds are in most danger where it used to be the one to five-year-olds. Just to play safe, any member of the family exhibiting suspicious symptoms should be treated in the same way as children are.

One of the physicians at the First International Conference on Poliomyelitis, which representatives of 43 nations attended last July, reported that adolescent and adult patients who did not promptly go to bed, remain quiet and unchilled, in the presence of the first, mild symptoms, appeared to contract a *more* serious form of the disease. Since early symptoms look just like those of a cold, upset stomach or some other minor affliction, one should be extra cautious about these trivial things during the polio season.

Why is incidence of the disease rising in older age groups? This is a question scientists, as well as the rest of us, are asking. As yet it can only be answered theoretically. One theory holds that *every-one* is exposed to the virus at an early age and develops some immunity without producing diagnosable symptoms. But, as sanitation facilities improve in our country, fewer babies and very young children meet the virus in mild contact. Thus when they *are* exposed to it in later life, possibly in larger doses, they are more susceptible than those who grew up with less protection from germs of all kinds.

Bear in mind that when polio strikes a community, many people who appear entirely well are undoubtedly harboring the virus in their systems. We think they can pass the infection on to the susceptibles without necessarily coming down with the disease themselves. With so many theoretical carriers, rigid quarantine methods are largely futile.

We know today that infantile paralysis is not caused by a single virus, but rather a family of viruses, and that immunity to one of these does not necessarily produce immunity to others. That is why staying in your home community, not mingling with crowds on trains or buses, is a precaution urged during the polio season. You and your children may have developed immunity to the particular polio virus prevalent in your own area, but you may have no resistance to other members of the virus family responsible for the disease.

Are we any nearer prevention of infantile paralysis? The answer is yes. There are more scientists, specialists in at least twenty-four district fields, working on the problem today than at any time in history. Experimentally, they have already immunized animals against two of the three known polio viruses, proving that the disease is capable of responding to vaccination technique. Many problems still remain, but if polio comes to your town this summer, you can face it with less apprehension than was possible before—for there is now a spirit of real optimism in the polio research world.

#### MESSAGE TO PARENTS

If polio hits your area this year, see that your children—

avoid crowds and crowded places;  
avoid over-fatigue. It may invite a more serious form of the disease;

avoid swimming in water which has not been declared safe by your health department;  
avoid chilling;

keep clean. Wash hands after going to toilet and before eating. Keep food covered.

Call your doctor at once if there are symptoms of headache, nausea, upset stomach, muscle soreness or stiffness, unexplained fever.

Consult your chapter of the National Foundation for help.

Quick action may prevent crippling!—*Magazine Digest.*

### American News Briefs

*95 per cent of American Homes use Electricity:* More than 95 per cent of all American homes have electric light and power available to them. It is estimated that of all American families living in cities, 67 per cent have electric refrigerators, 58 per cent have electric vacuum cleaners, 52 per cent have electric washing machines, 93 per cent have electric irons and 91 per cent have radios or radio-phonograph combinations.

*Men and Machines:*—Six per cent of all productive work in the United States is done by animals and men while 94 per cent is done by machines. A century ago animals and men did 70 per cent of the work and machines only 30 per cent.

*Cotton Exports:*—The United States exported 2,709,000 bales of cotton, each weighing 500 pounds, from August 1948 through April 1949. This is more than three times the amount exported during the previous year.

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**AAUW Membership:**—By an overwhelming vote of 2,168 to 65, the American Association of University Women has amended its constitution to insure the admission of qualified Negroes to all branch organizations of the national association. The AAUW is a national organization for women college graduates. The new by-laws, adopted at the association's fifty-first biennial convention here decree that branches must accept as members all women graduates of accredited institutions, "regardless of race, color, creed, or religion."

**Weekly Earnings:**—In mid-May 1949, average weekly earnings of the 11,800,000 production workers in United States factories were \$53.08, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports. The work week averaged 33.6 hours.

**Boy Scouts:**—Nearly 16,000,000 American boys have been members of the Boy Scouts of America, an affiliate of the World Scouting Movement, since the organization was started in the United States in 1910.

**Radio Stations:**—There are more than 30 radio broadcasting stations in the United States.

**Recreation Centres:**—The United States Forest Service reports that it has built 230 winter sports areas and 4,500 camp and picnic areas in national forests for public use.

**Power Per Worker:**—There is an average of more than five horsepower of electrical energy or the equivalent of the energy of 50 human helpers, available to each American industrial worker to lighten his work and increase his productivity.

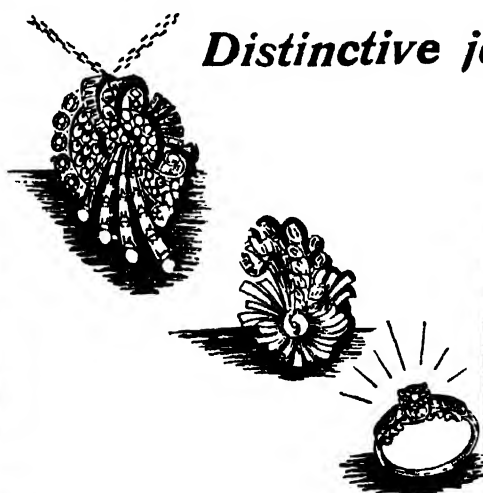
**New Airports:**—A total of 333 airports were built in the U.S. from June 1, 1948, to June 1, 1949, the U.S. Civil Aeronautics Administration reports. The construction brought the number of airports in the nation to 6,039.

**Film Production:**—Hollywood motion picture companies are making films at a rapid rate. During a single week of June there were 48 pictures before the cameras, the greatest number in production for any one week since July, 1947. By June, a total of 135 feature films had been completed in 1949.—*USIS*.

### The Congo : Home of Half the World's Uranium Ore

The little-known fact behind Washington's hush-hush atomic talks last month is that a short-term Anglo-American agreement, which earmarks to the United States the Belgian Congo's entire production of uranium, expires early in 1950. Unless it is renewed, the British under a long-term agreement will be entitled to half the output of the Congo, which to date has been America's biggest source of the basic raw material of the atom bomb.

Even Houdini never put on such a great disappearing act as occurred during the early days of the war. What was made to vanish was an entire mine, half a mile square and 200 feet deep. Its production disappeared from public statistics. Its very location vanished from newly published maps.



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It was neither an ordinary mine nor an obscure one which ostensibly ceased to exist. Before the war it was the world's most important hole in the ground to scientists and technicians who worked with radioactive materials. Since it was discovered in 1915, it had become the source of three-fifths of the world's radium. With some veins so rich that their uranium-oxide content topped 60 per cent, it was the greatest developed deposit of uranium ore. In fact, the mine that disappeared contained half the world's known reserves.

That the mine was far away in the Belgian Congo made it nonetheless vital when the Manhattan Project was conceived. As top secrecy veiled the progress in fashioning an atom bomb, it also cloaked all telltale news about the Congo's uranium. Only in the postwar period was the velvet curtain of secrecy partly lifted. Even today the Atomic Energy Commission will not reveal either the quantity or the value of the uranium mined there.

#### REMOTE

If the United States had tried to find a less accessible uranium supply, it would have been hard put to it. For the Congo's only uranium mine is located at Shinkolobwe, in Katanga Province in the southeastern part of the colony, near the borders of Northern Rhodesia and Portuguese Angola. Just to be extra-difficult, it lies midway between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

To the average American who thinks of the whole Congo as a tropical jungle, Shinkolobwe could not be more surprising. Its 4,500-foot altitude makes its climate not too uncomfortable for the few Europeans there. The high veld is dry and open. The temperature averages only 68 degrees year around. It falls below freezing in winter.

The uranium mine itself looks like a smaller-scale edition of the great Mesabi iron mines in Minnesota. It is a huge open cut, with terraced sides. At the bottom steam shovels bite out chunks of ore and dump them into cars on a narrow-gauge railway. These cars, loaded with pitchblende (uranium oxide) and other uranium compounds, are hauled by cable and steam engine to the surface.

However easy the digging, the shipping of the ore to the United States is incredibly roundabout. After the ore is processed a little on the spot, it is taken 110 miles through the bush country to Elisabethville, the booming, modernistic capital of Katanga. Following partial refinement at "E'ville," the ore is taken 1,100 miles across Africa on the Bas-Congo-au-Katanga railroad, a narrow-gauge jerkwater line owned by British capital, to Lobito, whose deepwater bay and docking

facilities make it Angola's biggest port. From there the ore is shipped 7,000 miles to the United States across waters which in wartime were infested by German U-boats.

How the vast American stake in the Congo's uranium is to be defended has been the subject of continuing Anglo-American-Belgian talks. Actually, the very remoteness of the mine and its railroad route to the ocean is its best defense. The long sea voyage is a far weaker link in America's uranium lifeline.

#### THE BLACKS

At Shinkolobwe all the mining is done by Bantu natives—*les noirs* to the Belgian engineers and foremen. The small town, like the mine there, is operated by the great Union Minière du Haut Katanga, the largest company in Katanga, owned jointly by Belgian and British capital.

The Congo's treatment of the natives was an international scandal in the days when the so-called Congo Free State was King Leopold II's private hobby. But since it became a Belgian colony in 1908, it has enjoyed a policy of benevolent paternalism—without relaxation of the color line. The UMHK has about the best record for native treatment in the entire Congo.

Congo authorities consider the Shinkolobwe miners so well treated that they foresee no important interruption to uranium mining from labor troubles. Even Communist agents, who all over Africa are preaching native nationalism rather than abstruse ideology, are not believed to present any immediate danger to America's uranium supply.

#### \* HECKLERS AT HOME

But in Brussels, Communist politicians have long made political capital out of Shinkolobwe's uranium. They have argued that the export of the Congo ore exclusively to the United States placed Belgium in a "colonial position." They have complained that such shipments threatened Belgium's "Eastern ally"—the Soviet Union. They have challenged the Belgian Government to publish the secret agreements involved.

To this hullabaloo Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgian Premier and foreign minister, has been deaf. He has refused to reveal the specific facts on the Congo's production for which the Communists were fishing. He has insisted that uranium exports to America would continue at least until the United Nations sets up working control over worldwide atomic activities. And that prospect was dimmer than ever last week when the UN Atomic Energy Commission, after three years of trying, suspended indefinitely its search for an international agreement.—*Newsweek*, August 8, 1949.



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# THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER



1949

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## NOTES

### *Pandit Nehru's Visit to the U. S. A.*

Pandit Nehru is being feted and honoured all over the United States in true American fashion. It is too early as yet to sum up the results of this visit, since our Premier has gone there as a guest of the President of the United States, without any definite mission or delegation as from the nationals of India. He went out in response to a friendly goodwill gesture and he has been welcomed with warmth in an overwhelmingly generous measure. In summing up the reactions of such a visit one has to take into consideration many factors which are not normally apparent to the public ken, for where the results of the exchange of goodwill gestures between nations are measured the abstract intangibles sometimes outweigh the concrete realities. Phrases like "Entente cordiale," "Hands across the seas," "Good neighbourliness" have all acquired a sinister meaning as a consequence of two World Wars and therefore in this suspicious world one is only too prone to look for secret motives behind every friendly move.

Be that as it may, the background of this visit as seen from the American point of view is somewhat interesting. The political background is clearly summed up in a special despatch to the *New York Times* by James Reston on October 15. In the course of an analysis of the situation, with the heading "U.S. Far East Policy Is Now Being Reappraised," he comes to the conclusion that Nehru's visit reflects that high priority is being given to Asiatic Affairs. It is a comprehensive analysis in which the high lights are put on these factors:

The United States has been forced by the pressure of events abroad and the limitations on human endurance at home to establish a rough priority system for its foreign policy, worrying first about Russia; second, Europe; and third, Asia.

This one-two-three approach has never been rigid, and most of the time it has not even been conscious, but in general this is the order in which our officials have spent their limited time and energies since the end of the war.

Unfortunately, developments in Asia have for some time refused to co-operate with this system.

With a fine disregard for the British economic crisis, the split in Germany, the atomic explosion in Russia, and all other problems in Europe, the Communists have kept advancing in China, the Indians have continued their reflections on what to do with their new freedom, and the Indonesians, Malaysians, Burmese, and Indo-Chinese have pursued their several drives for power and independence.

It is a matter of controversy here whether the United States Government could have changed these developments very much even if it had given them top priority. But it is now realized that events in the Far East are reaching a point where a re-evaluation of the situation and perhaps of the priority has to be made.

Nehru's visit is not the cause but one of the results of this re-evaluation. Largely owing to his wisdom and Britain's capacity to learn from history, India is today one of the very few relatively stable elements in the whole of the Far East.

Not only the United States, but India in general and Nehru in particular are making new estimates for the future. And while it is unlikely that any tangible decisions will be made as a result of the Indian Prime Minister's current mission, impressions will very likely be formed on both sides in the next few weeks which may in the long run influence greatly the course of affairs in the Orient.

Then after summing up the view of some U. S. foreign office and other high officials that Japan is the only reliable element in the Far East, he puts forward the contention of many other officials who believe that this reliability of Japan is based on assumptions which are impermanent in quality and therefore unreliable. In this connection he goes on to say:

What the United States must do, these officials believe, is to accept the changes that have taken place in the political development of the Far East, and try to work out a policy that conforms to the facts of the present situation, regardless of how long that may take or how difficult it may be.

It is not likely that the United States will recognize the Chinese Communists in the near future, but if the Chinese people acquiesce in the leadership of the Communists and if the Communist Government there demonstrates that it is willing to meet its international obligations, the likelihood is that the United States will enter into diplomatic relations with the new regime.

That, however, is likely to be the last rather than the first move in any policy that may evolve from the current re-evaluation of American Far Eastern policy. The first move is to try to demonstrate to Nehru that this country, despite the current demonstrations on Capitol Hill and the current spate of angry notes about the Communists in Moscow and Eastern Europe, is a reliable force for peace and that it is less emotional and imperialistic than it sometimes sounds.

This, of course, is only one side of the story. Nehru, too, will be expected here to demonstrate that the new India is also a reliable force which can use its new freedom effectively to support the objectives the Prime Minister has so eloquently described.

If first impressions are reliable, and they sometimes are, Pandit Nehru is a philosophical man who has come out of a lifetime struggle with the British without bitterness, and emerged from a lifetime admiration of communism with sufficient objectivity to take another look.

He has also arrived here, to judge from his public and private remarks, with a remarkable degree of detachment and friendliness toward the United States. And unlike many visitors, he is not likely to base his conclusions on surface observations.

In short, the relations between the Far East and the United States are now being re-examined. This has happened many times in the past, but this time the examination is going on at both ends, with the Far East having far more independence to determine its future than ever before.

Pandit Nehru's public utterances in the U.S.A., the two most significant of which are reproduced in full elsewhere in the Notes of this issue, have so far laid emphasis on the necessity for peace and the role India is prepared to play in it. He has further laid stress on the fact that the problems of Asia have a world significance now and they can no longer be ignored without jeopardising the stability of all nations. It is not time yet to examine in detail all his statements.

### *Protection for Civil Servants*

There was a storm in a tea-cup over Article 283-A of the Constitution, which provides for guarantees for civil servants. We have been unable to find any real justification for the inclusion of this Article in the Constitution. But all the same we do not see any reason for being unduly perturbed by the fact of its inclusion. There are some persons who imagine the Articles of the New Constitution to be like the Laws of the Medes and the Persians, unalterable and impossible of modification. This supposition we know to be based on false premises, as any student of Political History knows. In a free country nothing can stand before the will of the people, and we have not the slightest doubt that before many decades—or even may be a single decade—have passed this newly forged Constitution of ours will be drastically modified in many respects.

The new Article 283-A reads as follows :

"Except as otherwise expressly provided by this Constitution, every person who having been appointed by the Secretary of State or Secretary of State-in-Council, to a civil service of the Crown in India continues on and after the commencement of this

Constitution to serve under the Government of India and the Government of the State shall be entitled to receive from the Government of India and the Government of the State, which he is serving from time to time, the same conditions of service as respects remuneration, leave and pension, and the same rights as respects disciplinary matters or rights as similar thereto as changed circumstances may permit as that person was entitled to immediately before such commencement."

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa said that while he believed in keeping the services contented, he felt that this Article had over-crossed the limit. This Article, he said, should not have found place in the Constitution.

Mr. Anantasayanam Ayyangar admitted that this was an "extraordinary" guarantee they were giving to the "heaven-born" service, particularly because when they had not been able "to give guarantee for food and clothing to the masses and when they have not given any guarantee to the under-dogs in the services."

"This guarantee" he said, "means that the rulers of the previous regime continues to be rulers of the present regime. This guarantee asks us to forget that these 400 officers committed excesses thinking that they do not form part of this country." He said that "This is not to the credit of the service, because they cared more for money than anything else. The British bureaucrats who ruled over us some time ago purchased the loyalty by paying money." But he was asking the members to pass the Article in view of the guarantee given by the national leaders.

Continuing Mr. Ayyangar said that Mr. Gopalswami Ayyangar was charged with the task of making suggestions for the reorganisation of the Secretariat. He said, "It is absolutely necessary that we should take axe in our hand to cut our expenditure." In the previous regime there were only 5 Joint Secretaries, but now there were 30.

Mr. Ayyangar said that while they were making an exception in favour of the I.C.S. cadre, he was sorry to say that some of them had not reconciled to the new conditions and did not feel that they were part and parcel of the country.

### *Sardar Patel's Tribute*

We have observed with some considerable amount of surprise the outburst of emotion in our beloved Sardar during his defence of the services. He is fully justified of course in standing up for the services and every thinking person will fully endorse his concluding remarks about allowing the members of the services to express their opinions to the heads of the States' administration freely and to allow the services to develop gradually. But it is quite another matter to accept his highly eulogistic appraisal of the patriotism, loyalty, sincerity and ability of the civil services as an entity. We confess that we are unable to do so without attaching considerable reserve and limitations. If this praise were given to the Fighting Forces we would

heartily agree, but as regards the Police and the Civil Services, the most we are willing to concede that some members of those services are truly paragons of patriotism, loyalty, sincerity and ability. As about the rest of them—the less said the better!

"I feel very sad," said Sardar Patel, "that we have been continuously quarrelling with the very instruments from which we have to take work. Who do so are doing a great disservice to the country."

The guarantees given to the Services, Sardar Patel added, were not given in secret. All the representatives of the nation, including the provinces, had agreed to them. *Having worked with members of the Service, he could say that in point of patriotism, loyalty, sincerity and ability, it would not be possible to find substitutes for them. "They are as good as ourselves and to speak of them in disparaging terms in this House and to criticise them in public, is doing a disservice to yourselves and to the country."*

Explaining the circumstances in which these guarantees were given, Sardar Patel recalled that "British District Magistrates were playing havoc" in five districts of the Punjab including Rawalpindi and Gurgaon. In Gurgaon, the District Magistrate arrested leading Congressmen for no fault of theirs and when the local bar association protested against their arrest, he wrote on the application that the Congressmen had been arrested as hostages. Sardar Patel personally went to see the British District Magistrate and asked him whether it was true that he had arrested people as hostages. The Magistrate denied the charge. Sardar Patel then confronted him with the document. The Magistrate asked the Sardar, "How did you get this?" Sardar Patel replied, "That is not the question. Is this your endorsement or not?"

Even after this incident, Sardar Patel, who was then Home Minister of undivided India, failed to get that British Magistrate removed from Gurgaon. Sardar Patel wrote to the Governor of the Punjab and pleaded with the Viceroy, but still he could not be removed.

Such things were happening not only in the Punjab, but elsewhere too, Sardar Patel said it was under these circumstances that he in the interests of the country, agreed to partition as a last resort, on condition that power would be transferred in two months and the British would not interfere on the question of Indian States. The guarantee to the Service found a place in the Indian Independence Act which gave birth to the Indian Parliament.

He said, "When Mr. Henderson came here to settle the question of Services of the Secretary of State, it was discussed and agreed that the question should be settled before power was actually transferred. It was agreed that some direct arrangement should be made by Britain in regard to the conditions of service of the members of the Secretary of State Service and then only will the transfer of power take place. And so guarantees were given."

"It was then suggested by me that Britain should be concerned with only the British members of the Secretary of State's Services. More than 30 per cent of the members were British. I asked Mr. Henderson to leave us to deal with Indian members alone. It was agreed that those British members should be given compensation if they wanted to leave the services of India, and they should be given proportionate pension. Everything was settled before the question of transfer of power was proceeded with.

"These negotiations were considered in certain important sections. They were placed before the Cabinet. It was a joint Cabinet at that time and the Cabinet had accepted these proposals.

"Then the Viceroy sent a communication to the British Parliament and it was accepted by the British Parliament. Many of Europeans, Britons, who were in service then have left."

"But when the negotiations were going on," Sardar Patel said, "I asked to leave the case of Indian members of the Secretary of State's Service to us to deal with them as we like. They will trust us and we shall trust them. And this suggestion of mine was also agreed to."

Sardar Patel further said, "You are responsible members of Parliament. The Leader of this House has been invited to America, and from the honour that is being conferred on him, it shows how much respect and esteem he enjoys outside.

"He was in the House when such assurances and guarantees were given to members of the Civil Services. How can you forget those instances of recent history? What is the use of talking about the people who serve us well and who cannot be easily substituted? I wish this to be recorded in this House that during the last two or three years if most of the members of the Services have not been serving the country efficiently, practically the Union would have collapsed.

"Ask Dr. Matthai about their quality and integrity. He has been working with them. Ask the Premiers of our own provinces. They would also tell you the quality of the people with whom they have been working. There is no use in talking only of Congressmen."

"Once and for all, decide whether you want this Service. If you decide that you should not have the Service at all, in spite of my pledged word, I will take the Service with me and I will go. I will tell the servicemen, 'Let us go. The nation has changed.' They are capable of earning their living.

"If you want the Service, I would advise you to allow its members to open their mouths freely. If you are a Premier, it is your duty to allow your Secretary or other servants to express their opinions without fear or favour. Today my Secretary can write an endorsement exactly opposite to mine. I have given him freedom always and told him, 'If you do not give me your honest opinion for fear that it will displease your Minister, you had better go.'

"The House," Sardar Patel went on, "considers only the benefits and privileges of the members of the Service. Let us also consider whether at present we can substitute them all. We have already made some substitutes. We have started our own Defence training class. If you want India to survive, I would advise you all to allow the Service of the country to gradually develop."

Sardar Patel, therefore, advised the members to support the Services except where individual members might misbehave. He also appealed to them to give the Article their full support.

### *Calcutta University Affairs*

The elder section of our regular readers may remember the campaign for University reform carried on for years in the editorial columns of *The Modern Review* and its sister paper the *Prabasi*, against the Calcutta University authorities. We do not know if the details are known to the readers of present day for we are referring back to a period that ended about a quarter of a century ago. But our older readers may remember that the campaign came to sudden halt about the time when the Bengal Government of that day announced a drastic cut in the financial grant to the Calcutta University, quoting *The Modern Review's* criticisms in support of this measure. Our late founder-Editor was exceedingly perturbed and lodged a strong protest in private to the Government through a Bengali member of the Governor's Council. This proving fruitless he decided to stop the campaign as he was not willing to be a party to this Devil's advocacy for the destruction of the University, under the guise of reform.

A similar occasion has arisen now after some disclosures about Calcutta University examinations made in a Calcutta daily paper. The disclosures referred to were made with more regard for sensation than for remedy, as for example, the first *expose* was not followed with any editorial in the paper that published it, and the consequence has been the reverse of beneficial. A veritable spate of personal vendettas, party fiends and petty jealousies, to say nothing of low sadistic malice, has been the result of the present press campaign, and unless steps are taken in time this will result in irreparable damage, as well both to the University and to its alumni, present, past and future. All thoughtful persons will view with great concern, we are sure, the prospect of the severe damage to the status of all graduates of the Calcutta University as is inevitable if this orgy of reckless sensationalism continues. These exposures are being despatched to other provinces and abroad and the repercussion of all these will be disastrous in the extreme.

A thorough investigation of the Calcutta University affairs is called for, there can be no doubts about that. But the question is as to the personnel of the Enquiry Commission and its terms of reference. As matters stand today, we believe that further play to the gallery of "public opinion" would be risky in the extreme, and that what is needed now is an enquiry of a compre-

hensive nature, conducted on a judicial basis, with unbiassed findings and recommendations. Let the public understand that the Calcutta University is one of the few great assets left to the mutilated province of West Bengal, and assailed as we are from all sides we cannot afford to have it sacrificed just to have a Roman holiday.

We understand the Governor as the Chancellor is contemplating the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry. We would suggest that the majority of the members should be drawn from the elder graduates of the Calcutta University, to ensure the safeguarding of their Alma Mater. Men of judicial or academic distinction should be chosen from amongst those who are cognisant of University affairs, and further we consider it essential that they should have no record of past rancour or controversy so far as the Calcutta University is concerned. We would lay special emphasis on this last requisite because like all well-wishers of the University we desire its reform and not its destruction.

### *Economic Progress of India, Forsooth!*

In the course of his address to the U. S. Congress Pandit Nehru said, with reference to the pressing need for Economic Progress in India :

"To remove this poverty by greater production, more equitable distribution, better education and better health is the paramount problem and the most pressing task before us, and we are determined to accomplish it. We realize that self-help is the first condition of success for a nation no less than for an individual. We are conscious that ours must be the primary effort and we shall seek succour from none to escape from any part of our responsibility. But, though our economic potential is great, its conversion into finished wealth will need much mechanical and technological aid. We shall therefore, gladly welcome such aid and co-operation on terms which are of mutual benefit."

No person in India, possessed of a bare modicum of economic and scientific sense will deny the extreme cogency of this statement of Pandit Nehru, *unless that person happens to be either a Minister of the State or a high official charged with the stepping up of production, agricultural, mineral or industrial.* We are not making this apparently paradoxical statement without realizing the full import of it. We believe Pandit Nehru's ambitions and aspirations for the betterment of his nation—than which nothing is nearer and dearer to his heart—will stand a better chance of fulfilment if he sought aid from the High Heavens to instil a sense of realities into the craniums of some of his colleagues who are charged with the tasks concerning economic progress, and their counterparts in the provinces. The U.S.A. may give all the technological aid and all the money Pandit Nehru wants, but nought shall prevail unless a drastic change is effected here. We would wager that even the economy of the U.S.A. itself would collapse within a matter of a few years if it be put in charge of these ministerial worthies and their pet "experts" and administrative heads.

Jute happens to be strategic raw material No. 1 today, after devaluation has landed us into a virtual economic war with Pakistan, and our economic survival depends to a large measure on the outcome of this war. Even before devaluation, self-sufficiency in jute was regarded as being only second in importance to self-sufficiency in food. The Bose Institute of Calcutta, a scientific institution known and reputed to scientific circles the world over, has been tackling the problem of jute for years with specialized technical equipment and scientific methods of the latest variety. We happen to know in detail about the whole experiment, of which the broad details are given in the first article of this issue of *The Modern Review*. We further know that the Government departments concerned have given the extreme minimum of aid they could, and created as much difficulties as was possible.

We would request our readers to peruse the first article of this issue and consider its possibilities, and not to be confused with wonderful reports like the recent Delhi release about the "Travancore Jute Growing Plan," which has caused much mirth at Karachi and Dacca.

### *Strike in Calcutta Municipality*

The last strike of the employees of the Calcutta Municipality endangered the health of this city home of about 5 million people and an international port. It has once again high-lighted the irresponsibility of what has come to be known as "labour-leadership" and of the incompetence and corruption of the organization enthroned on Surendra Nath Banerjee Esquire in the heart of Calcutta. We do not say that all the elements and groups of employees of this Municipality have no grievances to ventilate or should not attempt to get them removed. But we do assert that times and circumstances in October, 1949, did not justify the strike.

Among the 26,000 members of the various Unions that have co-operated in precipitating this strike there are about 5 to 6 thousands in the clerical and semi-clerical staff who belong to the "middle or lower middle class"; the "essential services" are manned by about fifteen thousand people—such as scavengers, labourers in the lighting department, in the engineering department, etc. The disputants—the Calcutta Municipality and the strikers—have not cared to take the public into confidence with regard to the nature of the mutually exclusive stand-points that have caused this strike, entailing unnecessary suffering on the citizens. The Municipal authorities have said that of their budget of a little over 4 crores of rupees (a crore is 10 millions) more than half is spent on wages and salaries; about 80 lakh rupees constitute "statutory obligations," such as payments to be made to the Port Trust, to the Improvement Trust, expenses of the Fire Brigade, etc. Thus only about 20 to 25 per cent of their income can be devoted to the service and amenities of the citizens. In view of this state of their finances,

they cannot make increases in the pay of their employees.

The latter say that in the face of rising prices of the bare necessities of life, they find it difficult to make both ends meet. This assertion can be rightly assessed only in the light of statistics of the earnings of the various groups that make up the strikers. We have not seen any statement challenging the facts brought out on behalf of the Municipal authorities as regards the thinness of the margin.

On behalf of the strikers the demand was being stridently made that it must be met. But wherefrom? By economising in expenditure? By enhancing rates? The latter is a long-term affair. The strikers who know the ins and outs of Municipal finances ought to have pointed out the items that can be cut out. But have their leaders the honesty to do this? The Gurner report has said that payments are received in the names of 4,000 labourers who are non-existent; this money goes out of Municipal funds, a few dishonest people, officers and labourers, stealing about Rs. 26 lakhs every year. Did the strike-leaders not know this fact? Did the general body of Municipal employees do anything to stop this? Were they not co-operating with the thieves amongst them by keeping *chup* over it all these years?

Another point that we desire to bring to the notice of the Congress High Command who dominate the scene today is the activities of Congress members creating confusion and conditions of near-anarchy in India. Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji and Shri Bepin Bihari Ganguli have been playing the role of fomentors of these anti-social methods. As leading lights of the National Union of Trade Unions in the country they should not allow political considerations, election prospects, to play havoc with the life and comforts of the citizens of Calcutta.

But the point that has a wider aspect is the question whether a few thousands have the moral right to create difficulties for society while enjoying its protection and amenities? "Essential service" men enjoy certain privileges denied to ordinary citizens. But they have responsibilities something of the nature of soldiers.

### *East Punjab*

This Province has again become politically unstable. The Sikhs have been smarting under a constant feeling of irritation that under no conceivable re-arrangement of political forces in undivided Punjab could they attain a dominant position. Prior to the partition they had been planning for the separation of Muslim-majority districts of the old province from those where Hindus and Sikhs would be a majority; therefore did they produce a plan for a Sikhistan which would be free alike from Hindu and Muslim influence. The Mountbatten plan has divided the Punjab; but they did not secured their heart's desire.

But what they have been doing now in re-emphasising their credal differences from the majority community of Hindus in East Punjab has all the



characteristics of a community that would be difficult to satisfy. We have been watching with increasing sorrow this deterioration.

This is the atmosphere in East Punjab; in this background it appears almost irrelevant whether a Bhim Sen Sachar or a Gopi Chand Bhargava or a Giani Kartar Singh is Premier of the Province. The tension of feeling there has been made manifest by a memorandum on the language question of the province submitted by Bakshi Tek Chand, years ago Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, and a few other Hindi-speaking members of the Constituent Assembly. Bakshiji contends that this arrangement imposes the language of the minority on the majority, recognizing a new "two-nations" theory that would require "a further division" of East Punjab.

That a sane and sober public man like Bakshiji should have been persuaded to give voice to fears like these heightens the tragedy of the situation. The point of differences between Sikhs and others appears to reduce itself to the insistence by the former on their Gurumukhi script. 80 per cent of the words used in the *Granth Sahib*, the Sikh religious book par excellence, is said to be "pure Hindi." This fact puts a new complexion on the controversy; it ought to serve as a bridge between the Hindu and the Sikh in East Punjab.

### *States in the New Set-up*

On October 15, 1949, the States of Banaras, Tripura and Manipur were taken over by the Central Government of the Indian Union; these were the last of the States to agree to join the Indian Union and in the case of the last two under an interim arrangement these will continue to be administered as Chief Commissioners' Provinces. It is time, therefore, to take stock of the situation as it has emerged since "paramountcy of the British Crown" ceased to be exercised, and the more than 560 States and Jagirdaris were persuaded to merge themselves, more or less, in the net set-up in India. We give the story below.

On July 5, 1947, the States Department of the Government of India came formally into existence with the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, at its head. To begin with, there were only four officers in the Department with Mr. V. P. Menon as the Secretary.

The task facing the Department, converted into the States Ministry on Independence Day, was to devise a method whereby the States, within geographical boundaries of India but technically independent with the lapse of paramountcy, could be brought into some organic constitutional relationship with the Centre.

The first stage in tackling the problem was to secure the accession of the States in respect of the three subjects—Defence, External Affairs and Communications. This was accomplished by August 15 in the case of the most of the States.

The second stage was the consolidation of a number of small States whose resources were not adequate to

have the paraphernalia of a democratic administration; these States were merged into the adjoining provinces. The process of merger began with Orissa in November 1947, then spread to the Central Provinces, Bombay and finally Assam.

There were other States, small in size and resources, which could maintain separate existence but which were situated near bigger States. They were, therefore, integrated with the bigger units and thus the unions of States came into existence.

The first to be born was the Saurashtra Union which consists of over 300 big and small States.

The two-year process of integration has reduced 565 States to nine distinct units which will be scheduled in the constitution of the Republic. These are the six Unions of States—namely, *Saurashtra, Madhya-Bharat, Rajasthan, Vindhya Pradesh, Pepsu and the United States of Travancore and Cochin* and the three large States of *Mysore, Hyderabad and Kashmir*. The heads of these units, known as Rajpramukhs will enjoy powers identical with those of the Governors of provinces.

The Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, in consultation with the States Ministry and representatives of the States, arrived at agreed conclusions in respect of the provisions to be made in the draft constitution governing the States. These were discussed in State legislatures, wherever such existed, and have just been embodied in the Union constitution.

For the nine units there will be a legislature on the lines of those in the provinces. It may take some time to set up legislatures in some of these units and, therefore, suitable transitory provisions have been devised.

In the exercise of their functions, these legislatures are expected to give due regard to the covenants which their rulers have executed with the Government of India and guarantees which the Government of India have given to the rulers in respect of their rights, privileges and dignity. There is a special part in the constitution which specifies the modifications subject to which the provisions of the constitution governing the provinces will apply to the States.

A provision is being made in the constitution which empowers the President for a period of ten years to exercise general control over the scheduled States and ensure compliance with the directives of the Government of India.

It ought to be pointed out in this connection that having regard to the magnitude of the tasks that confront the Governments of the scheduled States in the transitional period, neither the services inherited by them nor the political parties as at present organised are in a position to assume unaided full responsibilities of administration. This position has been recognised by the Covenants signed by the Rajpramukhs. It is explained however, that it is not the intention of the Government of India that the Legislatures of the States, where they are in existence, should be prevented in any manner from holding the Ministers responsible to them in the framing of their policies and in the conduct of

administration. At the same time it is inevitable that to the extent that the State Governments act in pursuance of the directions of the Government of India, they should be acquitted of responsibility to the Legislatures.

Provision has also been made in the draft according recognition to the guarantees given to the rulers under the various covenants and instruments of merger in respect of privy purse-payments which will be tax free. This financial commitment is to be shared between the Centre and the States in accordance with the agreements relating to the federal financial integration of the States.

The total annual privy purse commitments so far entered into by the Government of India amount to Rs. 4,66,73,535. A ceiling has been put in regard to the individual receipts of privy purse at ten lakhs per annum.

In view of certain special considerations, some rulers are getting more than this amount today but their successors will be entitled to only Rs. 10 lakhs. Ultimately, it is expected the total figure will come to Rs. 3,89,98,535.

It is pointed out that the total privy purse of the rulers in the pre-August 15 days amounted to about Rs. 25 crores a year. This did not include certain personal expenditures on rulers' families, marriages, etc.

Not only has the Privy Purse bill been brought down to less than one-sixth of what it was formerly, the States have, it is stated, considerably benefited financially by the process of integration. The Saurashtra Union Government, for instance, started off with a cash balance of Rs. 14 crores. The Rajpramukh of the Madhya-Bharat Union, the Maharaja of Gwalior, made over large sums of money to the Union yielding interest sufficient to cover a large portion of the total Privy Purse of the rulers who have joined the Union.

Payment of about Rs. 4 crores annually by way of Privy Purse to the princes who have co-operated in the consolidation of India's territory cannot, it is maintained, be considered unjustified when the Government of India continue to spend Rs. 1½ crores every year by way of political pensions in discharge of the commitments of the British Government to those who rendered service to them in the consolidation of their empire.

Another major problem which faced the States Ministry related to the States' forces. The solution worked out by the Ministry is as follows:

The Rajpramukh will be the head of the forces in his State but they will be part of the Indian Union forces. Their strength and organisation will be determined by the Government of India with reference to the overall requirements of the country in the matter of defence and internal security. In each State an officer selected by the Government of India in consultation with the Rajpramukh will be G.O.C. of the State forces. The standard of the State forces will be brought up to that of the Indian Army, and there will be interchangeability of officers.

In so far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, until the Constituent Assembly of the State decides to accept the entire Indian constitution, the constitutional relationship of that State with the Indian Union will continue to be on the basis of the existing Instrument of Accession. This provision has been made in view of the special problems with which the State is faced.

Difficulties with regard to Junagadh and Hyderabad were solved with determination and the threat to the consolidation of the country was removed.

The next phase is said to be even more difficult. The administrative machinery in the States remains to be organized and built up. In several States the progress has been painful. In some States there is a complete lack of anything like a modern administrative machinery. The right type of personnel has to be recruited and trained. The Jagirdari problem which is of more serious importance than the zamindari problem, remains to be solved.

This work of consolidation has laid the lines of a system which, it is hoped, will enable the country to stand the strains and stresses of a free life. The intrepidity with which it has been done is a credit to all parties.

### *Territories of Bharat*

Before the Constituent Assembly adjourned for the day on the 10th of October last, the Law Minister, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, moved the most important provision left undecided so far, namely, the First Schedule defining the territories of Bharat. It was accepted on the 15th.

According to the schedule, the Central Provinces will have a new name "Koshala-Vidarbha," while West Bengal and East Punjab will be known as "Bengal" and "Punjab" respectively.

The suggestion with regard to the change of names of three provinces has been referred to the Premiers concerned who are expected to consult their Legislatures. From the reports of the proceedings available, we do not get the reasons behind it. It will be noticeable also that West Bengal is the only province that has not gained any territory as a result of mergers of States that redounds to the credit of Sardar Patel. We find that certain members brought in the problem of linguistic provinces into this discussion in the course of which a Bihar member, Shri Brajeshwar Prasad, moved an amendment that "all Hindi-speaking areas" be united into a single province. This unwanted subject was side-tracked for the occasion by deferring the final decision to the "third reading" of the whole Constitution Bill which must be finished by November 26. We have a certain feeling that not even the Big Four of Indian politics—Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Pattabhi—can go against a historic process which if postponed can heap up more difficulties for the future.

### *Pandit Nehru's Address to U. S. Congress*

The following is the text of the address, delivered on October 13, to the U. S. House of Representatives and the Senate :

"I deem it a high honour and privilege to be given this opportunity of addressing this honourable House, and I must express to you, sir, my gratitude for it. For this House represents in a large measure this great Republic which is playing such a vital part in the destinies of mankind today.

"I have come to this country to learn something of your great achievements. I have come also to convey the greetings of my people, and in the hope that my visit may help to create a greater understanding between our respective peoples and make those strong and sometimes invisible links stronger even than the physical links that bind countries together.

"The President referred the day before yesterday, in language of significance, to my visit as a voyage of discovery of America. The USA is not an unknown country even in far-off India, and many of us have grown up in admiration of the ideals and objectives which have made this country great.

"Yet, though we may know the history and something of the culture of our respective countries what is required is a true understanding and appreciation of each other, even where we differ. Out of that understanding grows fruitful co-operation in pursuit of common ideals. What the world today perhaps lacks most is understanding and appreciation of each other among nations and peoples.

"I have come here, therefore, on a voyage of discovery of the mind and heart of America and to place before you our own mind and heart. Thus may we promote that understanding and co-operation which, I feel sure, both our countries earnestly desire. Already I have received a welcome here, the generous warmth of which has created a deep impression on my mind and, indeed, somewhat overwhelmed me.

"During the last two days I have been in Washington, I have paid visits to the memorials of the great builders of this nation. I have done so not for the sake of mere formality, but because they have long been enshrined in my heart and their example had inspired me as it had inspired innumerable countrymen of mine. These memorials are the real temples to which each generation must pay tribute and, in doing so, must catch something of the fire that burnt in the hearts of those who were the torch-bearers of freedom not only for this country, but for the world : for those who are truly great have a message that cannot be confined within a particular country ; it is for all the world.

"In India there came a man in our own generation who inspired us to great endeavour, ever reminding us that thought and action should never be divorced from moral principle, that the true path of man is truth and peace. Under his guidance we laboured for the freedom of our country, with ill-will to none, and achieved

that freedom. We called him reverently and affectionately the Father of our Nation. Yet he was too great for the circumscribed borders of any one country, and the message he gave may well help us in considering the wider problems of the world.

"The United States of America has struggled to freedom and unparalleled prosperity during the past century and a half, and today they are a great and powerful nation. They have an amazing record of growth in material wellbeing and scientific and technological advance. They could not have done so unless they had been anchored in the great principles laid down in the early days of their history. For material progress cannot go far or last long unless it has its foundations in moral principles and high ideals.

"Those principles and ideals are enshrined in your Declaration of Independence which lays down as a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"It may interest you to know that in drafting the Constitution of the Republic of India we have been greatly influenced by your own Constitution. The preamble of our Constitution states that 'We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign, democratic republic and to secure to all the citizens justice, social, economic and political ; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship ; equality of status and of opportunity ; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nations ; in our Constituent Assembly, we do hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this Constitution.'

"You will recognize in these words that I have quoted an echo of the great voices of the founders of your Republic. You will see that, though India may speak to you with a voice that you may not immediately recognize, or that may perhaps appear somewhat alien to you, yet in that voice there is a strong resemblance to what you have often heard before.

"Yet it is true that India's voice is somewhat different : it is not the voice of the old world of Europe but of the older world of Asia. It is the voice of an ancient civilization—distinctive, vital, which at the same time has renewed itself and learnt much from you and the other countries of the West. It is, therefore, both old and new. It has its roots deep in the past, but it also has the dynamic urges of today.

"But, however the voices of India and the United States may appear to differ, there is much in common between them. Like you we have achieved our freedom through a revolution, though our methods were different from yours.

"Like you we shall be a republic based on the federal principle, which is an outstanding contribution of the founders of this great republic. In a vast country like India, as in this great Republic of the United States, it becomes necessary to have a delicate balance

between Central control and State autonomy. We have placed in the forefront of our Constitution those fundamental human rights to which all men who love liberty, equality and progress aspire—the freedom of the individual, the equality of men, and the Rule of Law. We enter, therefore, the community of free nations with the roots of democracy deeply embedded in our institutions as well as in the thoughts of our people.

"We have achieved political freedom, but the revolution is not yet complete and is still in progress for political freedom without the assurance of the right to live and to pursue happiness, which economic progress alone can bring, can never satisfy a people. Therefore, our immediate task is to raise the living standards of our people, to remove all that comes in the way of the economic growth of the nation. We have tackled the major problem of India, as it is today the major problem of Asia, the agrarian problem. Much that was feudal in our system of land tenure is being changed so that the fruits of cultivation should go to the tiller of the soil and he should be secure in the possession of the land that he cultivates.

"In a country in which agriculture is still the principal industry, this reform is essential not only to the wellbeing and contentment of the individual but also to the stability of society. One of the main causes of social instability in many parts of the world, and more especially in Asia is agrarian discontent due to the continuance of systems of land tenure which are completely out of place in the modern world. Another, and this is also true of the greater part of Asia and Africa, is the low standard of living of the masses.

"India is industrially more developed than many less fortunate countries, and is reckoned seventh or eighth among the world's industrial nations. But this arithmetical distinction cannot conceal the poverty of the great majority of our people. To remove this poverty by greater production, more equitable distribution, better education and better health is the paramount problem and the most pressing task before us, and we are determined to accomplish it. We realize that self-help is the first condition of success for a nation no less than for an individual.

"We are conscious that ours must be the primary effort and we shall seek succour from none to escape from any part of our responsibility. But, though our economic potential is great, its conversion into finished wealth will need much mechanical and technological aid. We shall, therefore, gladly welcome such aid and co-operation on terms which are of mutual benefit. We believe that this may well help in the larger solution of the problems that confront the world. But we do not seek any material advantage in exchange for any part of our hard-won freedom.

"The objectives of our foreign policy are the preservation of world peace and the enlargement of human freedom. Two tragic wars have demonstrated the futility of warfare. Victory, without the will to

peace, achieves no lasting result, and victor and vanquished alike suffer from past wounds, deep and grievous, and a common fear of the future.

"May I venture to say that this is not an incorrect description of the world of today. It is not flattering either to reason or to our common humanity. Must this unhappy state persist and the power of science and wealth continue to be harnessed to the service of destruction?

"Every nation, great or small, has to answer this question, and the greater a nation, the greater is its responsibility to find and to work for the right answer.

"India may be new to world politics, and her military strength insignificant by comparison with that of the giants of our epoch. But India is old in thought and experience and has travelled through trackless centuries in the adventure of life. Throughout her long history she has stood for peace and every prayer that an Indian raises ends with an invocation to peace. It was out of this ancient and yet young India that arose Mahatma Gandhi, and he taught us a technique of action which was peaceful, and yet it was effective and yielded results which led us not only to freedom but to friendship with those with whom we were till yesterday in conflict.

"How far can that principle be applied to wider spheres of action? I do not know. For circumstances differ and the means to prevent evil have to be shaped and set to the nature of the evil. Yet I have no doubt that the basic approach which lay behind that technique of action was the right approach in human affairs and the only approach that ultimately solves a problem satisfactorily. We have to achieve freedom and to defend it. We have to meet aggression and to resist it, and the force employed must be adequate to the purpose.

"But even when preparing to resist aggression, the ultimate objective, the objective of peace and reconciliation, must never be lost sight of, and heart and mind must be attuned to this supreme aim, and not swayed or clouded by hatred or fear.

"This is the basis and the goal of our foreign policy. We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom, from whatever quarter it may come.

"Where freedom is menaced, or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be, and shall not be neutral. What we plead for, and endeavour to practise in our own imperfect way, is a binding faith in peace, and an unflinching endeavour of thought and action to ensure it. The great democracy of the United States of America will, I feel sure, understand and appreciate our approach to life's problems because it could not have any other aim or a different ideal. Friendship and co-operation between our two countries are, therefore, natural. I stand here to offer both in the pursuit of justice, liberty and peace."

### *Pandit Nehru's Address at Columbia University*

The following is the text of Pandit Nehru's address :

"Mr. President, I am deeply grateful to this great university and to you, Sir, for the honour you have done me in inviting me today and in conferring the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

"It is an honour to be associated with this university and with the many men of learning and seekers after truth of learning and seekers after truth of this university, and I shall treasure it. To have that signal honour conferred upon me by one who has played such a distinguished part in both war and peace adds to its value.

"I have come to you not so much in my capacity as Prime Minister of a great country or as a politician, but rather as a humble seeker after truth and as one who has continuously struggled to find a way, not always with success, to fit action to the objectives and ideals that I have held.

"That process is always difficult, but becomes increasingly so in this world of conflict and passion today.

"Politicians have to deal with day-to-day problems and they seek immediate remedies.

"Philosophers think of ultimate objectives and are apt to lose touch with the day-to-day work and its problems. Neither approach appeared to be adequate by itself. Is it possible to combine these two approaches and function after the manner of Plato's philosopher kings ?

"You, Sir, have had the experience of the role of a great man of action and also of that of a philosopher as the head of this university, and should be able to help us to answer this question.

"In this world of incessant and feverish activity, men have little time to think, and much less to consider ideals and objectives ; yet how are we to act even in the present unless we know which way we are going and what our objectives are ?

"It is only in the peaceful atmosphere of a university that these problems can be adequately considered.

"It is only when the young men and women who are in university today, and on whom the burden of life's problems will fall tomorrow, learn to have clear objectives and standards of values that there is any hope for the next generation.

"The past generation produced some great men but as a generation it led the world repeatedly to disaster.

"Two world wars are the price that has been paid for the lack of wisdom on man's part in this generation.

"It is a terrible price, and the tragedy of it is that, even after that price was paid, we have not purchased real peace nor a cessation of conflict, and an even

deeper tragedy is that mankind does not profit by its experience and continues the same way which led previously to disaster.

"We have had wars and we have had a victory, yet what is victory and how do we measure it ?

"A war is fought usually to gain certain objectives. The defeat of the enemy is not by itself an objective but rather the removal of an obstruction towards the attainment of the objective. If that objective is not attained, then that victory over the enemy brings only negative relief and, indeed, is no real victory.

"We have seen, however, that the aim in wars is almost entirely to defeat the enemy, and that the other and real objective is often forgotten.

"The result has been that the victory attained by defeating the enemy has only been a very partial one and has not solved the real problem, or if it has solved the immediate problem it has at the same time given rise to many other and, sometimes, worse problems.

"Therefore, it becomes necessary to have the real objectives clear in our minds at all times, whether in war or in peace, and always to aim at achieving that objective.

"I think also that there is always a close and intimate relationship between the end we aim at and the means adopted to attain it. Even if the end is right but the means are wrong, that will vitiate the end or divert it into a wrong direction.

"Means and ends are thus intimately and inextricably connected and cannot be separated.

"That, indeed, has been the lesson of old taught us by many great men in the past but, unfortunately, it is seldom remembered.

"I am venturing to place some of these ideas before you not because they are novel but because they have impressed themselves upon me in the course of my life which has been spent in alternating periods of incessant activity and conflict and enforced leisure.

"The great leader of my country, Mahatma Gandhi, under whose inspiration and sheltering care I grew up, always laid stress on moral values and warned us never to subordinate means to ends.

"We are not worthy of him and yet to the best of our ability, we try to follow his teaching.

Even the limited extent to which we could follow his teaching yielded rich results. After a generation of intense struggle with a great and powerful nation, we achieved success, and perhaps the most significant part of that achievement for which credit is due to both parties was the manner of it.

"History hardly affords a parallel to a solution of such a conflict in a peaceful way, followed by friendly and co-operative relations.

"It is astonishing how rapidly bitterness and ill-will between the nations have faded away and given place to co-operation, and we in India have decided of our own free will to continue this co-operation as an independent nation.

"I would not presume to offer advice to other and more experienced nations in any way, but may I suggest for your consideration that there is some lesson in India's peaceful evolution which might be applied to the larger problems before the world today?"

"That evolution demonstrates to us that physical force need not necessarily be the arbiter of man's destiny, and that the method of waging a struggle and the way of its termination are of paramount importance.

"Past history shows us the important part that physical force has played.

"But it also shows us that no such force can ultimately ignore the moral forces of the world, and if it attempted to do so it does so at its peril.

"Today this problem faces us in all its intensity because the weapons that physical force has at its disposal are terrible to contemplate.

"Must the 20th century differ from primitive barbarism only in the destructive efficacy of the weapons that man's ingenuity has invented for man's destruction?"

"I do believe, in accordance with my master's teaching, that there is another way to meet this situation that faces us.

"I realize that a statesman or a man who has to deal with public affairs cannot ignore realities and cannot act in terms of abstract truth.

"His activity is always limited by the degree of receptivity of the truth by his fellowmen.

"Nevertheless, the basic truth remains truth and is always to be kept in view and, so far as possible, it should guide our actions.

"Otherwise, we get caught up in a vicious circle of evil when one evil action leads to another.

"India is a very old country with a great past. But it is a new country also with a new urges and desires. Since August 1947, she has been in a position to pursue her own foreign policy.

"She was limited by the realities of the situation which she could not ignore or overcome. But even so she could not forget the lesson of her great leader. She has tried to adapt, however imperfectly, theory to reality in so far as she could. In the family of nations she was a newcomer and could not influence them greatly to begin with. But she had a certain advantage. She had great potential resources which no doubt would increase her power and influence.

"A greater advantage lay in the fact that she was not fettered by the past, by old enmities or old ties, by historic claims or traditional rivalries. Even against her former rulers there was no bitterness left. Thus, India came into the family of nations with no prejudices or enmities, ready to welcome and be welcomed. Inevitably she had to consider her foreign policy in terms of enlightened self-interest, but at the same time she brought to it a touch of her idealism.

"Thus she has tried to combine idealism with national interest.

"The main objectives of that policy are: the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major Power or group of Powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subject peoples; the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual; the elimination of racial discrimination; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population.

"I am asked frequently why India does not align herself with a particular nation or a group of nations, and told that because we have refrained from doing so we are sitting on the fence. The question and the comment are easily understandable, because in times of crisis it is not unnatural for those who are involved in it deeply to regard calm objectivity in others as other than irresponsible shortsighted, negative, unreal or even unmanly.

"But I should like to make it clear that the policy India has sought to pursue is not a negative and neutral policy. It is a positive and vital policy, which flows from our struggle for freedom and from the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi.

"Peace is not only an absolute necessity for us in India in order to progress and develop but it is also of paramount importance to the world. How can that peace be preserved? Not by compromising with evil or injustice; but also by not talking of and preparing for war.

"Aggression has to be met, for it endangers peace. At the same time the lesson of the last war has to be remembered and it seems to me astonishing that in spite of that lesson we go the same way. The very process of marshalling the world into two hostile camps precipitates the conflict which it is sought to avoid.

"It produces also a terrible fear. That fear darkens men's minds and leads them into wrong courses. There is perhaps nothing so bad and so dangerous in life as fear. As a great President of the United States said: 'There is nothing really to fear except fear itself.'

"Our problem, therefore, becomes one of lessening and ultimately putting an end to this fear. That will not happen if all the world takes sides and talks of war. War becomes almost certain then. We are a member of the family of nations, and we have no wish to shirk any of the obligations and burdens of that membership.

"We have accepted fully the obligations of membership of the U. N. and intend to abide by them.

"We wish to make our full contribution to the common store and to render our full measure of service.

"But that can only be done effectively in our own way and of our own choice.



"We believe passionately in the democratic method and we seek to enlarge the bounds of democracy, both on the political and economic planes, for no democracy can exist long in the midst of want and poverty and inequality.

"Our immediate needs are for economic betterment and raising the standards of our people. The more we succeed in this, the more we can serve the cause of peace in the world.

"We are fully aware of our weaknesses and failings and claim no superior virtue, but we do not wish to forfeit the advantage that our present detachment gives us, and we believe that the maintenance of that detachment is not only in our interest but also in the interest of world peace and freedom. That detachment is neither isolationism nor indifference, nor neutrality when peace or freedom is threatened. When man's liberty or peace is in danger we cannot and shall not be neutral; neutrality, then, will be a betrayal of what we have fought for and stand for.

"If we seek to ensure peace, we must attack the root causes of war and not merely the symptoms. What are the underlying causes of war in the modern world?

"One of the basic causes is the domination of, or the attempt to dominate, one country by another. Large parts of Asia were ruled till recently by foreign and chiefly European Powers. We ourselves were part of the British Empire, as were also Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma. France, Holland and Portugal still have territories over which they rule. But the rising tide of nationalism and the love of independence have submerged most of the Western Empires in Asia.

"In Indonesia, I hope that there will soon be an independent, sovereign State. We hope also that French Indo-China will achieve freedom and peace before long under a Government of its own choice.

"Much of Africa, however, is subject to foreign Powers, some of whom still attempt to enlarge their dominions. It is clear that all remaining vestiges of imperialism and colonialism will have to disappear.

"Secondly, there is the problem of racial relations.

"The progress of some races in knowledge or in invention, their success in war and conquest, has tempted them to believe that they are racially superior and has led them to treat other nations with contempt. A recent example of this was the horrible attempt, so largely successful, to exterminate the Jews. In Asia, and Africa, racial superiority has been most openly and most insolently exhibited.

"It is forgotten that nearly all the great religions of mankind arose in the East and that wonderful civilizations grew up there when Europe and America were still unknown to history.

"The West has too often despised the Asian and the African and still, in many places denies them not only equality of rights but even common humanity and kindness.

"This is one of the great danger points in our modern world; and now that Asia and Africa are

shaking off their torpor and arousing themselves, out of this evil may come a conflagration of which no man can see the range or consequences.

"One of your greatest men said that this country cannot exist half slave and half free. The world cannot long maintain peace if half of it is enslaved and despised. The problem is not always simple, nor can it be solved by a resolution or a decree but, unless there is a firm and sincere determination to solve it, there will be no peace.

"The third reason for war and revolution is the misery and want of millions of persons in many countries and in particular, in Asia and Africa. In the West though the war has brought misery and many difficulties, the common man generally lives in some measure of comfort—he has food, clothes, shelter to some extent.

The basic problem of the East, therefore, is to obtain these necessaries of life. If they are lacking, then there is the apathy of despair or the destructive rage of the revolutionary.

"Political subjection, racial inequality, economic inequality and misery—these are the evils which we have to remove if we would ensure peace. If we can offer no remedy then other cries and slogans make an appeal to the minds of the people.

"Many of the countries of Asia have entered the family of nations: others, we hope will soon find a place in this circle. We have the same hopes for the countries of Africa.

"This process should proceed rapidly, and America and Europe should use their great influence and power to facilitate it. We see before us vast changes taking place not only in the political and economic spheres, but even more so in the minds of men.

"Asia is becoming dynamic again and is passionately eager to progress and raise the economic standards of her vast masses. This awakening of a giant continent is of the greatest importance to the future of mankind and requires imaginative statesmanship of a high order.

"The problems of this awakening will not be solved by looking at it with fear or in a spirit of isolationism by any of us. It requires a friendly and understanding approach, clear objectives, and a common effort to realize them. The colossal expenditure of energy and resources on armaments, that is an outstanding feature of many national Budgets today does not solve the problem of world peace. Perhaps even a fraction of that outlay in other ways and for other purposes, will provide a more enduring basis for peace and happiness.

"That is India's view, offered in all friendliness to all thinking men and women, to all persons of goodwill, in the name of our common humanity. That view is not based on wishful thinking, but on a deep consideration of the problems that afflict us all, and on its merits I venture to place it before you."



### *Saving Asia from Communism*

This is the gist of an article that appeared on 19th August last in the New York magazine, the *Life*, putting in a strong plea for U. S. and to the Indian Union so that she may forge ahead as the leader of Asia in democracy's common front against Communist totalitarianism. The paper hails Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as "Asia's greatest statesman," and thinks that the United States should come forward to help him out of "the ordeal" that confronts him today which is indicated as under :

"The Communists are presumably out to get Nehru; unless he knuckles under Moscow's wishes and words, he may be made the Chiang of India during the next historic period of Comintern's vilification and character-assassination." And the paper presses forward in its enthusiasm the following "interim programme" of aid:

(1) We could declare it our intention to use our naval and air power to hold all the key coastal and offshore positions in Asia—from Japan to Singapore (according to the UPA).

(2) We could start conversations looking to co-ordination of United States, British, Dutch, French and Portuguese policy in Asia.

(3) We could react warmly and creatively to Quirino's plan for a Pacific Pact and a Pacific Union of non-Communist Asian and Australian States.

(4) We could throw our money both public and private capital into development (not exploitation) of industry in India, Indonesia and elsewhere.

(5) We could state that we intend to use our power and moral influence to help all Asian peoples to be self-governing as soon as possible.

(6) We could offer some limited military help and advice to all areas under active or imminent attack by Communist-led forces such as South China and Indo-China."

The paper deplored that when President Quirino of the Philippines lately visited Washington he received hardly any encouragement for his Pacific Union Pact plan, the joint product of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the Philippine President. But Philippine politicians have not lost all hopes in this regard as the following cable sent from New York on September 2 that appeared in the Madras *Hindu* will explain :

"I want India to realise that the proposed Pacific Union is only continuation of the East Asian Conference and nothing more," declared Gen. Romulo, who has just returned from Manila. Gen. Romulo, who has been charged by the President of the Philippines with the task of organizing the Union, explained that there was discussion at the Delhi Conference of a continuing machinery, and the Philippines were picking up where Delhi had left off. Still following Pandit Nehru's leadership, they had called a conference of South-East Asiatic Nations at Baguio. The agenda was to be fixed by the participants.

General Romulo added that he was looking forward to Pandit Nehru's visit to this country. "I hope to convince him of our *bona fides*". Gen. Romulo said something had to be done urgently to forge a union of Asian nations to make their voice better heard at Lake Success. In convening the Delhi Conference, Pandit Nehru had proved that such

a union of Asian peoples was possible. The Pacific Union was merely a step further. It would undoubtedly function under India's leadership for India was the strongest and most enlightened nation in Asia to-day.

There was no question of a military pact or of siding with one power bloc against another, explained Gen. Romulo. As envisaged, the Union would be a permanent organ for consultation on problems of common interest among the countries of South-East Asia, within the framework of the United Nations. The creation of the Union would be essentially an act of common faith, on the economic, political and cultural level, and involved no military commitments. He hoped the peoples of Asia would be able to achieve a sense of common destiny and reach agreement on a programme of common action. Asia's strongest defence against totalitarian subversion lay in providing a life of substance and contentment and promoting higher standards among her people. That was what the Pacific Union would attempt to do, Gen. Romulo explained.

But leaders of American finance capital have been watching developments and trying to bargain for the greater profit. A front-page article in the *Wall Street Journal* about "Asia's Marshall Plan" from its Washington correspondent, Mr. Ray Cronley, reveals this attitude in bare outline. Fifteen Asian countries including India have begun working out 'Marshall Plan of their own' aiming at the tripling of steel and electric power production and doubling of textile and cement output within five to ten years in Asia outside Japan. The correspondent enumerates the difficulties as seen from Washington. "All these brave plans, to be sure, depend on whether Asiatic planners can solve some problems of giant proportions. To lure domestic and foreign investors, for instance, they must find ways to improve Asia's banking and credit systems, stabilize their currencies and do away with uncertainties of state controls and nationalization. Foreign loans must be begged (sic), technicians and workers to be trained and accurate industrial statistics rounded up."

Spokesmen for these projects which are offshoots of the United Nations economic meetings held at Shanghai, Baguio and Ootacamund, are alleged to have already approached the United States State Department for aid. "The Department advised them not to anticipate a gift from the Congress (this is what the Marshall Plan is) but to open doors to private investors and bankers for sizeable chunk from what they need. For the rest, the State Department men suggested that they should see the World Bank and the Export Import Bank when their proposals are worked out."

"Asiatic planners are not discouraged by this lack of the United States promise."

Communists and "fellow-travellers" characterize these attempts at economic recovery as yielding to a new "imperialism" in place of the one which Britain exercised for about two hundred years. It has not been easy for them, however, to suggest a substitute except that American "free enterprise", and technology should be sterilized by their dose of totalitarianism, thus making the remedy worse than the disease.

### *Acheson on Far East*

A news-item called from Washington on September 17 last tells the world that the foreign ministers of U.S.A., Britain and France—Mr. Acheson, Mr. Bevin and M. Schuman—have reached a common policy with regard to affairs in the Far East. The details of this understanding are lacking as we write. And though we may not speculate on these, people in India can no longer remain indifferent to the policy pursued by these three countries in this region of the earth. They claim to be democrats. But the ideals of their special brand of democracy have not stood in the way of two of these at least in pursuing what has come to be known as "imperialism." The latest news from the U.S.A. contains a rumour that the French Government may ask Pandit Nehru to mediate. As yet this is unconfirmed, and Pandit Nehru has said that he knows nothing about it. Let us hope that this is a straw indicating the flow of good sense. On the present occasion we will refer only to what the latter has been doing in Vietnam.

We would very much like to know whether the foreign ministers of the U.S.A. and Britain endorse what their opposite number of France has been doing since August, 1945, when with the defeat of Japan the local people under the leadership of Dr. Ho Chi Minh has been struggling to free themselves from French rule. The nature of this fight on the French side can be understood from the following, quoted from the London *New Statesman and Nation*.

The long-drawn-out debate in the French National Assembly on the military estimates has shown how distasteful to everybody is the war in Indo-China. Out of the total 120,000 fighting on the French side, 60,000 troops are alleged to be "black", mostly Senegalese; and a number of "coloured" deputies asked whether it was constitutionally justifiable to make one "coloured" race inside the French Union fight another "coloured" race. The Government retorted that all the peoples of the French Union were united by law to defend their common interests. Rather more evasive were the Ministers' answers concerning the employment in Vietnam of former S. S. men and members of the Vichy militia who, it is alleged, were allowed to enter the Foreign Legion, instead of serving their sentences in France. One allegation, to which the Government gave no precise answer, was that the two S.S. men who participated in the Oradour massacre (the French "Lidice") in 1944 were now fighting in Indo-China.

The world has a shrewd suspicion that "Marshall Aid" enables French imperialists to divert part of their State finances to this adventure in East Asia.

### *The Kashmir Dispute*

Dr. Taraknath Das has sent us the two following excerpts, to illustrate the way the Kashmir question is going in the U.S.A. It will be seen that in this vexed matter the agents of Pakistan are fully using every propaganda weapon they can get hold of, while

our men are merely making half-hearted attempts at defending India's stand.

To the Editor of *The New York Times*,

Your editorial of September 16 dealing with Kashmir conveys the impression that whereas Pakistan has blithely agreed to the United Nations' terms of mediation it is India that is blocking a peaceful solution of that serious dispute.

The picture you have drawn is far from fair to India, which, according to the record available to anyone who will bother to read it, has consistently abided by the findings and resolutions of the U. N. It has done so in an amazing series of concessions to Pakistan's tactics of procrastination.

That the origin of the dispute can be laid at the door of Pakistan and thus be classified as an act of aggression is recognized by obvious implications in the U. N.'s many resolutions. It is for this very reason that the Kashmir Commission made it clear in its August 13, 1948, resolution that the presence of Pakistan troops and raiders in Kashmir—which had been denied by Pakistan authorities—constituted "a material change in the situation since it was presented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council." And it is likewise for this reason that the U. N. bodies have resolved that Kashmir territory should be cleared of Pakistan invaders before a free and impartial plebiscite can be held.

As an analyst of Far Eastern affairs I consider it only fair that the readers of a publication of your high standard should know the true story of Pakistan's long-drawn-out bickering with the U. N. They are quite clearly designed to prevent a free and impartial plebiscite by evading the commission's resolution to remove Pakistan invaders from Kashmir's soil. In this connection, suffice it to mention that a masterpiece of double-talk was Pakistan's Foreign Minister Zafrulla Khan's reply to the U. N. Kashmir Commission on the subject of the latter's August 13, 1948, resolution. In stating that he "accepted" the resolution, he placed so many ifs in the way that the commission took his letter for a rejection. This, in fact, has been the pattern of Pakistan's attitude throughout the negotiations.

The more recent U. N. proposals for arbitration have the appearance of an attempt to conceal Pakistan's act of aggression. That India rejects arbitration under the circumstances—namely, the reopening of questions already decided by the commission—is therefore natural. That the outrages committed by Pakistan's raiders in Kashmir were planned and incited from without by Pakistan leaders rather than the result of a spontaneous "rebellion" within Kashmir against union with India is testified to by numerous inflammatory Pakistan utterances. A typical example of these appears in F. K. Khan Durrani's book *The Meaning of Pakistan*. The author, a well-known Pakistan leader, says:

"There is not a single inch of the soil of India which our fathers did not once purchase with their blood. We cannot be false to the blood of our fathers. India, the whole of it, is therefore our heritage and it must be conquered for Islam."

A popular slogan in Pakistan these days is: "First Kashmir, then Patiala, and then on to Delhi!"

EMMANUEL S. LARSEN.

Washington, September 20, 1949.

There are Indians in high diplomatic position in U. N. and other capacities who are acting as enemies of India. They have expressed their views in discussions that India will have to give up Kashmir to Pakistan, otherwise Pakistan aided by the Moslem World might attack India and India following Mahatma's teachings must not fight even in self-defence. This discussion was supposedly limited among a selected group of Indians; but there is no doubt that American and other authorities must know about this kind of vacillating attitude of high Indian officials who may be representing the real intention of Mr. Nehru's government, while Mr. Nehru has publicly taken the stand against arbitration issue. Are the defeatists in the Nehru Government formulating Government's Foreign and Defence policies? If not, it is about time to have the defeatists be weeded out from Indian diplomatic and defense services.

In reply to the defeatist mentality of some of the Indian members of U. N. Delegation, we have the following answer which was cabled to the Indian people through the United Press of India :

"New York, September 23.—Indian Community in America heartily congratulates Government of India for its just decision not to accept any arbitration on Kashmir dispute unless and until all outside aggressors leave Kashmir soil. It further expresses satisfaction at mounting tide of Indian opinion against making any compromise with Pakistan or agreeing to Plebiscite regarding Kashmir. Prime Minister Nehru has repeatedly pointed out that Kashmir State, by acceding to Indian Union, has confirmed its original status as an integral part of India and therefore Pakistan, by invading Kashmir, has committed an act of aggression against India. Indian community in America is of emphatic opinion that the territorial integrity of India must be maintained at all costs and that Kashmir, whole and undivided, must continue as a part of India. No outside interference from any quarter should be allowed in the settlement of the Kashmir affair, which is the sole concern of the Indian Parliament. Government of India should formally ask Government of Pakistan to withdraw, within a reasonable time, its invading forces now located in Kashmir State. Otherwise Pakistan Government will be held solely responsible for the consequences. Indian Community in America earnestly request the people of India to stand solidly behind Pandit Nehru in his determination to keep Kashmir within India and thus

enhance India's prestige abroad, as was done by the Government's bold action in Hyderabad dispute. Kashmir is India and India it shall remain.

Swami Nikhilananda  
Taraknath Das.

*The New York Times*,  
Monday, September 26, 1949.

### *West Bengal or Bengal*

We have received the following letter from Prof. D. N. Banerji, one of our foremost authorities on Political Science. We are in complete agreement with Prof. Banerji's arguments, and we consider they deserve careful consideration from the authorities both in the Province and at the Centre :

It appears from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, as reported in the Press, that a proposal has been seriously made there for changing the name of the Province of West Bengal into "Bengal," but that no final decision will be taken on this question before an expression of opinion of this Province has been obtained on it, presumably through its Government.

The proposed change is open to objections on the following grounds :

In the first place, it will go against Section 3 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, and the agreement between the different political parties of undivided India on which the Section was based. And this Section categorically laid down that from the 15th of August, 1947, "the Province of Bengal, as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist," and that "there shall be constituted in lieu thereof two new Provinces, to be known respectively as East Bengal and West Bengal" Would it be right, in view of this, to appropriate the name of "Bengal" for a part of the old Province while its other—and its greater part—still uses the name of East Bengal for *all official purposes*? Such a unilateral repudiation of a solemn agreement may be within the legal competence of the Constituent Assembly, but whether it would be morally right is open to question. The analogy of 1905 is not applicable to 1949-50.

Secondly, the proposed change will prove positively harmful, in the long run, to both economic and political interests of the native population of West Bengal. It would, for instance, help some scheming people who have been experiencing some difficulties today in their political activities in West Bengal, not only to consolidate their present position in this Province, but also to acquire a further ascendancy over it on a permanent basis. Besides, it will encourage, for various reasons, a further exodus of Hindus from East Bengal into West Bengal. But this Province, with its limited area and resources, cannot stand any more addition to its population. It is already overpopulated, and the problem of unemployment of its educated youths, the real children of the soil, has become very serious and alarming. However enamoured some people

of West Bengal may be of the proposed change, it will, if effected, ultimately prove to be a veritable, sugar-coated, poisonous pill for its native population.

Thirdly, the proposed change will also be harmful to the millions of Hindus who will be compelled to live on in East Bengal, for economic reasons if for nothing else. They will cease to be "Bengalees" of East Bengal and will gradually become "East Pakistanis". Apart from the question of psychic effect this will produce in their minds, they will be practically thrown over to the mercy of the Muslim majority of Pakistan. The link between them and the West Bengal Hindus through the common term "Bengal" will also be broken. And why should they cease to be Bengalees? The partition of India has already done immense harm to them. Is there any rational justification for adding to their miseries and worries by any further act of sentimental indiscretion on our part?

Finally, such an important matter as changing the name of a Province should not be decided except with the consent of the people of the Province, given through their accredited representatives in the Legislature. So far as West Bengal is concerned, the question should be left to the decision of the West Bengal Legislature to be constituted under the New Constitution now being framed by the Constituent Assembly. Such an important matter cannot be dealt with merely at the instance of a few persons in the present constituent whose representative character is open to question so far as West Bengal is concerned. There is no urgency about it either.

In view of the far-reaching implications of the proposed change of name as indicated above, the Government of West Bengal will, it is sincerely hoped, strongly oppose it, pending, as suggested, a reference to the Legislature of West Bengal to be formed under the New Constitution of India.

### *Bengal-Assam Railway*

Since the partition of India, Bengal-Assam Railway has been split into three parts. The Assam portion of it, together with the B.D.R. has been converted into a separate railway, called the Assam Railway with headquarters at Gauhati. The Dinajpur-Maldah portions of it has been joined with the O.T.R. The remainder, together with Sealdah, has been handed over to the E.I.R. The reason given for the creation of the Assam-Railway with its headquarters away from Calcutta was that the break in its link with the Indian Union necessitated this step. But this argument is no longer tenable after the completion of the Assam Link.

Proposals have since been made for the construction of a headquarters at Pandu and the building of a big railway workshop at Bongaigaon at a cost of nearly 20 crores of rupees. Assam Railway has always been a deficit railway and after partition there is a likelihood of the amount of deficit increasing still more as the cost of maintenance of the hill sections on the Assam link will be heavier. The maintenance of the

H. Q. at Pandu-Gauhati will be unnecessarily costly, specially in view of the fact that it already possesses its own building in Calcutta. This will be an unnecessary duplication of cost. Again, keeping the railway H.Q. away from the port will mean undue strain and avoidable loss to the commercial people. Two of the main branches of the H. Q., viz., the Accounts and the Commercial sections, could not be shifted to Gauhati; so there is every reason that the shifted sections should be brought back to Calcutta.

The proposal for the construction of a new workshop at Bongaigaon at a cost of about 15 crores is equally untenable. The present arrangement as regards workshop facilities, after an Inter-Dominion Agreement, is that Assam Railway will be given facilities for repair at Pakistan's Saidpur workshop and Pakistan will do her servicing at Kanchrapara. The reason for this arrangement seems to be the difficulty of bringing metre-gauge rolling stock to Kanchrapara. But the working of the arrangement has not been happy. Pakistan has failed to meet the demand for repairs at Saidpur, probably due to shortage of spare parts, and metre-gauge rolling stock are being loaded on broad-gauge trucks and sent to Kanchrapara. The Indian Union however honours the agreement and spare parts from the Indian factory fought with hard-earned dollars are being fitted for servicing Pakistan's railway. The laying of a third line on the existing broad-gauge track from Lalgola to Kanchrapara can solve the difficulty and thus the existing big factory can easily be utilised for the benefit of the Indian Union instead of the present *bandobast* of ear-marking Kanchrapara for Pakistan and constructing a fresh workshop for the Indian Union at a huge cost.

The strategic importance of the old B.A.R., now torn into three parts, is immense. It is now a frontier railway of great military importance. Under the existing arrangement, its control has been divided and located into three centres, namely, Calcutta for the E.I.R., Pandua-Gauhati for the A.R. and Gorakhpur for the O.T.R. This may prove fatal in times of war when operational facilities on this frontier may be needed. Three separate controls are bound to be the greatest obstacle in quick troop movement. No frontier Railway should be saddled with such a handicap from the start. Again, even a temporary dislocation in the slender Assam link will cut off Gauhati H. Q. and immense disadvantage may be caused. Headquarters in Calcutta cannot be cut off and can remain a base for directing movements. It is a matter of urgent importance and should receive immediate attention of the Railway Board.

### *Orissa's New Capital*

The sitting of the Orissa Assembly at Bhubaneswar on October 10 last has a historic significance. Not only is the old tradition revived by taking the capital-city to its ancient site but a Greater Orissa is being built up by the bringing under one administration of almost

all the Oriya-speaking people. The Governor, Mr. Asaf Ali, referred to the occasion in these happy words: "It is a day of genuine rejoicing for all the residents of this province, whether they speak Oriya or any other language, because their longing for a political, economic and cultural emancipation and reunion has been realized to as large an extent as the special circumstances of the day can permit." The Premier, Shri Harekrishna Mahatab expressed the inspiration of the occasion in the following words:

"An ancient and historic family which had been artificially divided and kept separated has again joined together and the members are determined to start the joint life again with full confidence both in the present and in the future."

Thus do the dreams and aspirations of the makers of modern Orissa take shape, and Madhusudan Das, Shri Ram Chandra Bhanj Deo and Gopabandhu Das stand vindicated. Thirty-one representatives of the now defunct Orissa States took their seats in the Assembly for the first time in recent history to co-operate in building up a better life for one of the poorest of the peoples of India. We share the joy of the occasion and expect that with their major demands satisfied, our Oriya neighbours will be able to pull their full weight in pushing forward the all-India schemes for the re-organization of our economy.

True, there are difficulties in the way. The Governor did well in bringing them to the attention of the Assembly members. These have been created for us by the relief and rehabilitation of six to seven millions of evacuees, by the Pakistani aggression on Kashmir, and lastly by the devaluation of the rupee. As a result, "financial grants or loans from the Centre would have to be drastically curtailed"; and projects such as Hirakund and Machkund may be slowed down. This warning note has reference to all the Provinces and States Unions of India.

### *The Arrival of Pakistan*

It is no longer of much practical interest to us to be taken behind the inner history of the period during April-May, 1947 when the British policy of "divide and rule" reached its consummation in the partition of Bharatvarsha. None of the leaders of the people who negotiated the arrangement announced on June 3, 1947, has cared to tell the public the why and how of this story. But foreign participants of the game have not observed reticence on the subject. Dr. Sachhidananda Sinha of Patna in course of a syndicated article appearing in certain Indian dailies has lifted a part of the veil with the help of a speech made by the last British Governor-General of India at the Royal Empire Society (London) in October, 1948. Lord Mountbatten said:

"Mr. Jinnah made it abundantly clear from the first moment that so long as he lived he would never accept a united India. He demanded partition, he insisted on Pakistan. On the other hand, Congress had stood for keeping a united India, be-

ing violently opposed to any form of partition, and up to the time I went out, it had never been indicated that they might consider anything else. But when I saw Pandit Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi, and others, they agreed that if it was not possible to keep a united India without a civil war—and I was convinced that the Muslim League would have fought, for Mr. Jinnah had made that very clear—they would accept partition. But they did insist that partition must also ensure that no non-Muslim majority areas were in Pakistan. That automatically meant a partition of the great provinces of the Punjab and Bengal."

"When I told Mr. Jinnah that I had their provisional agreement to partition he was overjoyed. When I said that it logically followed that this would involve partition of the Punjab and Bengal he was horrified. He produced the strongest arguments why these provinces should not be partitioned. He said that they had national characteristics, and that their partition would be disastrous. I agreed, but I said how much more must I now feel that the same considerations applied to the partitioning of the whole of India. He did not like that, and started explaining why India had to be partitioned, and so we went round and round the mulberry bush until finally he realised that either he could have a united India with an unpartitioned Punjab and Bengal, or a divided India with a partitioned Punjab and Bengal, and he finally accepted the latter solution."

Dr. Sachhidananda has quoted from Dr. Stanley Jones' recently published book entitled—*Mahatma Gandhi: An Interpretation*—to throw light on how an American evangelist worked to preserve India's unity, and how and why he failed. The quotation though long is worth knowing:

"I saw Mr. Jinnah in April, 1947, just before partition was decided on. He did not rise when I came into the room, but sat still and motioned me to a chair—the world must come to his feet, was the attitude. I begged him to hold the country together. I said that though I was from the South in the United States, it would have been a tragedy if we had won the Civil War, and the country had been divided. We are all glad now that we are one people. I suggested that just as Utah, with its different religious faith, was a unit under a Federal Union, so Pakistan could be a State under a Federal Union, keeping its own religion and culture intact. His reply was 'How large is Utah? We are a hundred million.' And then I made this suggestion; 'If the Congress would concede Pakistan, would you say that you would be willing to enter a Union with the rest of India?'"

"He went off on a tirade against the Hindus and the Congress, and my heart sank; I felt we were getting nowhere. Then he suddenly stopped, reached for a cigarette, his manner changed, he softened and said: 'If I may say so, your suggestion is childish', (he had to put me in my place before he would accept anything I said). 'But if the Congress will concede Pakistan then I will say that I will enter a Union with the rest of India.' 'And mean it?', I said, grasping his arm. 'Yes, and mean it,' he replied. We parted on this cordial note."

"I sent a letter with this account of Mr. Jinnah's statement to Acharya Kripalani, the President of the Congress, and his reaction was. 'There, is no trouble

about the Congress conceding Pakistan. We are fed up. We will concede Pakistan either within the Union, or without the Union. Will you please get Mr. Jinnah to give us this in writing (This proves my contention that the Congress yielded to Jinnah, being "fed up" with his threats of a civil war). I took it also to Vallabhbhai Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru. They were sceptical. 'There is a catch in it somewhere', said Nehru, 'but it may prove a basis of agreement.'

"Vallabhbhai Patel was more sceptical still," continues Dr. Jones; 'what does he mean by entering a Union with the rest of India?' I replied, 'I don't know, but we talked of Federal Union.' So I wrote to Mr. Jinnah. He wrote in reply completely reversing himself, saying that I had entirely misunderstood him! I had to send this account of what had happened to the people in whose breasts I raised hopes of a possible settlement without dividing India."

### *Pakistani Imperialism*

The President of the All-Pakistan Muslim League, Chowdhury Khaliq-uz-zaman, late of Lucknow, has been touring the Muslim countries of West Asia and North Africa, to cultivate and develop public opinion in those countries in support of his propaganda of Islamistan—the organization of an Islamic Bloc in the world bound together only by ties of creed. There is nothing new in this conception. A Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid, tried to popularize this Pan-Islamism as a reply to the challenge of European imperialism during the last quarter of the 19th century; he is reported to have drawn inspiration from the teachings of Jemal-uddin Afghani, the savant who is regarded as the morning star of Muslim renaissance much in the same way that Rammohun Roy has been hailed in India. Sultan Abdul Hamid's attempt failed because the Muslim peoples of the countries concerned were not yet ready to face the situation created by European imperialism, and because this imperialism was yet too strong and too organized to be tackled by the feeling of revolt nursed in the heart of a decadent system of values. But amongst modern-educated Muslims of India it made a great appeal; the Aligarh University flirted with the idea; the "Ali Brothers"—Shaukat Ali and Mohammed Ali—were its upholders, and their Khilafat movement showed how the mind of Indian Muslims had been moving towards it. Bepin Chandra Pal was one of the earliest of Indian publicists to raise the danger signal by his consistent opposition to it; since 1909-10, he warned the Indian public against the danger that lurked at its heart; this was one of the reasons why he could never persuade himself to accord support to the various ideas associated with the movement initiated by Gandhiji. The arrival of Pakistan has demonstrated that the dangers indicated had substance in them. And since August 15, 1947, the leaders of the All-Pakistan Muslim League have been extending their ideas.

But their ambitions and conceits do not appear to have appealed to sections of Muslim opinion outside Pakistan. The *Ans*, organ of the Afghan ruling class,

published an article about a month back vehemently opposing this Pakistani propaganda. To drive home its argument it embodies in the article a report of a Radio-Karachi broadcast, dated September 20, 1949, reporting "a conversation," a few lines of which are quoted below:

"They say Pakistan has many enemies?"

"Nothing to wonder at; because Pakistan wishes to unite all Islamic countries against the enemy."

"Does Pakistan wish to merge all Islamic countries like Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Afghanistan, and Iraq?"

"No, she does not wish to merge them with her. On the other hand, she wishes to be like the former Usmania Empire."

"How?"

"The former Usmania Empire included all Arab countries and even Greece. After its disruption all the countries separated."

"What does Pakistan wish to do with it then?"

"Pakistan wishes to raise a defence force from all Islamic countries against the enemies of Islam."

"I still do not understand."

How does the Afghan paper react to this Pakistani "conversation"? The answer is as follows:

The following results are easily deduced from it. Pakistan wishes to establish a big empire like the Usmania Empire, including Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Pushtunistan and all other Islamic countries. *It has specifically named the Usmania Empire. It also expects from the Islamic countries not to call themselves Turks, Iranians, Egyptians, Afghans and Iraqis, because at one time they will be Pakistanis.*

These are the high dreams of Pakistan. If it says that it has no idea of merging other Islamic countries, and that on the other hand, it wishes to establish a former Usmania Empire, it exposes its aims well enough. Pakistan wishes that in the name of Islamiyat all Islamic countries themselves offer to merge with Pakistan so that Pakistan's dreams are realized. For this purpose, it is pleading with the fraud of unity for the defence of Islam. It is instigating their religious sentiments for this sole purpose, while the world knows that humanity is not prepared to establish religious fronts and shed blood under religious bigotry. Nor does Islam allow to do this against humanity.

This opposition should not, however, lull public opinion in India into indifference. It would be inviting danger to be less watchful of the doings of our Pakistani neighbours, more than ever potential enemies to our unity and integrity.

### *Unity of Europe*

The leaders of the victorious Powers of the second World War have not been able to maintain their unity of purpose and action in spite of the Yalta and Potsdam Pacts of co-operation. The conception of the unity of Europe stands disrupted, and the economic life of the continent is divided into two blocs; one under communistic Totalitarianism and the other under democratic competition. How the Soviet-dominated East Europe manages its economic life we do



not know in detail ; West Europe has been maintaining itself through "Marshall Aid," from money and services advanced by the United States. But in the result, this aid has been proving itself more hindrance than a help. A Labour Party member of the House of Commons writing in the *New Delhi Hindustan Times* (October 11, 1949) indicating thus the condition of things, laid his hand on one of its causes :

"In 1948, the productivity of labour in European industry was about one-quarter, and in European agriculture about one-sixth of that of the United States. The unified American market has given her a trade greater than the rest of the world put together. Yet the natural resources of Europe are equal to those of America, and in human raw material greatly superior. Why then this difference ? The answer is, quite simple that Europe has been marching backward. We live in the age of continental federations under federal governments : yet Europe today is divided into 29 sovereign States while in 1870 she had but 15.

He quotes from p. 166 of the *U. N. Economic Survey of Europe for 1948* the following lines to prove his point :

"The danger inherent in the present methods of planning is that they will influence the economic development of individual countries in a more autarchic direction and thus lead to the increased economic isolation of the countries of Europe from each other. This is almost inevitable so long as economic plans are drawn up separately for each national area, and controls over foreign trade are operated on a purely national basis."

The administrator of "Marshall Aid," Mr. Paul Hoffman, has put forth the plea that if the European countries receiving this aid were to derive the greatest benefit from it, they must "become as rapidly as possible a single market" just as the United States has evolved. It may be argued that the U.S.A. could become so because she has had for about 125 years no war with foreign powers to halt and disrupt her economy, while during almost the same period the European continent had to pass through the Crimean War, the Austro-German War, the Franco-German War, the two World Wars and their consequences. From the trend of this discussion, it becomes plain that some sort of a Federal State must be developed if the peoples of the continent are to be saved.

It is in this background that leaders of European thought and life have been viewing the prospect for more than half-a-century. Since the 1914-18 War, the solution of this problem of conflict amongst European peoples has attained a new urgency. The Briand plan has to be recalled in this connection. Hitler tried to realize the same purpose by seeking to impose German domination over Europe. European traditions, helped by British and American interests, defeated this attempt. But it has not discredited the need for European unity. The Strasbourg Conference that held its sessions in Aug.-Sept. last which has inspired the article under reference re-emphasized this need. The writer says that the Conference was confronted with three inescapable "facts".

(1) That economic catastrophe in Europe is rapidly approaching and can be averted only by revolutionary decisions. (2) These economic decisions can only be taken by a political authority with real powers. (3) Public opinion in Western Europe, especially in Great Britain, is not yet ready for these measures.

And the way out of this dilemma has been left in the hands of a Commission which must report by April 30, 1950 giving "definite recommendations concerning the modifications in the political structure of the member States . . ." The writer of the article is definite that the requirement of the situation can only be met by a "real surrender of sovereignty." The Conference gave out its mind by a vote of 83 against 2 on September 5, 1949, that "a political authority with limited functions but real powers" must be set up to save for Europe the values it has been fighting to defend and advance during the centuries.

But the crux of the difficulty lies in the question—under whose auspices is this consummation to be brought near realization ? The United Nations Organization has not been able to fill the part, during the last four years since the restoration of peace because the Big Powers have refused to play the game ; and a snarling dispute has persisted between the Soviet Union and the United States. And the European Powers including Britain have not the power to assert themselves, so dependent have they become on either of these two Leviathans. Defeated Germany has the physical and mental powers and scientific equipments to play the role. Perhaps, her day may come, and it will be hastened if the two rival Power Blocs cannot make it up, and Germany can cultivate the patience needed. During the period, the two Blocs will be bidding against each other with a view to enlist her support. But that development may delay the unity of Europe so very necessary for world peace.

### *What Can Germans Do ?*

We have more than once said that the "cold war" between the Soviet Union and the leaders of the Western Powers will facilitate the return of Hitlerism. And this is what threatens to happen. The disruption of Germany into Eastern and Western Zones—the former under Communist control and direction and the latter under the United States, Britain and France principally—has been impelling German thought towards this catastrophe.

The end of the six years' war has not curtailed military expenses ; rather these have expanded. The special European correspondent of the *Allahabad Leader* has indicated this abnormal growth as follows : The American outlay for the Army, Navy and Air Forces has risen to \$14 billion (Rs. 4,620 crores) per year.

It is said that this huge expenditure is not only intended to strengthen the Republic's fighting services but also to "pump" activity into industry face to face with a "slack in business." Western Europe's total annual armament expenses now amount to the equiva-



lent of almost \$6 billion (close to Rs. 2,000 crores), of which Britain contributes \$3 billion, France \$1.16 billion, and Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Holland \$1.34 billion. But all these countries do not need armament spending to prop up their economies but actually deprive themselves of valuable products of their industries in order to contribute their share to the vast armaments of the Atlantic Pact bloc.

In the dilemma of power-politics leaders of State in the Western hemisphere have been coming to realize that instead of weakening German economy by dismantling its industrial potential, as under Potsdam dispensation and the "unconditional surrender" cry, it has to be strengthened. This realization has come to them because they have to hand out the greatest share of expenses in keeping Germany alive and active. Mr. Paul Hoffman, Administrator of the "Marshall Aid to Europe" plan, has made himself the mouth-piece of this change of attitude.

"The important thing is to increase productivity and bring down costs and trade barriers, he said. Unless these underlying conditions are cured, devaluation will not serve our basic purpose—and that applies not only to Germany but generally.

"There are enough plants left in Germany; provided you make full use of them and do not allow this issue to interfere with the operation of the remaining plants. I am convinced, apart from the industries prohibited or restricted for security reasons which were outside its review, the (London) Humphrey Committee has done a thorough job.

"Looking at the overall picture it has achieved a great success in preserving 159 out of the 167 plants it recommended for reprieve and it is no help if the cases of one or the others are constantly being brought up. I wish someone would sometimes mention the 159. It is now time the whole issue was buried."

The Soviet Union has not taken kindly to this "no more dismantling" cry. But, the United States continues to maintain that Germans must be enabled to contribute their share of labour to West Europe's "recovery." And Mr. Hoffman indicates this duty to Germans in the following "commandments," so to say.

(1) They should make the best possible use of agricultural land to increase food production and thus save dollars, both by increasing agricultural productivity and by replacing flower gardens by vegetable gardens.

(2) Germany must give immediate attention to catch up with the advances in industrial productivity from which it has been largely isolated in the last 15 years.

(3) Germany must bring its financial house in order and must think in terms of balanced budgets and a sound currency.

(4) To play its role as a full partner in the West European Economy Germany must take a strong position on freeing its trade, reducing and removing trade barriers and broadening its trade relations with other European countries.

### *Foss Westcott*

The Most Rev. Foss Westcott, late head of the Anglican Church in India, died at Darjeeling in his

86th year. A friend of Charlie Andrews (Charles Freer Andrews) from youth upwards, Dr. Foss strove all through the 60 years of his association with India and her people to sweeten relations between the Indian and Briton. But the unnatural relation that subsisted between these two peoples made it a difficult task.

Andrews indicated the quality of his friends' heart when he said that it was "one with mine in his love for India and for all the world." And Dr. Foss Westcott lay his finger on the point of difference between India and Britain when he said: "If all of us Europeans had lived as near to Christ as Charlie Andrews, we too should have won the same unstinted affection that is his meed."

He retired from his high office about 2 years ago, and lived to see the stigma of political subjection removed from India's brow leading to better relations between India and Britain. The choice of the place of his last days had a significance of its own; his love of India shone through this act. To the memory of this good man we offer our respectful homage. May his soul rest in the love and peace of his Redeemer's heart!

### *Jyotish Chandra Das*

The death of Jyotish Chandra Das, better known as J. C. Das in the banking and financial world of India, at the age of 64 is a loss which every one of his friends and acquaintances will keenly feel for years. An aspiring young man, he went to Japan with financial help from the Association founded by the late Jogendra Chandra Ghosh with a view to advance scientific and industrial education in India. From Japan, fresh from the victory over Tsarist Russia, Jyotish Chandra went to the United States and had his complete training there in accountancy and banking. Back in India he found his dream to be singularly difficult of achievement placed as was Bengal in the economic bonds of non-Bengali supremacy. Nothing daunted, he followed his path with singular determination and had the satisfaction of seeing his bank well-established and firmly found before his health failed.

### *The Unveiling of the Portrait of Ramananda Chatterjee*

A meeting was held on the 29th September at the Sivnath Memorial Hall on the occasion of the unveiling of the portrait of late Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee. Among the speakers Sj. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh remembered Mr. Chatterjee as the forerunner in many fields of culture and specially in political thinking of a high order. Sj. Prabhat Kumar Ganguly described in details Ramananda Babu's multifarious activities and affirmed that his profound faith in God was the source of his many-sided genius. Sj. Tamas Banerjee, Secretary, Bangiya Sahitya Samiti, made touching references to Ramananda Babu's never-failing sympathy for all village workers.

# IRRADIATION AS A MEANS OF INCREASING THE YIELD IN JUTE

By D. M. BOSE and K. T. JACOB,

*Bose Research Institute, Calcutta*

With the major area under jute at present in Pakistan, attempts to cultivate as much jute as possible in India have assumed considerable importance. This is all the more so, after the devaluation of the rupee resulting in a higher cost of Pakistan jute. At present, it is no exaggeration to say that jute has become a strategic material and India's best dollar-carer, and hence it is absolutely necessary to grow as much jute as possible here. But in view of the acute shortage of food in India, it is not advisable to divert any part of the area under food-grains for jute cultivation, unless a system of double cropping can be practised where jute alternates with food-grains. But this is not possible in all the arable lands in India, as jute requires certain specialised climatic and fertile-soil conditions and also since it is an exhaustive crop. Therefore the best remedy lies in getting a higher yield from the already existing area under jute, as far as possible.

There are several methods of obtaining higher yields in plants of economic importance, such as use of (1) improved types of agricultural implements, (2) chemical and other manures, (3) judicious rotation of crop and mixed farming, (4) improved types of seeds, etc. Since the first three methods may necessitate a certain amount of specialised knowledge and extra initial expenditure on the part of the cultivator, the last method appeals to him most, as he can continue many of his old practices and still obtain a higher yield. Hence the present account deals only with the last method.

In the practice there are several ways of obtaining improved types of seeds. They are :

1. The conventional breeding methods such as (a) mass selection usually resorted to in highly cross-fertilized plants like cambu (millet), maize, red gram, etc.; (b) single plant selections from either bulk or hybridized materials. The principles underlying these methods and their limitations are discussed below :

The hereditary qualities of plants have been found to reside in the chromosomes found in the nuclei of plant cells. So long as the number, shape and arrangement of these chromosomes remain unaltered, the morphological and physiological characters of the plant will be propagated unaltered through successive generations. Variability in the plant characters can be introduced by crossing between two species of the same plant, or between two plants of interrelated genera, each of which possess different chromosome characteristics. The plants grown from such crossing will, due to different intermingling of the chromosomes belonging to the two

parents, show large variations in character. From such a mixed population it is possible to make selections of plants with desirable characters. By means of such selections and by further judicious intercrossing carried out through several generations, it has been found



Fig. 1 : Two plants of R.26 in the X<sub>1</sub> generation, which attained a height of 22½ feet

possible to evolve plants with desirable economic properties. Striking examples of this method are the breeding of new types of wheat, maize, possessing high yield, increased protein content and better rust-resisting qualities.\*

In the Falta Experimental Station of the Institute, breeding experiments on cotton on similar lines have been carried with very successful results. Types brought from Loyalpur and Coimbatore have been intercrossed through several generations, and have resulted in pro-

\* Selections from intercrossing experiments require breeding extending over 9 to 10 generations at least before they can be considered to have resulted in the production of stable type.

duction of early flowering, long-stapled, high-yielding cotton suited for cultivation in West Bengal.

With jute the problem is different. Two species, *C. capsularis* and *C. olitorius* have been found suitable for cultivation in the low-lying lands of East Bengal and the upland of West Bengal respectively. Selections by the Agricultural Department made from the former have resulted in the production of two varieties D.154, D.386 and from the latter of C. G. and R.26 and have been recommended by the Department. All attempts of introducing fresh variations by interspecific crossings

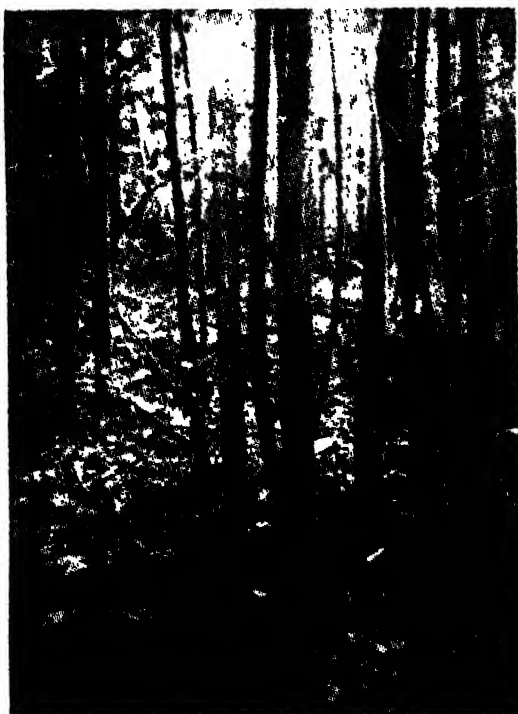


Fig. 2: The basal portions of R.26 plants in the  $X_2$  generations

between *C. capsularis* and *C. olitorius* have been reported to be unsuccessful so far. New methods are therefore necessary for producing such variations. The method attempted by us is based upon the discovery of Muller (1927) that by treating the fruit fly, *Drosophila*, to X-ray irradiation, he was able to induce genetic modifications in them. This pioneer investigation has been taken up in many laboratories and results of great theoretical importance in understanding the physical basis of heredity have been obtained. It has been subsequently discovered that other radiations as well chemical methods can be used for inducing genetic changes in plants and lower animals. Such changes if found to be transmitted unchanged through three generations ( $X_3$ ) at least, are said to have resulted in the production of a new mutant. Even now X-ray has

been found to be the most convenient tool, and best suited for giving quantitative results. It may be mentioned that all the mutants produced are not of favourable character, but once in a way an improved type may turn up. Practical application of Muller's discovery to the evolution of better types of economic plants commenced in 1939, chiefly in the U.S.A., Germany and Sweden.

In Sweden, considerable research work has been done and the following are some of the important results achieved:

(i) *Barley*: (a) Morphological mutants—waxless types and others with drastic changes in external characters, (b) physiological mutants—changes in height, earliness, strength of straw, chemical properties, such as brewing characters and protein content, higher grain weight and tillering capacity.

*Wheat*: Mutations as to height, earliness and strength of straw.

*Oats*: (a) Morphological types, with the spikelets loosening at the time of ripening, (b) Physiological types, with greater height of straw, tillering and earliness.

*Flax*: Chlorophyll mutations—pale green type with higher straw yield and superior fiber quality.

*Sweet lupin*: With the changed flower properties, increased anthocyanin content, strong pubescence.

*Soybeans*: Morphological mutations of seed colour, changes in growth and time of ripening.

*Oil turnips*: Changes in growth, time of ripening and oil content.

*White mustard*: Morphological mutants with giant growth.

In short, mutants of great practical importance as regards the quality and quantity of yield and duration of growth have been isolated in the plants listed above and this goes to prove the great possibilities of this line of research.

In India, very little work has been done on this line due to the lack of facilities in the Agricultural and Botanical research institutions and also due to the ignorance of the literature and techniques of these researches, on the part of those who direct the agricultural researches both at the Centre and in the Provinces. Moreover, work of this type necessitates proper equipments and close collaboration between Botanists and Physicists and between the laboratory and the field station, which is lacking in many of our Research Institutions. What little has been done has been of a cursory nature and little attempts were made to give a wide range of treatment and select the plants from the segregating  $X_3$  populations. Some investigations were however done on cotton and wheat with a certain amount of success.

So far as our information goes, the Bose Institute is the only one in the country in which systematic work on these lines is being conducted since 1942 on jute, and since 1948 on cotton and paddy. Certain amount of investigations were necessary for the design of a

demountable X-ray tube suited for seed irradiation purposes, which was constructed in the Institute workshop. Already in 1943 we had obtained evidence of

Plants with intermediate branching produce fibers of shorter length and as such are of inferior quality. This is overcome in plants where branching starts from near the roots\* (Fig. 3 and 4); the yield per each plant is consequently increased without sacrifice of fiber quality.



Fig 3 : Branching right from the bottom. Here the two branches can be considered to be two individual plants for purposes of retting

**Earliness :** A number of early types have been isolated where the plants are ready for retting in eight weeks while the controls usually take about seventeen weeks (Fig. 5). There are indications to show that these are also true to type. This type will come useful when it is planned to grow jute as a rotation crop.

**Quality :** The fibers of some of the irradiated plants were found to be finer and more lustrous than the controls. The work on this is still proceeding.

These investigations, it should be remembered, are still on the experimental stage and further trials will be necessary before suitable types can be considered to have been stabilized. Our work is suffering under the

remarkable increase in growth of jute under irradiation, and in a communication to *Science and Culture* (dated 11.3.44 and published in Vol. IX, p. 502) results obtained with *C. capsularis* var. 154 was published. Due to adverse conditions prevailing during the war years the seeds collected that year were spoilt by fungal infection and we had to begin afresh. Our best results are now obtained with *C. olitorious* var. R.23 which are suited for cultivation in West Bengal.

**Yield :** We have more or less stabilised a higher yielding mutant type of R.26 where, the plants reach a height of 22½ ft. and with a maximum basal diameter of 2½ inches, while the best controls were utmost 16ft. height with 1 inch basal diameter. (Fig. 1 and 2). These are in the 3rd generation and there is every indication to show that they will continue to breed true to type. In addition, a number of mutant plants have been isolated which branch right from the bottom into 2 or 3 branches.

In jute the normal plants are single-stemmed and branching only occurs at the top at the time of flowering.



Fig. 5 : A portion of the field showing the early types of mutants which are ready for retting in 8 weeks, while the controls take 17 weeks

limitations that the same plot of land, of area about 1½ bighas, has been used since 1941 for sowing with jute every year; it has not been possible either to manure the land or to introduce suitable rotation of crops on them. We believe if our types are grown under the

normal jute-growing conditions the results will be even better.

While the types are being stabilized, semi-large scale trials are necessary for providing (i) crop yield data and (ii) sufficient quantities of fiber for testing in the Jute Technological Laboratory and in the Jute Mills. Additional land will also be required for other investigations on similar lines with other crops.



Fig. 4: Three branches arising from near the ground. The fiber output of these three together is much greater than the single straight stemmed ones

The results obtained with jute, as well as those obtained in other countries, on crop improvements due to X-ray irradiation, make it imperative that similar investigations with other economic plants should be carried out through the agency of the Bose Institute. We have already started preliminary investigations on rice and cotton and we have also submitted a scheme to the Oil Seeds Commodity Committee for investigations on the effects of irradiation in improving the yield of oil seeds grown in this country. We understand that the Committee have approved the scheme and have recommended it for a grant to the Central Government, and now it only awaits their sanction.

#### OUR PRESENT LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE REQUIREMENTS

Due to lack of adequate staff, the work on irradiation has been carried on almost an empirical basis, as the single research assistant in jute has to spend most of his time in supervision of the breeding experiments. He finds very little time for cytogenetical work. Our work on cotton also suffers from the same limitations. Improvement of crop production based upon purely experimental work cannot lead very far unless backed

by a corresponding advance in our theoretical insight. Our principal bottleneck however is want of suitable land for extension of our agricultural station. During the visit of two Ministers of the present Government of West Bengal, Hon'ble H. C. Naskar and K. P. Mukherjee to the Institute Station at Falta in November 1947, we were requested to submit plans for extension of the work of the station. The most important item in the scheme prepared by us was the acquisition of 40 bighas *khas mahal* land in a locality about one mile from our station. Nothing has been done so far to implement our scheme, and the only tangible response has been an enquiry from the Government whether the Institute was prepared to pay for the cost of land acquisition, the Government will then make a token grant for satisfying legal formalities. We have expressed our inability to accept the Government proposal, both on ground of the principle involved and also on account of inadequacy of funds. It will be of interest to know what has happened to the piece of land we asked for.

As a result of a publication in the *A. B. Patrika* during April 1949, of the agricultural crop improvement work carried out in the Institute station under the present inadequate farm facilities, we received amongst others offer of a piece of agricultural land situated at Gobardanga. The land is very very suitable, and we could take on lease areas up to 100 bighas. The terms appeared to be otherwise favourable except (i) that it was situated at the same distance north of Calcutta as Falta was to the south, (ii) that for the proper utilization of the land a fair amount of capital expenditure was necessary for fencing, erection of staff quarters and for purchase of agricultural machinery; further increased recurring expenditure would be involved for duplication of staff. We have also discovered a suitable plot of land about 40 bighas in an area near our locality in Falta, for which however a high rental will be expected.

Before we can enter into negotiation with either of the two parties, we require some assurance that the necessary capital and recurring grant will be provided by some authority, the latter at least for a period of five years. Up till now the investigations on cotton and jute have been undertaken under grants received from the Cotton Committee, Government of West Bengal and the Central Jute Committee respectively and we are grateful to them for the financial aids. The grant for cotton expired last July and we have not received any assurance that it will be renewed, either at the present or at an enhanced scale. About the future continuation of the jute grant there appears to be some uncertainty. On the plea of inadequacy of funds the Central Jute Committee have turned down our recommendation for increment to the salaries of the scientific and technical staff appointed under this grant. These were fixed four years ago and were considered inadequate even then. We do not know whether on the same grounds, efforts will not be made to stop

further grants for scientific research, and we may be requested to hand over to the Jute Agricultural Research Station the data and materials collected by us.

The grant-in-aid for jute was made possible by the interest taken by the first Director of the Jute Agricultural Research Institute; he and some of his senior experts visited our Experimental Station before and after the grant was sanctioned. We have benefited considerably from the advice received from them, which were based upon mature experience.

Our efforts during the last two years to secure from the authorities recognition of the value of the work we were doing and for greater facilities for work have met with rebuffs only. The situation has however not been without its humorous side. Every year we present a report on the progress of our investigations to the Central Jute Committee. These reports are circulated previously and are supposed to have been read and their significance appreciated before being passed in the general meeting. It appears that their importance is not always realized by the authorities. Based on the results published in these reports an appreciative article appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* during April 1949. The article attracted some amount of public attention, and the Agricultural Department of the Government of India appear to have

realised the economic possibilities of the results obtained by us on jute.

The present Director of Jute Agricultural Research Institute, who had not by the way previously visited our Falta Station, was requested by Delhi early in August to report on the nature of the new jute mutants grown by us. A visit was paid by him in August; we impressed on him that the plants were still in the growing stage and a subsequent visit towards the end of September was desirable when the plants had attained full maturity. Early in October we had to write to him that another visit was due; two of the senior officers of the Agricultural Institute were then deputed to visit Falta.

The Experimental Station has been visited amongst others by two Directors of all-India Commodity Research Stations who have expressed their appreciation of the results obtained by us. Several senior officers of the West Bengal Agricultural Directorate have also visited the Station. While the Ministry of Agriculture, Delhi have evinced some belated interest on the possible utility of our investigations, our provincial directorate appear to be uninterested; the desirability of utilizing more extensively the services of our Institute for furtherance of provincial crop research has not occurred to them.

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## FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

By P. RAJESWARA RAO

PRIDE of place is given to fundamental rights in the new constitution. There are some who think that the permanent constitution of a State should not be hampered with the political or social ideals of a particular age. "A declaration of rights coming before the constitution of the Government," as pointed out by Mirabeau, "might prove but almanac of a day." The British constitution has none. In the U.S.A. most of the fundamental rights were brought into the constitution some years after the main constitution had been accepted. These are of greatest importance in times of emergency, when there is the greatest temptation to infringe them.

At the same time it cannot be said that such a declaration *per-se* prevents misrule, despotism or Fascism. But it is certainly desirable to have such a declaration in the constitution of the country, since it would serve as a constant reminder to the judge, lawyer, administrator and citizen of the fundamental principles of law and of rational social organisation of which he may otherwise be ignorant or indifferent. The most difficult problem in the art of government

is that of finding and holding the correct balance between liberty and order. The enjoyment of liberty depends on fundamental rights.

Under the constitution many of them can be suspended in time of emergency. In every constitution there is provision for suspension of fundamental rights in times of grave emergency. The reason is that the interests of society must be protected even if it involves sacrifice of individual rights. If the limitations are too broadly defined the enunciation of the fundamental rights itself ceases—as it ceased in the German Constitution of the Third Reich—to be of any practical value. On the other hand, if the limitations are defined too narrowly then the provisions of the fundamental rights tend to hold up the social and economic progress of the nation as in U.S.A.

It is stated at the outset that there shall be no discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste or sex with regard to

- (a) access to shops, public restaurants and place of public entertainment;



- (b) the use of wells, tanks, roads and places of public resort.

There is also equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. But the Parliament can lay down a stipulation as to residential qualification for employment in the State. Besides there shall be no discrimination against any person after he was employed. Untouchability is abolished. No titles shall be conferred by the State and no citizen shall accept any from a foreign State. But awards for Military or Academic distinctions are not affected.

Citizens shall have the right—

- (a) to freedom of speech and expression;
- (b) to assemble peacefully and without arms;
- (c) to form associations or Unions;
- (d) to move freely throughout the territory of India;
- (e) to reside or settle in any part of the Territory of India;
- (f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property;
- (g) to practise any profession or carry on any occupation, trade or business.

It is felt that the right of property included in the above list gives wider and more secure rights to holders of private property than even to those in U.S.A. and is bound to stand in the way of execution of social welfare schemes that the future Government might think of initiating.

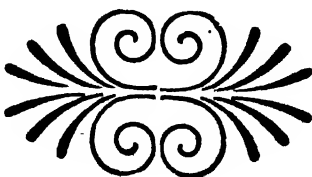
All these rights are subject to a host of restraints and limitations. It is asserted that fundamental rights are limited to such an extent that they have almost become ineffective. But in U.S.A., where the fundamental rights were given in an absolute form, the supreme Court found it necessary to limit them. Instead of allowing the Supreme Court to do so these rights are restricted in the constitution itself.

It is important to remember that individual rights are not absolute. For successful working of democracy a balance must be struck between individual liberty and social control. They are always subject to exigencies and requirements of ordered society. A constitution enumerating these rights has to make provision for their modification to suit the circumstances. All that legitimately and reasonably can be claimed is that such modification should be reduced to the minimum and should not be unreasonable. However, it is felt that the rights should be subject to this constitution and the laws thereunder. It is not enough to state that the citizens have the rights but should give a positive guarantee. Too much prominence is given

to exception to rights rather than to rights themselves. If the exceptions provided for are strictly enforced, the rights will become very elusive and the result will be contrary to the spirit of the constitution.

There is ample provision with respect to protection in connection with conviction for offences, protection of life and personal liberty. Equality before law is assured. While guaranteeing freedom of trade, commerce and intercourse throughout the territory of India, traffic in human beings, enforced labour and child labour are prohibited. But compulsory service for public purposes is authorised. Unfortunately there is no definition of Public Service in the compulsory clause. It is unfortunate that right to propagate religion is bracketed with freedom of conscience and free profession and practice of religion. There is freedom to establish, maintain and manage institutions for religious and charitable purposes and to own properties for the same. There is also freedom as to payment of taxes for promotion and maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination. Freedom as to attendance at religious instruction or religious worship in educational institutions is nationalised. Cultural and educational rights are sufficiently protected and discrimination of any kind is kept at a considerable distance. Right to property is subject to compulsory acquisition for public purposes. Finally the right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of these rights is the heart and soul of the constitution without which it becomes nullity. The legislatures are free to give this power to the lower courts.

It is felt that there is no right to bear arms, since this demand found expression in the resolution passed at the Karachi session of the Congress. The denial would affect only the law-abiding citizens who would not be able to protect themselves against anti-social elements, who would always be able to get arms in spite of restrictions. It would also mean that a Government which claimed to be a popular Government did not trust the people. There is a cogent explanation for this denial. Circumstances when the Congress agitated for bearing arms no longer exist, since India is free. In a civilised society nobody ought to be allowed to bear arms either for offence or defence and all force must be concentrated in State. It remains to be seen how the fundamental rights will be enforced during normal and as well as abnormal times.





## ART AND SOCIETY

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THIS Exhibition of Sri Kripal Singh affords me an opportunity not only to see for the first time so many pictures by this new artist, but also an opportunity to meet so many of my old friends and to make many more new friends—all lovers of pictures, patrons of pictures, and critics and connoisseurs of pictures, for, one touch of Art makes the whole world kin.

Personally, I have grave and conscientious objections to make speeches before pictures. For pictures have messages and very valuable messages to convey to us in their silent and inaudible language and they refuse to open their lips and refuse to talk to us, if we begin to talk first without listening to the message that the pictures want to convey to us. Pictures have the dignity and majesty of kings. They should not be talked to before the pictures themselves condescend to talk to us. And it is only after all our silly talks have stopped, that pictures begin to talk to us and deliver their valuable messages. Most people, particularly talkative people, never receive the messages of pictures, because they go on asking questions and do not give to the pictures proper opportunity to talk to them. To put a restraint on our tongue is therefore one of the first conditions of receiving the great message that every picture is destined to convey to us.

Unfortunately, according to the practice and conventions of exhibitions, it is necessary to say something, if only to convey one's good wishes and blessings for the success of the exhibition.

But what do we mean by the success of an exhibition? From the practical and prosaic point of view the success of an exhibition depends on the number of pictures that are sold and find their ways to the homes of connoisseurs and collectors. After all an artist must live and if we do not buy his pictures we will make him starve and a starving artist is not in a mood to produce pictures and give us the happiness, the stimulation, the spiritual message that we expect his pictures to convey to us.

So that the purchase of pictures is the surest and the sincerest way of conveying our appreciation of the merits of pictures.

But the success of an exhibition may also be secured in another and in a more significant way, namely, by the visits of the largest numbers of admiring lovers of pictures. A picture really attains success by making the largest number of contacts with persons who can under-

stand and appreciate pictures and respond to their calls and greet them with a burning heart. If pictures do not convey to us any significant message, and do not arouse emotions and feelings in us, it does not necessarily mean that the pictures are at fault. It may be that our own receiving apparatus is at fault. The eye sees what it comes to see, what it is trained and qualified to see. And I only hope that in this distinguished gathering there are many persons who are qualified to respond to the beauty of the pictures and very few to insult them with a stony stare.

Anyhow we heartily wish for the success of this exhibition in both ways, in the admiring gazes of appreciative crowds, as well as in the sales of pictures to admiring connoisseurs.

It is sometimes said that the happiest resting place for a masterpiece is to secure a place in a Public Gallery rather than in the private gallery of a collector or connoisseur. For, in a private gallery the picture is only accessible to a limited number of persons, whereas in a public gallery it will continue to broadcast its riches of happiness and joy to all and sundry. Indeed it is by gazing on a masterpiece again and again that we can educate and train our untrained eyes to understand beauty, beauty which easily awakens in us the consciousness of the divinity. For the divinity loves to dwell in all expressions of beauty. And, therefore, in the presence of beauty, man is from himself set free from all his narrow thoughts, from all his selfish thoughts, from all his evil thoughts and is purified by the touch of the divinity, made accessible through beauty.

Unfortunately the present society had almost forgotten the value of the cultivation of beauty in our social life and we had almost forgotten to accord a place of honour to our artists—the makers of beauty—in our social structure. In ancient India, artists were called upon to cater to our physical as well as spiritual needs and to plant the messages of beauty in all stages of our life, in all the happenings of our daily life in all our observances, rituals, and social festivals, secular as well as religious. But for the last few centuries we had forgotten the artist and had banished beauty from all stages of our life and made it ugly, miserable, and intolerable, deprived of all colour, and spiritual elation and exultation.

Happily we are now beginning to realize the claims of the artists and the way they can inspire, elevate,

and transpose our life into a really sensitive and spiritual existence.

In order to set up a permanent dynamo of spiritual life, a permanent place to house the best masterpieces of painting, old and new, we require immediately a great National Gallery of Art in every city, where all citizens, rich and poor, could come whenever they wanted to renew their supply of spiritual energy, which masterpieces of painting skilfully keep in store for us. Indeed, a National Gallery of Art is really a university for the illiterate, for Art speaks in a language which is accessible to all—to those who are learned, and to those who are not, and it disseminates knowledge without tears and gives us the most valuable forms of sustenance without asking for any price.

A National Gallery of Art is, therefore, of the most urgent educative value in a nation's life and in the demands of a fuller life in free India. The Indian Academy of Art, led by Lady Ranu Mookerjee, is planning ways and means to build a National Gallery of Art in Calcutta and it is my privilege to appeal to you, the citizens of this great city, to come forward and help, to build up the city's National Gallery of Art, to collect and exhibit the best masterpieces of our national artists.

I have refrained from saying anything so far to introduce to you, the artist who is exhibiting his pictures for the first time in this city. The best introduction of an artist is his own pictures and an artist refuses to be known through any extraneous sources of information and he loves to show himself, to exhibit himself, to say all that he stands for, through his pictures. They are the only legitimate means of communication between an artist and his public. An artist lives in his pictures that is his home and habitation. It reveals his pedigree and source of wealth, his social status.

Yet there is a peculiar custom current in this coun-

try to convey the means of acquaintance for an artist by indicating the name of his Guru, his spiritual preceptor. And it is said that the best introduction of an artist is through his teacher, his Acharya.

I am happy to tell you that Sri Kripal Singh is the distinguished disciple of a distinguished Guru. He had the good fortune to learn the A.B.C. of his art from Acharya Nanda Lal Bose, the Director of Kala Bhavan of the Visva Bharati.

This fact alone should give him a prestige and a halo and raise expectations of high achievements in his works. For, if he has received from his teacher, the proper inspiration and incentive, which, we all hope, he has, his work is sure to secure a permanent and an honourable place in our appreciation and understanding.

But Sri Kripal Singh brings with him another and a more significant credential. He comes from Jaipur, at one time the celebrated centre of Rajasthani painting, one of the greatest schools of ancient Indian painting. If he has assimilated and utilized a fraction of the great heritage of Rajput painting, he is destined to achieve great things in his works in the future and to bring into contemporary painting new values, new merits, new joys, and new beauties.

It is a matter of common criticism frequently directed against our modern painters that while they have exploited the best qualities of the Buddhist Schools of Ajanta and Bagh, and of the Moghul Schools they have not derived the best lessons that the Rajput Schools have to impart to them, particularly, in the hot and joyous schemes of colour and in the sweeping and rhythmic quality of the lines of the Rajput.\*

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\* Summary of an address delivered on September 1949 at the opening of an Exhibition of Sri Kripal Singh Shukawat at Calcutta.



## BASIC EDUCATION SCHEME REVIEWED

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

ABOUT twelve years ago, in July 1937, Mahatma published, along with a short introductory note covering only about a column and a half of the *Harijan*, his scheme of Basic Education. It advanced almost no pleadings in favour of its acceptance; it did not disclose in detail as to how he had arrived at his conclusion. It was just a simple statement of facts, the result of his mature deliberation.

Needless to say, it was accepted by some and opposed by a great majority of the 'thinking' public. But it has survived all attacks carried on against it during all these years, ultimately bringing the most questioning mind into its fold. There are today not as much as an infinitesimal percentage of its opponents as there was in the days of its emergence from the pen of Mahatma.

Though the early history of the Basic Education Scheme is rather uneventful, it started, on the other hand, under very propitious auspices. At the Wardha National Education Conference held on the 22nd and 23rd of October, 1937, resolutions were passed to the effect that "free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale," that

"The process of education throughout this period should centre around some form of manual and productive work, and that all the other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child,"

and finally, the Conference expected that "this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers."

The Conference also directed formation of a Committee "to formulate a scheme of basic education" under the Chairmanship of that eminent educationist, Dr. Zakir Husain. The committee submitted its report to Mahatma Gandhi, the President of the Wardha Conference, on December 2, 1937, covering every aspect and suggesting many improvements for making up the deficiencies that robbed much of the value of the original scheme.

At the Haripura Session of the Indian National Congress, held in March 1938, the main principle was accepted and the scheme was introduced in some of the Provinces when Congress Ministries came into existence. It was apprehended, when the Congress Ministers had to resign their offices under a mandate of the Congress, that the whole thing would fizzle out and be placed in cold storage for resuscitation on some future date. It was not exactly what it should have been. The Central Advisory Board on Education of the Government of

India, in the meantime, had accepted the principle of Basic Education and some measures had already been taken, at least in Bihar, to give the scheme a chance. The Governments of the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bombay and the Native State of Kashmir also appointed Educational Reorganisation Committees in their respective areas to study and report on the entire scope of education from primary to University stage. When all activities, except under the aegis of non-official organisations, had almost ceased in every other place, Bihar continued to experiment with the new scheme and we have at least a partial picture of what Basic Education is expected to bring about in the method of teaching and the outcome of working of the scheme with the students.

With the attainment of Independence, the Government of India at once decided to introduce Basic Education in the country and a comprehensive scheme was prepared and published to be followed in the different provinces with such minor changes that may be found necessary according to local needs. The Government of West Bengal has so recently as the 29th June, 1949, issued their policy of imparting Basic Education by starting some new and reconditioning some of the existing schools in the Province. The Government of India has gone a step further and has entrusted the Talimi Sangh, an organisation formed at the very early stage of the Basic Education movement with the object of popularising "education in all stages of life through manual work including handicrafts," with the task of educating nearly 10,000 children in the refugee townships of Faridabad and Raipura. This is probably the first time that *Nai Talim* is being adopted on such a large scale. The Rehabilitation Ministry has made a formal request to the Education Ministry to give recognition to the *Nai Talim* system of education on par with the existing one.

In 1949, one of the many "fads" of that wizard of India has taken a firm root and is on the point of assuming pleasing foliage. It has passed through the phases of neglect and intense adverse criticism and has survived the attacks that came from various quarters both informed and uninformed, and strangely enough, more from the latter than the former. Considering that it denotes almost a complete departure from the existing method of imparting education, it is fortunate that its intrinsic worth has saved it from all chances of withering.

The introduction of a new scheme of education when the country had been passing through intense political upheaval, proves the versatility of the intellec-

tual, as well as the most trying physical, activities of the Father of the Nation. It also proves the historical necessity so far as the educational needs of the multitude of children of the soil were concerned. There were rank illiteracy everywhere due to extreme poverty of the masses and the unscientific method of teaching prevailing in the country. The existing system does more harm than good to the students, because there is very little relation with life and reality around, it has very little to do with practical knowledge. It has "failed to meet the most urgent and pressing needs of national life, and to organize and direct its forces and tendencies into proper channels." The defects are too numerous and do not require recounting.

Mahatma's idea was anyhow to get out of the present rut. He was not satisfied with the equipments of an average 'educated' man, not to speak of those who have had only a smattering of education. Their education did not train them "to become useful productive members of society, able to pull their own weight and participate effectively" in the struggle of life. Even as regards college education Mahatma was constrained to remark that

"The vast amount of the so-called education in arts, given in our colleges, is sheer waste and has resulted in unemployment among the educated classes. What is more, it has destroyed the health, both mental and physical, of the boys and girls who have the misfortune to go through the grind in our colleges."

The other distressing thought that troubled Mahatma was the lack of funds for the propagation of education amongst all classes of people. India's poverty and the smallness of its total revenue had all along been advanced against the demands for more expenditure on education. It was awful to think that unless our people would drink more and more intoxicating liquor, there could be no question of expanding the scope of education in the country. Wrote Mahatma in the *Harjan* on July 31, 1937:

"How to solve the problem of education is (that) the problem (is) unfortunately mixed up with the disappearance of the drink revenue."

While bestowing his thoughts on other possible sources of revenue, he was impatient of waiting for the day when death duties and other taxes on the rich would bring huge money to the Government exchequer. He was thinking of introducing a system of education which would, even partially, meet its own costs. He thought "that as a nation we are so backward in education that we cannot fulfil our obligations to the nation in this respect in a given time during this generation, if the programme is to depend on money." And even at the risk of losing his reputation for constructive ability he ventured to proclaim that "education should be self-supporting."

Therefore, in the scheme of Basic Education, the present system should be replaced by a new one and he adumbrated his idea in a nutshell in these words :

"By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man—body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby man and woman can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education. I would, therefore, begin the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training."

In Mahatma's conception this 'useful handicraft' will be treated as an instrument of his entire education. It is also somewhat different from the 'activity methods' of other modes of teaching. In his opinion,

"the children in the schools of my conception will receive every instruction through the handicrafts that may be taught."

Such method will include literacy also. This is of course something different from the present method because the

"hand will handle tools before it draws or traces the writing, the eyes will read the pictures of letters and words as they will know other things in life, the ears will catch the names and meanings of things and sentences."

This method of training has been styled as "the literacy of the whole personality."

It has been asserted on behalf of the supporters of the new scheme that, as Mahatma has said :

"I do not want to teach the village children only handicrafts. I want to teach through hand-work all other subjects such as history, geography, arithmetic, science, language, painting and music,"

i.e., all subjects that a child may be required to learn to qualify himself in future as a useful unit of the society and the State. There is something more ; the students will learn the elementary principles of sanitation, hygiene, nutrition, of doing their own work, helping parents at home, etc.

Under the present system, some of the subjects are taught through the books and has got nothing to do with reality. But it is something different with the New Scheme, because matters of health, etc., form a part of their daily routine and they automatically get habituated to perform most of these tasks even without their knowing it. In the report of the Board of Inspectors appointed by the Bihar Government on the working of the Basic Education Schools, we find very encouraging remarks about almost every aspect of the child's training. According to this report, the "standard of cleanliness showed a distinct improvement over that of the previous years," and that it was much better than what it was in other schools. In respect of general physical development and intellectual growth of children, the results were remarkable. To the question of "what habits and attitudes were being formed in pupils as a natural consequence of craft-centred education," the Inspectors were glad to state that "the standard of personal honesty was slowly rising among children" and that the students had been acquiring knowledge in "co-operative work and sharing of responsibility." A visit to the Hotar-Maryada Basic Education School, situated at a place about twenty miles south of Calcutta, will convince any one about

the joyous atmosphere in which the students learn not only craft but acquire literacy together with an aptitude for personal cleanliness, village sanitation and a spirit of social service. While we in our schools clamoured every moment of the day to be away from the atmosphere of the school, here the boys and girls would not like to stay away from the school precincts, not to speak of days but, even for a few hours. Here one can learn for himself that the "methods of living and learning are not distinct studies."

The system is further expected to work, as Mahatmaji says, "as a spearhead of a silent social revolution fraught with the most far-reaching consequences." The Zakir Husain Committee aims at "giving the citizens of the future a keen sense of personal worth, dignity and efficiency," and they expect that it "will strengthen in them the desire for self-improvement and social service in a co-operative community." The students will not look upon manual work as something inferior to intellectual work and will not feel helpless in both the physical and mental fields of activity.

There are weighty grounds against the acceptance of the scheme in toto and suggestions have been forwarded for improvement of the scheme and in the ultimate result the original scheme has undergone substantial change. Mahatmaji's idea of sticking strictly to one particular craft for imparting education was modified by himself with further modifications by the Zakir Husain Committee. There is a chance of the present "evil of cramming" replaced by the "evil of over-work and undue extraction of labour from the students" if too much emphasis is placed on making the scheme paying its way. The other objections to this part of the scheme are, as stated by Prof. K. T. Shah, (i) "it will mean service and not education", and (ii) it will "create in the boys a feeling of exchange-motive" and from the point of educating young minds this seems to be extremely undesirable, because, as Prof. Shah says, "if from the age of seven the students are involved in this economic muddle a kind of slavery will creep in."

This is certainly an extreme view and should be accepted with an amount of reservation. The Zakir Husain Committee did not overlook the element of force in this argument and held that considering the scheme as based on sound educational policy and as "an urgent measure of national reconstruction," it should be accepted "even if it is not 'self-supporting' in any sense." If the students who have been paying the remuneration of their teachers so long have not, with a very few exceptions, treated their teachers as something dependent on them, it is not expected that the "exchange-motive" in them will be of such a proportion as to taint their minds and interfere with their education.

Mahatmaji himself felt very strongly about the productive nature of the work of the students.

"We should be intellectual bankrupts if we cannot direct the energy of our children so as to get from

them, after a year's training, one anna worth of marketable labour per hour," was what Mahatmaji said about his scheme.

This idea did not weigh much with both the Central and the Provincial Governments, and specially with the Government of West Bengal. They are prepared to adjust the type of basic schools as well as the possibility of the primary education being self-sufficient to the limitations under which it works. The policy of the Government, in respect of Basic Education in the Province, has been enunciated thus :

"It is not proposed to tie the province down rigidly to any single type of basic school. The form or forms of basic education, which experience proves to be the most suitable for the requirements of the province, or any of its area, should determine the character of basic education to be evolved according to the genius of this region. The principle of learning through 'creative activities' will be varied in its character to suit the aptitude of the children leading gradually up to a basic craft or crafts suited to local conditions. Educational consideration should on no account be subordinated to those of "production" and in all craft work, as in other spheres of activities, children should be taught to strive for the highest possible standard of which at their age they are capable."

It is apprehended that the declared policy of the West Bengal Government will allow an amount of diffusion of the original scheme rendering it wellnigh difficult to distinguish the imitation from the original. It would have been better to retain its present nomenclature of 'Primary' education. It is hoped that these schools will at least stick to the method of teaching through the medium of a craft and will not degenerate into schools which accept craft as an additional subject. It should be remembered that the original sponsor of the scheme was against "vocation-cum-literary training." What he wanted was "literary training through vocational training." If it was so "then vocational training would cease to be a drudgery and literary training would have a new content and new usefulness."

The Government of West Bengal have now decided to introduce gradually and systematically free junior basic (primary) education and propose "to recondition the existing primary schools . . . with a view to fitting them into the new system." These schools, it has been reiterated, "at any stage and more particularly at the lower stage should not be regarded as paying for itself through the sale of articles produced by pupils."

Even if it is ready "for universal free and compulsory basic education for a minimum period of eight years, i.e. for all children between six to fourteen years of age," it will take many years to give effect to the entire scheme. Not to speak of free and compulsory primary education, it is doubtful if we in our lifetime shall find the present number of pupils getting the blessings of basic education. There are 14,153 primary schools with 11,56,105 pupils on the rolls. As against these there are 42 basic primary schools, not well-equipped, in the whole province. The estimates and expectation of the

Government lead one to the belief that unless there be a miracle, the Government scheme is likely to be abortive. The Government expect that the two acres of land which is required for the erection of a basic education school "should be contributed by local people free of cost." It is doubtful that many such offers would be forthcoming. The estimated cost of a building is Rs. 33,000 roughly, and "for furniture and equipment, each school will be allowed a non-recurring grant of Rs. 1,000 in the first year." Many of the present primary school 'buildings' are misnomers for the purpose and there are very few schools with a few cottahs of land attached to it. There is perhaps none with the required two acres or six bighas of land under its control.

The financial implication of the scheme is certainly grave. But if the present educational system has to be improved and rescued from its present rut, then the State has got to provide money for the purpose. For the several multi-purpose schemes already accepted by the Government, it is estimated that not less than Rs. 1,750 crores with the total output of the Indian steel and cement factories for the next twenty years will be involved. We do not think that education of our children is less necessary than any one of these vaunted schemes and money should be provided by all means. The elasticity of Indian finance has been fully tested and it has been found to admit of expansion. As an instance it may be stated that expenditure on Central Administration—Ministries, etc., has increased from Rs. 87 lakhs to Rs. 778 lakhs in 1949-50 in spite of the fact that due to partition of India a considerable number of Central Government employees opted for Pakistan.

The real difficulty, in my mind, is with the supply of teachers suitable for taking up this onerous task. To teach the learners all subjects through a particular craft is no easy job. It is more difficult to train the teachers than the trainees. The requisite knowledge which a teacher must have will be scarcely found in matriculates and the training they may have at Training Centres may help them in mastering the technique but is not expected to expand the background of his general knowledge to any appreciable degree. While conceiving the idea of basic education Mahatmaji did not overlook the necessity of such teachers who would not "become dull to his students after a month's spinning." He would dismiss him, because "there will be newness in every lesson, such as there can be new music on the same instrument." Further he declared:

"What we need is educationists with originality, fired with true zeal, who will think out from day to day what they are going to teach his pupils."

This is completely a sphere for patriotic men and women to offer "their services to a cause which ranks amongst the noblest of all causes." For those who desired to offer their voluntary service he laid down that

"Needy (men) and women in search of a living will serve no useful purpose by thinking of joining

the movement for a career. If they approach the scheme, they should do so in a spirit of pure service and make it a life mission. They will fail and be severely disappointed if they approach it in a selfish spirit."

This is then the pre-requisite of a teacher of a basic school. The emoluments offered by the West Bengal Government will hardly attract men of Mahatmaji's ideals. Without them the scheme is bound to miscarry. Perhaps the greatest drawback of the scheme lies in the sphere of recruitment of suitable teachers. This is more difficult to secure than the money and money cannot buy the services which we require for the proper execution of the scheme.

We should require selfless, at the same time educated, men and women for managing the basic education schools in all its sections. The teaching of students lies as much as in or around the class rooms as in the village outside. It is difficult to expect poorly paid teachers without imagination and without spirit of sacrifice to conduct studies that would help in bringing out the best qualities in the child. If the teacher himself is lacking in these qualities he will be a poor model for the students and will surely fail in his work.

Those who would take up the work as a mission of their lives are expected to succeed with his pupils to a certain extent. Let all those who have suffered for the liberation of the motherland from the foreign yoke and have not lost their head over the mad pursuit for power and still have the smouldering fire of service within him come forward and take up the task of regenerating the country through education and thus save the country from falling again into the hands of her enemies. In this line men with long experience of teaching will be best suited for the purpose and teachers and professors who have retired from service and especially those who enjoy Government pensions may come forward and direct the local institutions to proceed on the correct line. The vital interests of the people are at stake and while one may live with whatever is paid by the school authorities and the local Government, one may serve the country through a very noble cause. The Government of India, perhaps profited by its own experience of not being very successful in conducting Basic Education centres under its charge, has done the very best thing under the circumstances to entrust the Nai Talim Sangh with the education of nearly 10,000 refugees from the West Punjab. The Nai Talim Sangh, so it seems, is under a trial and it is expected that they will acquit themselves creditably in this task and will make the path of the progress of Basic Education smooth and its pace rapid.

What Mahatmaji stood for in his life is shown the least courtesy by those who shout "the Father of the Nation" the loudest. Most of Mahatmaji's ideals have been given the go-by. Let us hope that his Basic National Education Scheme, though greatly maimed, should succeed in this hapless land of ours.

## MONUMENTAL BUNGLING OF THE KASHMIR ISSUE India Playing a Losing Game as Usual

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"If you have tears, prepare to shed them now."

—MARK ANTONY in *Julius Caesar*

Like Mark Antony, from whose celebrated funeral oration I have ventured to take my motto for my present disquisition, I have

"... neither wit, nor words, nor worth.  
Action, nor utterance, nor the power of speech,  
To stir men's blood: I only speak right on;  
I tell you that which you yourselves do know."

And that which "you yourselves"—that is, my readers—"do know" is nothing more nor less than this: namely, that our self-appointed leaders have, *once again*, let us down badly, let us down with a thud, as it were. I really wonder whether they even now realise how deeply humiliated the common man has been feeling these several months past over their monumental bungling of that simplest of all issues, Kashmir.

### MUDDYING OF CLEAR WATERS

There is such a thing as the muddying of clear waters, the blurring of sharp outlines, the obfuscating of the very "Day-spring on high"; and that is precisely what we have been witnessing since October, 1947, in regard to this affair which threatens to assume the dimensions of a world-problem, or, in vulgar parlance, a "free-for-all". I am writing this article in mid-September: which means at a moment when that sense of humiliation has well-nigh reached its apex, apogee, and apotheosis. I am at my wits' end to express my feelings adequately in the matter: I am that common man, postulated above, and my sense of humiliation has been steadily mounting with the passing of days, till now, after the recent near-intervention of Messrs. Attlee and Truman in our two-year old inter-Dominion dispute, words almost bid fair to fail me.

### GOVERNMENT AND CRITICISM

• Our rulers have been periodically taking us to task for criticising them too much, averring that criticism is purely destructive and advising us that we should moderate our transports of dissatisfaction—in view, at any rate, of the extraordinarily difficult period through which we are just now passing. It is all, I suppose in the end a question of the point of view. There are those who are fully convinced that, far from that being the case, there has not been sufficient criticism of the powers-that-be, and that it is this very lack of criticism that has been mainly responsible for our present doldrums. There is, they tell us, such a thing as killing a kitten by choking it with cream, and it is undeniable that we have been guilty of this peculiar

kind of vandalism, shouting "Hosannahs" before our new "Ma Baps" at every possible turn: To that extent, indeed, that those powers-that-be have had reason to fancy that even their geese are more or less swans. A stitch in time is said to save nine; and a word of disapprobation from the people when it was most needed would, I have no doubt, have nipped the mischief in the bud.

### TOO LATE

But that word of disapprobation never came—or came only in fits and starts, in a faint trickle, so to speak, when it should, by rights, have come in a gushing stream, in a foaming cascade. There is never any use locking the stable-door after the horse has been stolen; and *now* we are privileged to listen to our beloved Deputy Prime Minister saying in a goodwill message to the *Madhya Bharat Information*, a quarterly bulletin issued from Indore:

"Government, under a democratic system, must not be too sensitive to public criticism. It should, therefore, be the aim and purpose of Government publicity organisations to stimulate public interest and to invite constructive and helpful criticism so that the Government machinery profits by experience of such criticism."

Had our Ministers been all along alive to this sapient advice of our venerable Sardar, our "Iron Man" *par excellence*, the ship of our State would have run on an even keel, instead of, as it has done, being bogged down in the sand-dunes of its own perverse and helter-skelter policies, policies that recked little even of the mildest opposition from any quarter, friendly or otherwise.

### LORD LAYTON'S PREGNANT WORDS

While on this subject I cannot help quoting a pregnant passage or two from the special broadcast from Strasbourg for the B.B.C. European service on the night of September 10 or 11 of Lord Layton, Vice-President of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. Speaking on "the democratic way of life", he poses the question and himself answers it:

"Now what do we mean by this way of life? The political tests are simple and few. For example, Governments must be subject to the control of Parliaments that must be elected by free and secret ballot, and men must be free to criticise and to form an Opposition."

He proceeds:

"Individuals must be guaranteed against arbitrary arrest, and there must be the right of free speech."



These things have been said countless times before, but unless these rights are guaranteed and can be enforced, such statements are only another scrap of paper. Sooner or later freedom will be filched away."

#### THE SOURCE OF OUR TROUBLES

All this has a distinct bearing on my theme. From the very commencement of Congress rule (and, in fact, even long before) our people have been letting the handful of persons at the top do pretty well as they pleased, at the bidding of certain rather trite catch-words and slogans of their own making on which both themselves and the populace contrived to get more than ordinarily intoxicated, as on a heady wine; and, what is more amazing still, they did not abandon those catch-words and slogans, they did not fling them to the four winds, even after discovering to what indescribable dangers and disasters they had led them.

The now-famous appeasement policy—appeasement of a race whom nothing short of the most abject surrender on our part can ever appease this side of the grave—has been at the bottom of all our misfortunes since it began to hold our revered leaders in a thrall infinitely more degrading than that of slavery, pure and simple.

#### A SUCCESSION OF RETREATS

This led to the never-to-be-sufficiently-regretted partition of our beloved Motherland. This led to the conception of a "purely secular" State (*even after that partition, let us remind ourselves*, which, obviously, meant the Congress's full-throated acceptance of the pernicious "two-nation" theory and the presentation on a *khadder* platter of a "separate homeland" to the Muslim irredentists). This led to the perfectly unnecessary offer of a plebiscite to the people of Kashmir, after that State's one-hundred-per-cent legal accession to India. This led to the equally superfluous appeal to UNO to resolve the inter-Dominion tangle. This led to the innumerable equivocations subsequent to that world-organisation taking the issue under its own ample (and not wholly disinterested) wings. This led to the hasty acceptance of the U.N.C.I.P.'s August 13, 1948 resolution, *before first making sure of its diverse implications*. This led to the sudden order of the "Cease fire" (it came, be it noted, from *our* side, and it came before any one expected it, least of all our gallant soldiers on the battle-field who were then actually on a victorious march), to the unsavoury truce negotiations, to the Attlee-Truman near-intervention, to India's tentative "No" to the arbitration proposal. And this will, *quite conceivably*, lead in the near future to India's "caving in" to the UNO decision to partition Kashmir, or even to present the *whole* of that delectable region to Pakistan, that veritable "blue-eyed boy" of Britain and America.

#### PANDIT NEHRU'S AMERICAN VISIT

One simply cannot afford to be up-to-the-minute in a monthly Review, and I must reckon with the contin-

gency that anything may happen by the time these lines are in print. On the other hand, the situation may continue to remain fluid, as it is at present. The only certain factor is that we are not yet in sight of the fifth, and crucial, act in this most gripping drama and so are not in a position to pass any comprehensive judgment upon it: the *denouement* is still far off. But, on any reckoning, we are more than half-way through it and may hazard a guess or two about the exciting *finale*. Pandit Nehru's forthcoming visit to the United States is bound to step it up one way or another, though, of course, it is a moot point whether his personal contacts with the heads of the two countries he is visiting are more likely to achieve the end in view than the interminable discussions that have already taken place at long range.

It is true that we have been specifically given to understand that one of his objects will be to talk matters over with them and to attempt to convince them about the inherent justice of our cause. There is no doubt that we shall all follow those *pourparlers* with tremendous interest and that we shall all prayerfully hope that, at least at this admittedly late hour, those two distinguished statesmen will be willing to look at this highly explosive situation through their own eyes and not through the spectacles provided for them by the members of the United Nations Commission cooily camping on the delightful soil of Kashmir and enjoying its salubrious climate.

#### KASHMIR'S ACCESSION TO INDIA

An entire number of *The Modern Review* can be taken up with a discussion of the Kashmir issue, the material to hand being so voluminous; but there would be no sense in writing at such an inordinate length. I should much rather prefer to rivet the attention of my readers on a few salient points, especially those that have not been touched upon by other journalists, or touched upon by them only prefactorily. I began by positing that the common man has, for some months past, been feeling deeply humiliated by our leaders' monumental bungling of a question not intrinsically very complicated. The Maharajah of Kashmir had appealed to our Government (in October, 1947) to permit the accession of his State to India (the tribal raiders had already overrun a large portion of Kashmir and were, just then, strategically poised to strike at its capital, Srinagar, itself); which appeal, however, our Government was not in any desperate hurry to consider, even though the sands were running out pretty fast for the poor Maharajah. In the end, of course, the required permission was given, our Government having, meanwhile, convinced itself as to the perfect constitutional propriety of such a procedure. Even the Quaid-e-Azam had, earlier, expressed his conviction that the accession of a State to either Dominion was in perfect order; *and there the matter should have been allowed to rest*.

## NOT LETTING WELL ALONE

But our Prime Minister, as might have been foreseen by close students of his political make-up, would not allow it to rest there and would not let well alone. This was where the muddying of clear waters and the blurring of sharp outlines that I referred to in my second paragraph came in. Our Prime Minister has an eye always on what he chooses to call "world opinion," "the international context," and so forth, and he took our breath away by announcing, out of a perfectly clear sky, as it were, that that accession was only a temporary phase and that, in due course, the people of Kashmir would be given an opportunity to decide, by means of a free and impartial plebiscite, which of the two Dominions they would wish to accede to. This offer, in the poet's words, was, like the painting of a lily or the throwing of a perfume on the violet, "a wasteful and ridiculous excess," and was our Government's *first major blunder* in connection with Kashmir.

Another politician, in Pandit Nehru's place, having committed that initial blunder, would have extricated himself from it after Pakistan's categorical admission of guilt in the matter not only of aiding and abetting the frontier tribesmen in their raids on what—after that accession—was legally Indian territory but also of its own army's active participation in the warfare in that territory. He would have withdrawn that offer of a subsequent free and impartial plebiscite lock, stock, and barrel. But not so our beloved Premier!

## THAT PERFECTLY FOOTLING APPEAL TO UNO

The *second major blunder* was the taking of the case to Lake Success. Here, I believe, the then Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, was the evil genius, as he had been, previously, the evil genius in regard to partition. If that belief of mine is correct, it follows that Pandit Nehru succumbed to the noble lord's blandishments (none too inconsiderable) twice in succession. He should not have forgotten that the road to UNO, like the path to some other famous place, is paved with good intentions. Pandit Nehru had a sublime faith both in UNO's ideological functioning and in the noble lord's impeccable judgment. We are reaping the fruits of those blunders still. It was not even as though Panditji had not been sufficiently acquainted with the previous bungs of that grandiloquently named organization. UNO had been weighed in the balance already and found lamentably wanting—in Greece, in Korea, in Palestine, and in Indonesia. But give an organisation a whopping good name, and some worthy personages can always be relied upon to eat out of its hand, to prostrate themselves before it.

## THOSE "MORAL VICTORIES"

Pandit Nehru had seen what had come out of taking the South African issue to the same exalted tribunal. It is not a sufficient answer to my charge to say, as Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit (if I am not mis-

taken) said at that time, that the Indian Delegation to the General Assembly had secured a grand "moral victory." It looks as though India has been doing nothing else but securing grand moral victories during the last four or five years. But the *material* victories that South Africa and Pakistan have wangled for themselves out of the pitiable mess we have made of an initially cast-iron case in each quarrel have been grander still; and, what is more, though moral victories notoriously turn no wheels and grind no corn the other variety does both, and does them in a most enviable fashion into the bargain.

The fact is that Pakistan (having, let me suggest, its eyes wide open—and not closely shut for sundry sentimental reasons like its neighbour) has discovered, in the course of her tortuous negotiations with us, that insufferable truculence not seldom pays handsome dividends and that, in the battle between violence and non-violence, violence invariably romps home triumphant, though, no doubt, the other may carry away the consolation prize of a "moral victory" unparalleled in the annals of the human race. But we know what consolation prizes are: they rarely succeed in consoling.

## FISHING IN TROUBLED WATERS AGAIN

Even if it had not been evident then to Pandit Nehru and others of his way of thinking it must be fairly obvious to them now the diabolical motive in Lord Mountbatten's persuading him (if he did persuade, and it is a widely held belief that he did) to refer the whole affair to the world organisation. And if Lord Mountbatten had really no hand in it, then it must be confessed that, *on his own responsibility*, Pandit Nehru wantonly played into the hands of our departed rulers—the very same, be it remembered, who had *throughout* befriended the Muslims as against us and eventually presented them with a "separate homeland," and who, not satiated with that "Satanic" achievement, were straining at the leash to fish once more in troubled waters. By going to UNO—with, or without Lord Mountbatten's connivance—we contrived to bring the same "third party"—to wit, the British, and now their allies, the Americans also—afresh into the Indo-Pakistan wrangle, with what fatal consequences to us the friskings and gambollings of the UNO Commission and, later, the near-intervention of Messrs. Attlee and Truman are there to testify abundantly.

## GIVING HOSTAGES TO FORTUNE

If our top-ranking politicians could not understand such a simple thing as that—namely, that, dragging the Kashmir issue to Lake Success by the scruff of its neck, as it were, was tantamount to giving hostages to fortune, to inviting the Anglo-American bloc's interminable interference in our affairs for its own selfish ends—it is permissible for us to wonder what they can understand. Till that memorable August 15, 1947, the British had been having their

fingers incessantly in our pie. By way of a farewell gesture, a valedictory performance, they cut the country in two and departed merrily. They left the Indian States in such a dubious relationship to the surrounding two dominions that one well-nigh shuddered to contemplate what a fruitful source of annoyance they could be if they so chose. In the UNO Sir Alexander Cadogan, on behalf of the British Government, did not hesitate, whenever opportunity offered itself, to throw his full weight on the side of Pakistan. At every crucial stage in the UNO deliberations the British delegates almost religiously followed the policy of "cocking a snook" at us. They even went to the length of influencing the American contingent to toe their own "Imperial" line by sedulously propagating the view that none others but themselves knew the Indian scene with such painstaking thoroughness, such all-embracing comprehension.

#### THE EXIGENCIES OF THE "COLD" WAR

As though the dice had not been already loaded heavily against us the "cold war" between the two rival sections of the former allies against the Hitlerian hordes has taken a new turn, with the recent swift and decisive Communist victories in China bringing Russia ever nearer and nearer to all the countries in South-East Asia; and our whole habitable globe, being now reduced to but two broad divisions, the American and the Russian (the American including all, or almost all, democratic "fellow-travellers"), every other issue is being ruthlessly subordinated to just one consideration, the rivalry between those two broad divisions. It is, on a different plane, a case of "Eclipse first and the rest nowhere." The Western bloc had long ago aligned itself, body and soul, with Pakistan in regard to the Kashmir debacle; and the exigencies of the aforementioned "cold wars" between erstwhile allies are fast tipping the scales still further on our "sister dominion's" side.

#### LIAQUAT'S WOOING OF MOSCOW

Of late a new ingredient has been thrown into that veritable witches' cauldron of the fast-deteriorating international situation. In some mysterious way the Pakistan Prime Minister arranged a visit to Moscow in the coming October, soon after returning home from the London Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in April last. That proverbially lying jade, Dame Rumour, has it that he had undergone some nerve-racking humiliations in London on that historic occasion and had, perforce, to hit upon a lightning and frightful counter-stroke against the wily British by way of a suitable *cui pro quo*. It is, we are told, definitely not a case of old Liaquat turning into a fire-eating Communist over-night; and, anyway, Islam, we learn, can have no possible truck with Communism. But Britain (so the story goes) having cavalierly spurned Pakistan's passionate overtures, that "largest

Muslim State in the world", willy-nilly, had to turn for solace for comfort, elsewhere, being so young and vigorous and blooming and full of "It" and "Oomph". And, quite naturally, it turned to Moscow and "Uncle Joe." As Mr. Douglas Brown, the distinguished correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph*, wiring to his paper from Karachi puts it :

"A Cabinet Minister said to me : 'I shall speak to you frankly. We are under no illusions about what it means to be a satellite of Russia. But our fear of Hindu domination is such that if ever we had reason to believe that Britain and America, to placate Pandit Nehru, had given him a free hand with Pakistan we should—as a gesture of despair, no doubt, but with our eyes wide open—rush straight into the opposite camp'."

And this, let us remember, in the face of what Pandit Nehru himself had categorically announced some time ago ! Pandit Nehru had then said :

"If at this time Pakistan were to ask for a reunion, we should definitely refuse it and resist any such move."

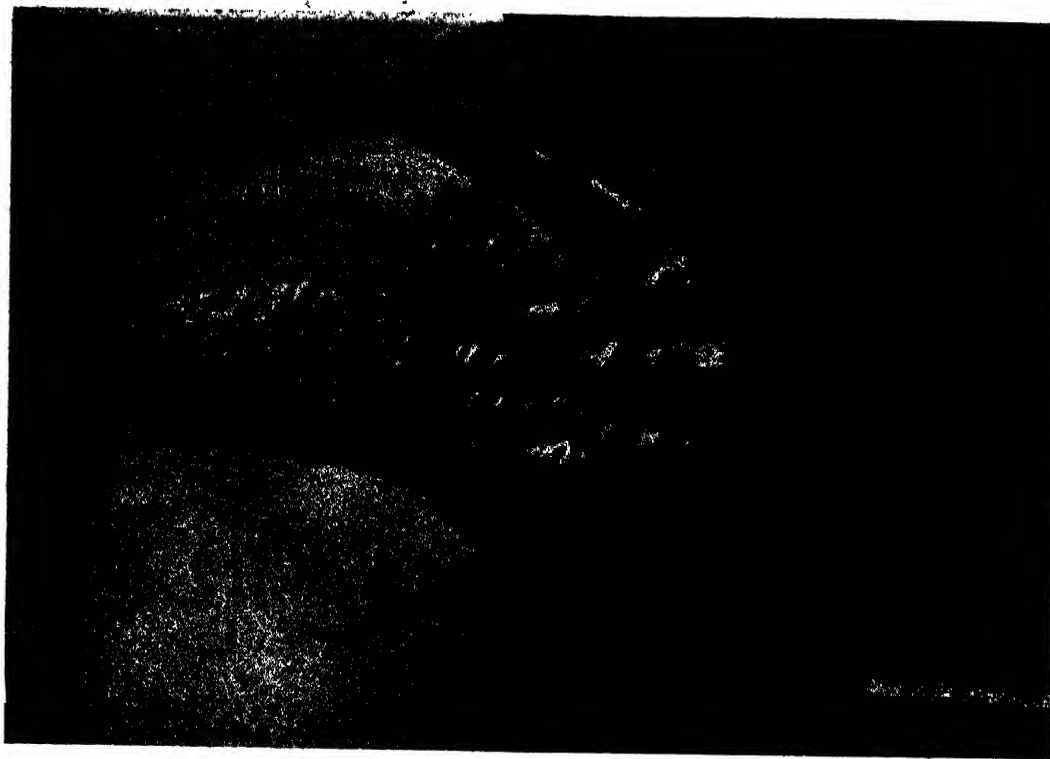
#### A PUT-UP JOB

British correspondents, always on the alert to rush to the aid of that "damsel in perpetual distress," Pakistan, have not been slow to turn even Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's forthcoming visit to Moscow into a hair-raising propaganda stunt against her unfortunate neighbour, India. However brought about, this visit of the Pakistan Premier to Moscow is doing him as well as his country a lot of inestimable service. What if Pakistan has, at long last, admitted her guilt in the matter of Kashmir, and what if the UNO Commission itself has had, in its laborious findings, to underscore that admission ? India went to Lake Success to appeal to the august body sitting there against her neighbour's wanton and inexcusable depredations on her territory. India went there as the plaintiff in the case. After first protesting that the charges of aggression levelled against her by her accuser were without any substance she had, ultimately, to own up, inasmuch as the UNO Commission could not, with the best will in the world, deny the presence of regular Pakistani troops in the disputed region. Nor need it be forgotten that at no time has the perfect legality of the State's accession to India been questioned anywhere.

But "what avails the sceptred race and what the form divine"—I mean, what avails our opponent's tacit admission of guilt and the perfect legality of that accession when we are face to face, *not* with these questions (which one had, in utter ignorance of the latest moves on the international chess-board, all along been supposing were the real points at issue), but with the more fundamental ones of (a) the "cold war" that is at present being so furiously waged between the East and the West, with no quarter either asked or given, and (b) the age-old partiality of the Anglo-American alliance for Muslim interests, now represented by Pakistan, as against the Hindu ?



A modern Thai temple—Wat Phra Keo



The topmost part or peak of one of the temples of Wat Phra Keo



A view of the step-cultivation as seen from Lansdowne  
Photo by Parimal Goswami

## INDIA'S CASE GOES UNHEARD

Both the British politicians and the British Press have ever since the commencement of this ugly affair, and much more so in these latter days, consistently espoused Pakistan's cause. The "Liberal" (save the mark!) *Manchester Guardian* came down heavily on the side of Pakistan long ago: the other papers had come down on that side much earlier. And now ("sorrow's crown of sorrow"!) even the usually friendly *New Statesman and Nation* has thought fit to lecture us on our undoubted moral degradation in not having accepted the Truman-Attlee intervention in the matter of the UNO Commission's latest proposal for arbitration. (See its issue of September 10). The *London Times* (September 11) is still more severe, asserting

that "Indian leaders have not behaved well in this affair."

## PARTITION OF KASHMIR

The partition of Kashmir is the theme of all these homilies, with the famous Liberal organ not being willing to give us even the whole of Jammu. Eventually that partition will take place—if, indeed, the whole of Kashmir does not go to Pakistan. These decisions that are being contemplated by the "Big Bosses" of UNO can still be countered effectively if our Government is determined to be firm at least now. Candour, however, compels me to say that, in the light of its past record, it is sheer wishful thinking to hope so. We have lost Kashmir, as we have lost Pakistan.

—:O:—

## SMALL INDUSTRY AND EMPLOYMENT

By BELA BOSE, M.A.

THE most dynamic problem of the modern age is the question of unemployment. This is a feature which has been brought into existence by the industrial revolution in Western countries. And it became more serious after the great depression of the thirties when it assumed an unprecedented magnitude. Since then the avowed objective of most of the advanced countries of the world, is the achievement of a state of full employment. This is the significant factor underlying all their industrial plannings. The end of full employment is to create mass production so as to ensure maximum employment and to banish unemployment from national life. The question is even more acute in India where the character of unemployed is two-fold—agricultural and industrial. The problem is further complicated by the presence of seasonal unemployment, which is unknown in many other parts of the world. Following Western countries India has turned to industrialisation to solve her unemployment problem. Various plannings have been devised to that effect. Consequently the question arises, will the establishment of large-scale industrial enterprise solve our problem of unemployment?

As regards the particular problem of seasonal unemployment, large-scale industrial enterprise proves to be quite ineffective. For seasonal unemployment concerns mainly the agricultural labour. During the slack season of agriculture, a huge mass of population remain unemployed. It can be resolved only by subsidiary occupations which need not require much capital investment and at the same time capable of mass production of cheap consumers' goods. Large-scale industries with huge capital investment cannot satisfy these conditions.

The extent to which big industries can solve even

the problem of industrial unemployment, has a very narrow limit. Mechanised industrial concerns have come into existence in India for over half a century. They have considerably reduced our imports of manufactured articles from abroad. But they have afforded employment only to a total number of nearly 1.5 millions. The total number of industrial workers in India is 25 lakhs out of 32 crores or six-sixteenth of 1 per cent of the population. This represents 15 per cent of the total working population. There are avenues for expansion no doubt; for we are still importing capital goods. But large-scale production requires less labours for the same amount of production than in cottage and small-scale industries. Therefore, even a doubling of the Indian industries, which will create a state of over-production, may provide employment to another 1.5 million turning the total number of employed to barely 1 per cent of the population. This calculation does not take into account the rapid growth in our population. This is a problem which demands immediate attention.

In England, the home of Industrial Revolution, the problem of bigness in industry, its disastrous effect on human civilisation and the ever-increasing unemployment, has become a subject of serious study by competent Western economists. There is a great deal of evidence to show that large industrial enterprise not only fails to achieve the highest industrial efficiency but is also unable to solve the unemployment problem. Thus the report of the British working parties, independent committees set up to investigate various British industries, illustrates the case of the British Boot and Shoe industry which is regarded by the working parties to be "carried on under conditions which increasingly approximates to mass production. Yet out of a total of more than 800 factories, there are only 14 which

employ more than 1,000 workers each; the majority have less than 200 workers each." The Report of Working Parties proves that modern centralised system of large-scale production fails to solve the problem of employment and moreover creates a standing army of the unemployed which degrades the national standard and endangers social stability.

Industries in India have, from time immemorial, been divided into two clear-cut divisions. There is the traditional indigenous system of cottage industry carried on with hand-operated appliances in the home of the worker. Here the state of operation is small, organisation limited and supplies intended largely for meeting the local needs. The other consists of organised industries with power-operated machinery carried on in workshops or factories which vary in size from 20-men factories to large textile mills and engineering workshops employing thousands of hands. This large-scale power-operated enterprise is of quite recent origin in India. The traditional system of Indian industrial organisation was based on village economy and was capable of mass production leaving an exportable surplus of commodities like cloth, sugar, silk, woollens, iron and steel, etc. It was the cottage industry which brought wealth and happiness to India from the early dawn of civilization down to the advent of British rule in India. As the Industrial Commission of 1914-18 observed:

"At the time when the rest of Europe, the birth-place of modern industrial system, was inhabited by uncivilized tribes, India was famous for the wealth of the rulers, and for the high artistic skill of her craftsmen."

During the early Mohammedan period the situation however deteriorated to a certain extent but was again revived during the days of the Great Mughals. Even the influx of foreign powers in the country could not check the progress and prosperity of the Indian industries. During the earlier phase of its rule, the East India Company was interested in encouraging the Indian industries on which their export trade depended. But the pressure of vested interest in England compelled the company to reverse its policy in the eighteenth century, when a new era was opened by the Industrial Revolution. Vast economic changes were brought about by the discovery of the process of smelting iron with coal, of the spinning jenny by Hargreaves, and last but the most important, of the power-loom worked by steam. With these changes in technique of production which resulted in mass production with least cost, it became increasingly difficult for India to keep pace with the tide of British competition. Consequently her industrial life was destroyed.

During the first World War imports from abroad were cut off and Indian industries were called upon to meet not only internal civil requirements but also the huge war demands of the allied countries. The War came as a blessing to Indian industries which had just started to follow Western methods of production in large establishments and gave a great fillip to them.

Since then India has been vigorously trying to industrialise herself after the Western model to make her self-sufficient if not an exporting power.

But the interesting phenomenon is that when India is engaged in frantically copying the Western methods, a great change has occurred in the industrial life of the West. By the end of the first World War (1914-18) large-scale enterprise reached its highest peak without any further prospect of greater efficiency. On the other hand, the existence of a huge number of able-bodied working population or a permanent army of the unemployed became a very disturbing feature. This was further aggravated by the depression of thirties. Various unemployment insurance schemes were adopted but with little effect. Consequently the Western countries were in an utter confusion and their highly organised machineries completely failed to solve the problem of unemployment. The standing army of the unemployed became a huge burden both on the national life and on the national exchequer. The greater the industrialisation the bigger was the problem of unemployment.

At this critical junction of industrial civilisation, the East again emerged as the saviour. But this time it was not India but Japan, the greatest power of Modern Asia.

Japan divided the entire scope of industries into two divisions. One consisted of those industries which could not be done on a small scale and for which big plants, buildings and organised labour was needed. Sugar, cement, paper, heavy chemicals, manufacture of machinery, mining, etc., were included in this group. The second type consisted of industries producing consumers' goods which could be worked on small scale. Engineering principles adopted in the manufacture of complicated machinery were studied and small but effective working models were built up so that the unit of manufacture might become simple but at the same time designed to include all those mechanical developments which were necessary for the success of production at a cheap rate. The workers were trained so that they might be able to handle their own machine, and at the same time master the entire process. In this way the work of big factories was split up into numerous small machine workshops in cottages, worked by power. The wonderful result of the simplicity of this organisation and planned dispersal of power-driven small-scale industries all over the country was that commodities were produced at a much cheaper rate and they not only held their own in home market but succeeded in competing in distant foreign markets with goods produced on a mass scale in large factories. At the same time Japan succeeded in arresting the problem of unemployment and provided work for all.

This was a challenge by an Eastern country against the well-organised industrial system of the West. It stood the test so well that it forced the rival countries to adopt protective measures against cheap Japanese goods just as Britain was obliged to do against Indian cottage industry products only a century ago. This new



orientation revolutionised the idea of cottage and small-scale industries throughout the world. Cottage industry won the world market when the same power was used by both the types, big and small. Cottage gave way when there was a rupture in this power position, when big industries' use of steam was an exclusive advantage to them. Cottage industry again won when electricity replaced steam and the modern electric grid system of power generation carried power to the remotest corner of the country. This new chapter in the industrial history of the world was added by Japan. It has opened the eyes of the West. Even England, the leader of the Industrial Revolution, is now-a-days becoming conscious of the vices of big industry and is unhesitatingly progressing towards this new technique of production, namely, the introduction of cottage industry in all national planning. The following two tables will invariably clear up the position in Great Britain in this respect.

TABLE I.

No. of employment	No. of establishment	No. of Men (000's)	Women (000's)	Total (000)	Women p.c. of total
11-24	15,640	174	83	262	32
25-49	12,730	290	156	446	35
50-99	9,710	420	263	683	39
100-249	7,810	734	478	1,212	39
250-449	2,920	629	388	1,017	38
500-999	1,330	596	312	908	34
1000-1999	590	580	221	801	28
2000-4999	250	592	151	743	20
5000 or more	60	342	96	438	22
Total	57,040	4,362	2,148	6,510	33

Thus it is evident that establishments employing 100-249 workers are the most efficient firms which provide the largest employment, men as well as women. Another interesting feature is that small firms afford occupation to more female hands as it brings work to the hearth of the worker where his family members may participate in production. The same conclusion will follow from the table No. II :

TABLE NO. II.

*Analysis into industry group*

Group of industry	No. of establishments with more than ten employees	No. of employees
Metal manufacture	996	381,000
Ship-building and ship-repairing	702	191,000
Engineering	7,420	1,252,000
Motor, aircrafts and other vehicles	2,163	502,000
Metal goods	7,636	943,000
Chemicals (oils, paints, explosives, etc.)	2,342	351,000
Textile	5,869	803,000
Leather and leather goods	952	60,000
Clothing	4,215	335,000
Boot and Shoe	951	113,000
Food, Drink and Tobacco	5,756	519,000
Wood working and Furniture	3,882	215,000
Paper and Printings	4,044	381,000
Bricks, Potteries, Glass and Cement	2,529	257,000
Other manufacturing industries	1,578	207,000
Total	57,040	6,510,000

Thus it follows that England has brought a new orientation to her manufacturing industry. By adopting the new process during the World War II Britain has considerably reduced her unemployment figure which approximated to 18 millions in the pre-war days of 1933. Thus the table shows :

TABLE III.

*Number of unemployed*

1933 July	1,875,083
1939 "	1,326,134
1940 "	898,676
1941	315,898
1942	124,528
1943	90,552
1944	77,884
1945	130,991
1946	400,844
1947 (December)	318,897
1948 "	359,010
1949 January	412,938
February	396,718

The striking question before the whole international world is how within such a short period, Britain has been able to combat her unemployment which it was expected to be in millions with the demobilisation of the army. In India also the Government as well as the big industrialists are amazed by the tremendous productivity of the British industry which has rapidly recovered after the devastation of the war and without trying to understand the real reason of their success, are busy in sketching various development plans, for big industrial expansion.

Sir Stafford Cripps, the Chancellor of Exchequer, has very recently explained Britain's economic condition in course of an address. He was able to show that British industrial production is the greatest it has ever been. During February, 1949, said the Chancellor, British industrial production reached the highest level on record, 30 per cent above the 1946 average. Taking the nine months from June 1948 to February 1949 and splitting the period into three quarters, the increase in industrial production, compared with the corresponding periods of 1947-48, was about 7 per cent in each quarter. As the increase in employment in the industries covered by these figures was only about one and a half per cent, the overall increase in the rate of output or productivity was of the order of four to five per cent per annum.

One of the factors, continued the Chancellor of Exchequer, contributing to the present rate of production throughout British industry is the high level of employment in the country. For all practical purposes, there is virtually no unemployment problem in Britain today. Early in April last, the number of registered unemployed was only 325,000 and with a civilian working population exceeding 22,000,000, this represented a workless rate of only one and a half per cent. Looking back to pre-war days, British unemployment in the early months of 1933 was nearly 1,780,000. And the

British rate of 1½ p.c. can be compared with proportions of something of the order of 5 p.c. in U. S. A. and up to 12 per cent in some of the other countries.

A further analysis of the latest British figures shows that the hard "core" of unemployment is very small. Only 157,000 of the men and women on the April unemployment register had been out of work for more than eight weeks and of these a substantial proportion was hardly capable of sustained work because of ill-health or infirmities.

Another factor in industrial production in Britain today is the small amount of time lost by industrial disputes. In the first quarter of this year, less than 250,000 man days were so lost, while in 1948, the yearly total was under 2,000,000 man days. After the World War I, the total was 35,000,000 in 1914 and rose to 86,000,000 man days in the slump year of 1921.

Thus Great Britain has not only eliminated the unemployment menace but also reduced the number of industrial disputes, the greatest enemy of industrial progress.

Thus a state of full employment has been created by a planned centralised-cum-decentralised economy.

We in India cannot be blind towards this background of world history in the development of our industry. This centralised-cum-decentralised process of production was in existence in India under the Kautilyan system of economy. Goods were produced on a mass scale for the home and foreign markets, employment was assured to the growing population and a high degree of efficiency was maintained. The only difference between the old Kautilyan system and the modern Japanese model is the utilisation of power. We in India have already adopted various multi-purpose projects from which electricity will be available at cheap rates to the remotest villages where the artisan will devote himself to the work with his family. Under the modern industrial context, we cannot oppose machine but we must certainly make it supplement human labour and not allow it to supplant human labour through the introduction of labour-saving devices. A perfect harmony between big and small industry can be maintained by making the finished products of the big industry the raw materials of cottage industry. The former must not compete with the latter but must be complementary to it.

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## THE LOGIC OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

By PROF. M. L. ROY CHOUDHURY,

Calcutta University, Formerly Professor, Fowad University, Cairo

It was a grey November evening, 1944; I was taking a stroll on the bank of the Nile. Suddenly the newspaper boys screamed out "murder, murder." I was startled, the whole of Cairo was startled. Lord Moyo, the British Resident Minister of the Middle East, was murdered. The assailants were arrested. They were two Jewish youngmen. They admitted that they had committed the murder and they were proud to admit the crime, which, according to them, was an act of rational vindication. The Jews felt that their cause had been betrayed by the British. The British had made solemn official declaration not once but three times in favour of a Jewish National Home; the British were now helping the Arab League which was a determined enemy of the idea of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. This is intolerable to the Jews. Any opposition to the principle and policy of a Jewish National Home, by whomsoever it may be, must be crushed; Lord Moyo did it and he was crushed.

Three months after, February 1945. The University of Egypt decided to send a delegation of Good Will consisting of the students and teachers of the Royal University of Cairo to make contact with the brother Arab students of the Middle East. I was a Professor in the University at Cairo, as such an Arab

by association. I was a member of the Delegation. We were the guests of the Egyptian consul at Haifa when we heard that those two Jewish youths were condemned to death for the murder of Lord Moyo. There was a terrible sensation in the Jewish world; though they knew the verdict as a forgone certainty, yet the formal announcement of the verdict excited the Jews. There was angry demonstration near the Egyptian consulate at Haifa because it was the Egyptian Court which had condemned the Jewish youths for an act, which was meant to vindicate the Jewish national honour. Our stay in Jerusalem was at once restricted to three days because the British authorities in Palestine did not think it advisable to take the responsibility for the safety of the Egyptian-Arab Delegation in that tense atmosphere.

At Tel Aviv, the Mountain of Eve, the centre of the Jewish activity, our car was twice searched by the Jewish constabulary and their attitude was what a foreigner would not appreciate.

Our Delegation was accorded an official reception by the foreign department of the Syrian Government. I had long talks with the ambassador designate of U.S.A. who frankly gave me the official attitude of the Arab League towards the project of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. It was exactly what I

had heard from His Excellency Azzam Pasha, the Secretary-General of the Arab League whom I met at Halwan in Egypt.

At Beirut, the capital of Lebanon, I was invited by the Press Association to speak about India. In course of our talk, I was told about many of the implications of the Arab League vis-a-vis the Jewish immigrations. The leader of the Al-Kataib, a powerful youth association in the Lebanese Republic, actually wanted to know if India would assist them in case of an open conflict between the Jews and the Arabs.

I had already talked the matter out with Dr. Canan, the Arab Christian leader of Palestine who had just then been released from a British detention camp after four years. He was an Arab by birth, a Christian by religion, a German by marriage and a physician by profession. He had written half a dozen books on the Arab-Jewish problem from the Arab National point of view. His ideas were very clear and were based on facts. Dr. Shafii Mansur, an Arab-Christian Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. at Jerusalem, who had his training in America, told me how bitter the young Arabs felt about the Jewish penetration into Palestine. I visited the Jewish University at Jerusalem and incidentally talked the matter with two young students there. The youngmen seemed to be very well-posted in facts, but I could not argue with them because there a young Arab Professor with me who, though a Communist, was anti-Jew.

On my return to Cairo, I met Mrs. Amiaa Said at a party in the house of Prof. Nasif. She was a pro-Arab journalist and was actively organising resistance to the Jewish immigration. In the house of Dr. Wuli Khan, I met a German Jew Chemist, Dr. Brayan whose entire family had been wiped out by Hitler; he was then a refugee at Cairo. He told me the circumstances under which the German Jews had to migrate in spite of their being German in their heart of hearts. In the Indian Nafe at Cairo I met Dr. Miller, the American Secretary-General of the Middle East Y.M.C.A. who had just returned from a tour in the Arab countries at a tea party of Major O. V. Alexandar. Dr. Miller narrated his experience of the Jewish point of view with very accurate details. Thus, I had then a very great opportunity of talking to the Arab Muslim, Arab Christian, Palestinian Jew, German Jew—each spoke with sense, each had his argument and each felt that he had a just cause to fight for.

In this tangle there were three parties directly concerned: (1) The Arabs whose land was at stake, (2) The Jews who had immigrated, (3) The British who held the Mandate in authority.

The Arabs claimed that Palestine was their own land, their sacred land, their Prophet Muhammed is said to "have flown" to heaven on a stone from Masjid-al-Aksa, in Jerusalem. That stone is still there. During my visit, I had seen hundreds of Muslims touching it, kissing it and praying before it. This

shrine is the third great sacred spot of the Muslims, only after Makkah and Madinah. Here in Palestine, lay the tombs of scores of Sahabis who were companions of the Prophet; here was a mosque built by Umar. Here the Muslim Arabs lived for 1300 years. The Arabs formed 93 per cent of the population in the 19th century; even under the Turkish rule the Jews never claimed any separate identity; they lived as peaceful inhabitants side by side with the Muslims. It is only after the assurance of Balfour to Rothschild in Nov. 2, 1917 promising Jewish National Home in Palestine that the Jews began to clamour for a separate political entity. It is Balfour's declaration that brought unrest in the land of peace. This assurance is contrary to the promise of Sir Henry MacMohan to al-Hossain in 1915, and to Balfour's promise to King Faisal in 1917, October, 9. The British played a double game under the threat of German danger in the first World War.

Soon after the promise of Balfour followed: (1) The Jewish immigration; (2) Purchase of lands in Palestine by the Jews ousting the local Arabs from their homelands; (3) Establishment of Jewish agricultural farms and industrial factories; (4) Boycott of Arab labour and its displacement by Jews and; (5) Consequent growth of Zionist influence on the Government of Palestine under the cover of the Mandate. Arabs have no place in their own Government. The Arabs are foreigners in their own homes.

The Jews refuted the claim of the Arabs that they have ruled over Palestine for 1300 years. Historically speaking the Arab Rule over Palestine lasted only 47 years. After that it was Turkish rule in every sense of the term, both in form and spirit. The agreement that the Jews lived as peaceful citizens is basically wrong, because the peace which the children of Israel enjoyed was the peace of death. They never enjoyed any civic rights, nor were they granted any political identity. The Jews lived because they were not killed. It was not life they lived, but it was death in life. Further, the Jews ask: What did the Arabs or Turks do to improve the life and condition of the Arabs, not to speak of the Jews specifically? The old autocratic rulers, the feudal land-lords, the obstinate *Ulemas*, the ignorant Muslim masses and the servile groups of non-Muslims—these sum up the social structure of the holy land of Palestine. The time forces had no reaction in Arabia, neither on the Muslim Government nor on the Muslim and non-Muslim masses.

The Jews claim that their cause and case is just, natural and historical. The Mount of Zion is their sacred Hill which was conquered by their sacred King David. Their Prophet Moses received the Old Testament here in Jerusalem which is synonymous with the Mount Zion. The Jews claim themselves to be children of Zion. Zionism is the lineal attachment to the Mount Zion—an inseparable part of the existence of Judaism, an inspiration of the Israelite culture, a bed-rock of Jewish national sentiment. They

"repented" for their "sins" too much, they have "wept" too long before the Weeping Wall, they have "wandered" too far in the world. Their "sins" have been redeemed, their "weeping" has been accepted, their "wanderings" have ceased; they must now settle down in the spot wherefrom they started their "journey," it was the Mount of Zion. Every people of the Book has a Home, why should not the Jews have one for them!

Historically the Jews claimed that Balfour's assurance is not the starting point of their immigration to their Homeland. The Jewish immigration in the 20th century is the logical consequence of the movement that was started by David Reubeni in the 15th century who announced that the promised liberator had come and the Jews should now go back to Zion. As a preliminary step to their journey, many Jews came to England. But the contemporary attitude of an average Christian towards the Jews could be found crystallized in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* in the character of Shylock the Jew. In the 17th century Sabbatai Zevi from Smyrna gave a new urge to the Jews who began to prepare for a journey to their Home in Palestine. There was a stir amongst the Jews in every land and everywhere they began to prepare for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. In the 18th century the predominating factor of the age centred round a cry for national expression, the idea of nationhood caught the imagination of the common man. The Jews were no exceptions. Nation and land go together. The Jews must have a land to call their own. The land must be the land of their origin—that meant Jerusalem and Palestine.

But Moses Mendelssohn, a great intellectual leader of the Jews, sought a compromise between the national sentiment and a national home. He sought to prepare his brethren for a new life as citizens of the land wherein they dwelt, emphasizing the spiritual side of Judaism and the need for occidental culture. Study of the Jewish culture was insisted upon, and this led to a fresh urge for a new national consciousness. Jewish schools were started in many lands to help the study of the Jewish culture and language.

In the 19th century, Zionism took a definite shape in the movement "Back to Zion". An association called *Choveve Zion* (Lovers of Zion) was formed for the purpose of promoting Jewish colonisation in Palestine. Even as early as in 1796 Napoleon had to admit the political entity of the Jews. He drew up a *concordat* between the Jews of France and the French Republic. In 1799, Napoleon invited the Jews to settle again in Jerusalem under his aegis. In 1815, the Congress of Vienna guaranteed civil and political rights to the Jewish communities in Central Europe. In 1827, Sir Moses Montefiore, the Jewish philanthropist, approached Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammed Ali of Egypt for permission to start a Jewish Colony in the desert plains of Palestine which was then under his command. In 1846, Col. George Gauber sent to Queen Victoria

a proposal for establishment of Jewish Colonies in the region of Palestine. Hollingsworth in his famous book *Jews in Palestine* (1852) pointed out to the British authorities the diplomatic advantage of a Jewish State in Palestine under British protection, which might serve as a means of securing an overland route to India. Palmerston, the loud-speaker of the British foreign office, fell in with the views of Hollingsworth.

The eastern question had an ethical and sentimental background. If the Christian could feel a kinship with their fellow brethren-in-faith in Greece and in the Balkan peninsula and help their emancipation from the Muslim Turkish rule, why should not the Jews feel the same urge to help their brethren in Palestine and elsewhere?

In the liberation of Rome the Jews found a prelude to a rebirth of the Jewish nation in 1860. A German Socialist Jew, Moses Hess in his book *Rome and Jerusalem* propounded: "With the freeing of the Eternal City on the Tiber began that of the Eternal City on the Mount Moriah: with the Renaissance of Italy lay the reservation of Judea". Soon after, Theodore Herzl published his famous book *The Jewish State* and gave a detailed scheme of a Jewish State in Palestine in 1896.

In 1897, after the great massacre of Armenia, the Turkish Government agreed to support the scheme of a Jewish Home in Palestine.

In the same year the Zionist Congress at Basle resolved to start

- (1) Jewish Colonies in Palestine—publicly secured and legally guaranteed homes for the Jewish people;
- (2) Local and International Jewish associations having one central co-ordinating body;
- (3) Jewish National Fund—(a) Palestine Restoration Fund, (b) Palestine Federation Fund, (c) Jewish National Trust in the form of a National Bank.

The first Zionist Congress of Basle in 1897 had attracted the Jewish proletariat of Eastern Europe and the Jewish students of the Universities all over. The movement for a Jewish Home was enthusiastically supported by the great Jewish intellectuals like Max Nordau of Austria, Israel Zangwill of England, Bethard Lazare of France and Dr. Weizmann.

The news of the success of the Basle Congress created a stir in the minds of the Jewish community throughout the world. At once, Jewish migration followed in hundreds and thousands towards Palestine. A group of them suggested that Palestine being a barren desert land would not be a suitable place for settlement from the economic point of view, nor would the area of the desert be able to accommodate the entire Jewish population of the world. Some suggested that Jews might settle in Uganda, Nicaragua, Tripolitania, Mesopotamia or even in America. But the Jews in Palestine scented a danger to their rights and political status if there be a Home for the Jews outside Palestine—the Land of Promise. Jerusalem was no restoration but a

was a City of Heaven, if Judaism is to exist, it must have its centre in Palestine on the Mount of Zion. Could the Roman Catholics think of their existence without Rome, the Muslims without Mecca, the Hindus without Benares?

In the meantime the Jews started migration to Palestine.

The number of Jews in 1884 was 8,000, in 1902—28,000, in 1918—95,000, in 1925—108,000, in 1935—403,000, in 1948—120,000, after 15th August, 1948 to 30th December, 1948, increased 115,000.

Rural population in 1933 was 90,000 (rise of 77.0 0 in 13 years).

Population at Tel Aviv in 1914 was 2,000 in 1922—13,000, in 1937—140,000.

In 1935 alone after Hitler's racial crusade about 64,000 migrated to Tel Aviv.

The war of 1914 gave a definite set-back to the International Zionist organisation because of the conflicting interests of the different nations having Jewish population. So, the headquarters of the Zionist Brotherhood was transferred to Copenhagen, the capital of a neutral country. But that did not solve the problem of double allegiance. A belligerent British Jew was to kill a German brother-in-faith though both were the children of Israel. So, more than ever now, the war of 1914 convinced the Jews of the grim necessity for a National Home of their own where they could pursue their own course of action. An opportunity was presented to them because of the prospect of the dissolution of the Turkish Empire as she had declared war against the Britain and her allies; out of the emancipated portions of the Turkish Empire, Palestine was to form a Jewish Home, a Jewish State and a Jewish country. The dream of two millenniums was going to be realised, and its consecration was found in the declaration of the British Government in November 1917 in a letter to Baron Rothschild promising the Jews a Homeland in Palestine. The Jews held that the Jewish Home in Palestine was a logical conclusion, a racial redemption, a religious fulfilment and finally a historical fact. The Jews hold that the project for a Home did not originate with Balfour; it was an accident that the declaration came during the war of 1914-1918. Balfour or no Balfour, the Jews must have a Home in Palestine today or tomorrow.

The forces of facts were so irresistible that during and after the first World War the question of the Jewish State was raised many times and was supported by many great statesmen of the world. President Wilson said, "The Allied Nations were agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth." In 1919, Chamberlain was convinced that a Jewish Commonwealth was "a needed factor of stability and ordered progress in the life of the Near East." In the same year Emir Faisal, son of Emir Hussain, (King of Hedjaz until deposed by Ibn Saud) and Dr. Weizmann, the head of the Zionist Organisation, entered into a solemn pact, Article No. III of which, agreed that fullest guarantees would be afforded "for

carrying into effect the British Government's Declaration of the 2nd November 1917, that a Jewish Home in Palestine shall be founded."

The Arabs hold that, whatever the ethical or sentimental background behind the plan for a Zionist State in Palestine, the Arabs were promised independence in the Arab lands not once but several times by several spokesmen of the British Government, first by Sir Henry MacMahon on October 25, 1915; this was confirmed by Lord Allenby while he was making his triumphal march through the gates of Jerusalem in 1917. Again, Lord Balfour confirmed the promise of Sir Henry MacMahon in 1918. Lord Curzon on behalf of the British Government assured King Faisal that the Arabs would be independent. The Arabs, therefore, demanded that the British promise to Baron Rothschild in favour of the Jews should not be given priority over the many official declarations in favour of Arab independence. The objection of the Arabs lost its force when Sir Henry MacMahon published his famous letter in the *Times* of London in August 23, 1937. The letter categorically expressed that his pledge to King Hussain did never include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised. He further said, "I also had every reason to believe at that time the fact that Palestine was not included in my pledge was well-understood by King Hussain."

The Jews hold that the Arab national movement is inspired because nationalism and Islam are antithesis, a contradiction in terms. Race-element in Islamic State was never present except during the reigns of the first four Khalifas (630 A.D. to 662 A.D.). Then the Khalifat broke into dynastic kingdoms in Spain, Egypt, Turkey, Toulon and Sicily after establishment of the Umayyad dynasty. In no Muslim kingdom, except in modern Turkey, there was any cry of race as a factor in Muslim politics because Muhammad's appeal, as they claim, was to all mankind and not to any particular race. If that be accepted, then the present demand for an Arab State and not for a Muslim State in Arabia is certainly a new cry. The demand behind the Arab League is a creation of the English politicians.

The Jews claim that they can live with the Arabs in terms of amity, unity and mutual respect. The Jewish National Home received only 10,000 sq. miles of the Turkish territory while 1,200,000 sq. miles were allotted to the Arabs. Amir Faisal in his letter to Frankfurter at the peace conference in Versailles as the head of the Arab Delegation actually admitted that "the Jewish movement is national and not imperialist" and that the Arab movement and Jewish movement are "complementary." The Jewish Home was not an imposition, nor an act of imperialist aggression by the Jews in other parts of the world. If the Arabs of Palestine can claim support of the Arabs in Egypt, Syria, Trans-Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Iraq, nay from the Muslims all over the world, why could not the Jews invoke help from their brethren all over the world.

What history has demonstrated is that Zionist response to the Jewish appeal was very sincere and active sympathy, while that of the Arab League has evoked only sporadic activity. The internecine difference, mutual jealousy, quarrel over personalities, desire for leadership and revival of tribal spirit amongst the Arabs have spoiled "a good case" for the Arabs. Further, the appeal of the Arabs is dual: in one voice, the Arabs appeal in the name of the Arab race: in another they appeal in the name of Islam. The former is limited in scope, the latter is wider. In the latter case, the Iranian, Afghan and the Turkish Muslims could not respond because the movement was confined to a particular race.

In 1920, the League of Nations had created a Mandate over Palestine under the British and another over Lebanon and Syria under France. The Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations did not define the term "Sovereignty" in a Mandated territory. At the Sevres Treaty, the San Remo Conference and the Lusaune Conference attempts were made to clarify the points kept purposely vague in the peace congress; the resolutions there did not improve the uncertainty inherent in this novel plan. So, each time matters were complicated by creation of fresh problems. There were about one hundred revolts and demonstrations against the French mandate in Lebanon and Syria on the question of the mandate; in Palestine the problem was more complicated due to the existence of three principal parties, namely, the Arabs, the Jews and the British.

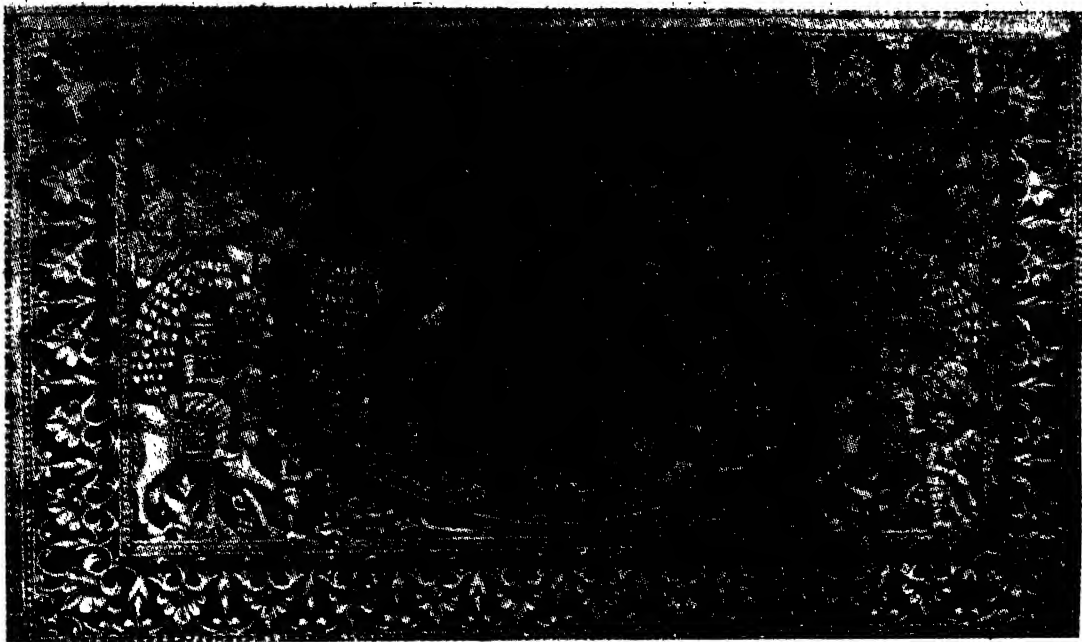
The anti-semitic drive of Hitler backed by al-Hussain, the Mufti of Jerusalem, who was, as the Jews allege, responsible for the murder of the Jews in German concentration camps more than any single man after Hitler; the Hitlerian massacres convinced the Jews the need for a Home where they can lay down their bones peacefully. The number of Jews killed, maimed and kept as forced labour was about six and a half millions. The War of 1939 changed the entire outlook of the politics of the Middle East. The League of Nations was practi-

cally in abeyance. The Jews in Palestine joined the British and American forces to fight their common enemy Hitler. The Jewish support was all genuine—their brain stood the allies in good stead during the grim days of the War. The English had to withdraw a large portion of their personnel from Palestine and they were replaced by the Jewish personnel. In 1941, the French power in Europe collapsed completely and along with their collapse at home their "sphere of influence" in Syria and Lebanon also vanished. The Arab did not wholeheartedly support the war efforts of the Anglo-American bloc and there were many amongst the Arab Muslims who would cordially welcome the victory of General Rommel. The English secret services were not unaware of the Arab attitude. So they did not grudge the intrusion and influence of the Jewish personnel in the local politics of Palestine, who were revengefully sincere in their anti-Hitler efforts. The only power who openly grudged against the growth of the Jewish influence on the border was Amir Abdullah of Trans-Jordan. He dreamt that after the collapse of France in Lebanon and Syria, he might revive the traditional Khilafat in the whole of that area including Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Trans-Jordan. But whatever might have been in his mind, his voice was only an altered echo of the British Foreign Office.

The loss of Burma Oil in 1943 after the occupation of Burma by the Japanese, compelled the British to tighten their hold over the oil lines of the Anglo-Persian, Anglo-Iranian and Mosul petroleum fields. In the development, maintenance and continuance of oil supply the services of the Jews were of supreme importance in the Middle East. The U.S.A. committed herself to support the project of the Jewish Home in Palestine once more. Soon, the Jews established themselves in many of the key-positions in the administrative machinery of Palestine. In fact, from now the Jews established a state within a State in the Mandated Palestine. This was, of course, no State *de jure* but it was a State *de facto*—the nucleus of the State of Israel. The logic of the State is irresistible; it is fact.







Lid of an ivory and tortoise shell box from Vizagapatam  
 Courtesy : Indian Museum

## IVORY CARVING IN INDIA

By TINKARI MUKERJEE.

*Deputy Keeper, Government Art Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta*

ALL the great civilizations of antiquity had a perfect knowledge of this art. Ivory was extensively used to enrich the various objects of every-day life. With regard to the ivory carving in India the following remarks of an authority on the subject seem interesting :

"Mr. Kipling is of opinion that the art in India never arrived at the same stage of development as the ivory and gold work of Greece, the carving of the later Roman empire or that of Mediaeval times. In this he differs from other authorities on the subject, for many hold that ivory carving as an art was very skilfully practised in ancient India, although the articles turned out might not have been so good as those of ancient Greece and Rome."

In view of the fact that wild elephants could be had in abundance from the forests scattered all over India we cannot logically assert that the artistic genius of India could be ignorant of this art and would waste the vast produce of ivory. We find frequent references of ivory in old books. *Brihas Samhita*, for instance considers ivory the best material for making bedstead legs and this sacred book directs that the framework of bedstead should be made of some choice wood to be inlaid or veneered with thin plates of ivory. Although it cannot be precisely said when and how this art was introduced in India, the excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa definitely bear testimony to

the fact that the Indians were highly proficient in this branch of art even at that old age.

Unfortunately however specimens of authentic old ivory carving have not been preserved in sufficient number to illustrate the gradual process of development of this art from the age of Mohenjodaro. In fact there have been gaps of several centuries in the history of ivory carving—it might not be possible to construe the history of the intervening period supported by authentic specimens of ivory. The few specimens of old ivory work lying scattered here and there do not however help us much to form a systematic history of the development of this art stage by stage.

One of the oldest authentic examples of ivory work in India is the inlaid door-ways of the Ashar Mahal of Bijapur made in 1580 A.D. Quite a large number of specimens of ivory work executed in the succeeding years are scattered all over the country in public and private collections and they help us nevertheless in forming an idea of the level reached by the ivory-carvers of India.

There are two forms of ivory on which the ivory carvers of India work—the African and the Indian. Africa being nearer the equator produces larger and finer ivory which is closer in grain and does not easily turn yellow with age. Sometimes ivory gets cracked and it has been



attributed to the practice of keeping it wrapped up in damp cloth during the period it is being worked upon by the artisan. In this connection the following remarks of Sir George Watt may be cited :

"The ivory-carvers keep the samples upon which they are engaged carefully wrapped up in damp cloth overnight, until the carving has been completed. While this saves the ivory, it causes it to warp and split soon after and to rapidly lose colour-defects that seriously retard the Indian ivory carving art."

In ancient India elephants in large numbers were used in times of war. In modern times also they are re-

lity, and less liable to slip off from hand it is preferred to ivory for the purpose of making sword and dagger handles. A large number of swords and daggers in the collection of princes of India are supposed to have been made out of this fish tooth.

"It is also possible that a fair amount of hippopotamus or sea horse ivory finds its way to India. And from the antiquity of some of the swords, found in the armouries of the princes of India with fish tooth hafts, it would seem possible that there has existed for centuries a traffic in carrying this material to India."

The art is hereditary and cosmopolitan in character. The son of a craftsman is as a rule taken in the pro-



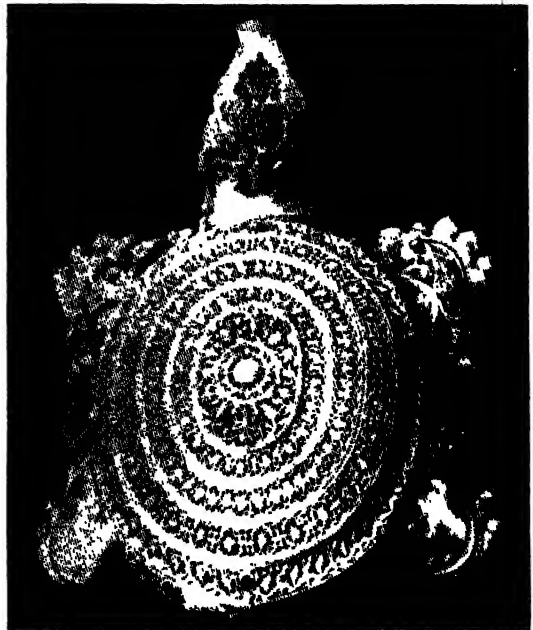
Ivory mirror frame from Travancore

tained by the native princes and utilised in business organisations. The produce of ivory from these tame elephants must be enormous. B. H. Baden Powell in his *Punjab Manufactures* writes :

"The natives say that the tusks of domesticated elephants yield only a brittle and inferior ivory liable to crack on exposure to air. I quote the remarks but am unable to produce the result of any practical test applied to judge of its correctness. But my informant further asserts that the cause of the brittleness of the tusk of the domesticated animal is the salt that is given him with food.

"That domestication of the elephant is usually attended by deterioration of the length and quality of the tusk seems to be an accepted fact but it is doubtful whether sufficient is known of the subject to attribute this deterioration to the use of salt."

An interesting phenomenon in the art of ivory carving is that 'fish tooth' has been extensively used for making sword and dagger handles as substitute for ivory. Before it is artistically treated it has to pass through an elaborate and long process of curing. Due to its durabi-

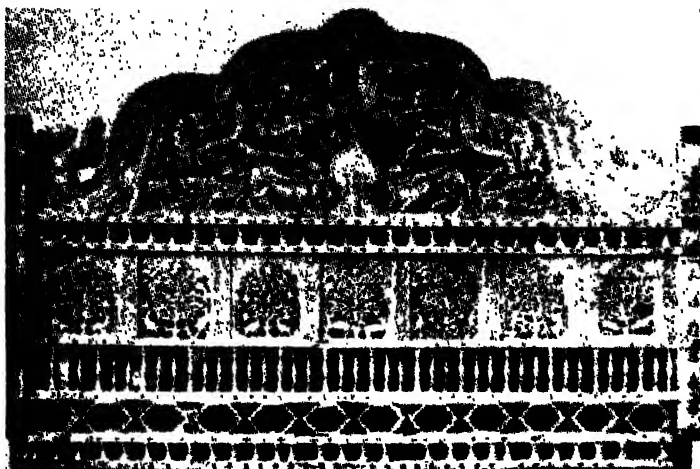


Back view of a tortoise worked in ivory from Orissa

fession of his father at the age of about ten or eleven and is instructed in the craft for considerable years till he becomes a master craftsman. There is no special caste attached to it. Unlike other crafts it draws craftsmen from the various castes.

Ivory is used either directly or for ornamentation on a less expensive material. Sometimes very thin pieces of ivory are fixed by glue or pegged down by nails to the surface of less expensive articles with great artistic results. The process is known as veneering. The thin ivory tapes before they are fixed on articles are subjected to a process of artistic treatment—their upper surfaces are etched or engraved with some designs. These etched portions are then filled up with coloured lac. The lac is subjected to a required temperature when it fuses. When it cools down the excess lac portions are removed from the surfaces which are not intended to be treated with lac, and the ivory is polished when coloured designs on a white and polished background appear. Vizagapatam

is recognised as the famous centre for the production of this craft.



17th-century ivory settee back from Mysore

Sir George Watt has recognised four localities in India and one in Burma as famous for ivory carving. These are Delhi in the Punjab, Murshidabad in Bengal, Mysore and Travancore in South India and Maulmein in Burma. Each of these localities has developed a peculiar style which helps to recognise the product of a locality very easily. Regarding ivory carving of Burma it has been remarked:

"A curious and intricate effect is obtained by Burmese workmen for dao handles and table ornaments. The outside of the specimen is carved with foliage and flowers through the interstices of which the inside is hollowed out nearly to the centre, where a figure is carved *in situ*. The figure looks as if it had been carved separately and inserted into a flowery bower, but closer examination shows that this is not the case. The subjects are generally richly caparisoned elephants, state gondolas in gala trim, tigers, cows and peacocks all carved as statuettes; and hunt-

ing, festive and ceremonial scenes and mythological subjects carved in relief."

According to T. N. Mukherjee, the Murshidabad manufactures are perhaps the best in India fully displaying in them the finish, minuteness and ingenuity—characteristic of all true Indian art. They are remarkable also considering the simple and rough nature of the few tools by which they are made.

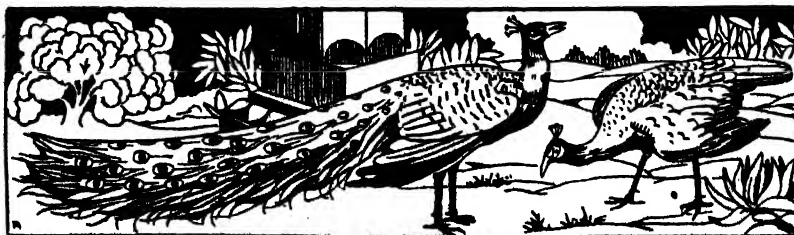
Want of support and appreciation is striking a death knell to this important art of India. Many carvers are known to have left the profession of their forefathers and are trying to earn their daily bread by some other means. In fact appreciation is the life-breath of art and where it is lacking the art is sure to suffer. With proper support and encouragement we can still revive this important craft before it is too late.



Panel of an ivory and tortoise shell box from Vizagapatam  
Courtesy: Indian Museum

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## MAURITIUS POLITICS REACH THE TURNING-POINT

BY THE HON. S. BALGOBIN

THE Government of Mauritius has been hitherto at the beck and call of a handful of whites. The French were defeated in 1810 and those of them who were in the island for a century or so, stayed to be its *de facto* rulers.

Had they abandoned the country like their predecessors the Dutch who gave it the name *Mauritius* for the first time, they would never have had a happy time for another century and a quarter. When, fifteen years after the capitulation, a small Council was appointed, the four officials that became its members were persons who were favourable to French colonists. Seven years later, a Council of Government was established composed of fourteen members. Then too none but whites could be



Bissoondoyal addressing the mammoth meeting held at Port Louis on 5.12.48. The elderly gentleman sitting by his side is a well-known leader of the coloured population and a journalist

selected, as the members were chosen by the Governor from among "the chief landed proprietors and principal merchants" of the country. Slavery had just been abolished and nobody could have been selected from among the manumitted slaves who could not have suddenly become either "landed proprietors" or "principal merchants." Even in 1885, when an elective element came to be included in the Council, only one member of the coloured population was elected. The total number of electors then was only 6,186. A decade went by and Mark Twain visited *Mauritius*. He passed some very humorous remarks about the state of affairs he saw. He makes "an English citizen" say:

"So now the whole Council is French, and in all ordinary matters of legislation they vote together and in the French interest, not the English. The English population is very slender; it has not votes enough to elect a legislator. Half a dozen rich French families elect the Legislature. Pope Hennessy was an Irishman, a Catholic, a Home Ruler M.P., a hater of England and the English, a very troublesome person and a serious encumbrance at Westminster; so it was decided to send him out to govern unhealthy countries; in the hope that something would happen to him. But nothing did. The first experiment was not merely a failure, it was more than a failure. He proved to be more of a disease himself than any he was sent to encounter. The next experiment was here. The dark scheme failed again. It was an off season and there was nothing but measles here at the time. Pope Hennessy's health was not affected. He worked with the French and for the French and against the English, and he made the English very tired and the French very happy, and lived to have the joy of seeing the flag he served publicly hissed. His memory is held in worshipful reverence and affection by the French."\*

Conditions are not the same now although the English population is still slender. The island that has been renamed Mauritius by the British, has by now come to have twelve times more electors. When "the freed slaves, who at the first census in 1841 numbered 49,365," refused to work any longer in the Sugar Estates, India began to furnish us with labourers at the request of the Mauritian planters.

Sober and thrifty Indians came out in their thousands as tillers of the soil. Time rolled on and they rose both in importance and in numerical strength. The beginning of the twentieth century saw them ameliorating their material conditions. As they were very keen on sending their children to school, the appearance of an Indo-Mauritian intellectual class became an accomplished fact.

In such circumstances the Indo-Mauritian community could no more be without any political ambition. It is then that a very serious charge was levelled at Indo-Mauritian intellectuals. It was said that they had fissiparous tendencies; that they were "Indian Nationalists." The bitter criticism was meant to intimidate the rising generation of enthusiastic Indian intellectuals. The Royal Commissioners who reached Port Louis on the 18th June, 1909, took a more sympathetic view of the situation. They were in the island for two busy months. Twenty-nine meetings were held and ninety-nine witnesses examined by them. They prepared a report which reads in part:

"One of the most difficult of the problems which lie before the Mauritius Government is that of its relations with the population of Indian descent. For about three-quarters of a century it has been found possible

\* More tramps abroad.

for the Colonial Government to regard the Indian as a stranger among a people of European civilization—a stranger who must indeed be protected from imposition and ill-treatment and secured in the exercise of his legal rights, but who has no real claim to a voice in the ordering of the affairs of the Colony. From what we have learnt during our inquiry, we very much doubt whether it will be possible to continue to maintain this attitude. The Indian population of the Colony is easily governed and has, we believe, no natural inclination to assert itself in political matters so long as reasonable regard is paid to its desires on a few questions to which it not unreasonably attaches importance. In our opinion the fact that the first settlers in Mauritius were of French and African origin, and that as a consequence of the history of the island the legal and social system of Colony is mainly French in character ought not to preclude the Government from taking steps to relieve the Indian population from the provisions of a system which press heavily upon them and are regarded by them as a real grievance. It is no sufficient answer to their representations to say that they or their ancestors came to Mauritius of their own will and must accept the conditions in force there. Such an argument might be conclusive in the case of a small section of the community—such, for example as the Chinese—but it loses its force when it is urged against the aspirations of British Indian subjects who outnumber the rest of the inhabitants by more than two to one and who play so important a part in the industrial life of the community."

So it was idle to make much ado about the "danger of Indian Nationalism." It was however reserved for the new generation of Indo-Mauritian politicians to point out that the charge could not hold water. Hon. Bissoondoyal, a promising young politician, has taught by example that every patriotic Indo-Mauritian is a Mauritian first. No less a world-figure than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had been perplexed as regards the question of nationality. And it was about Mauritius that he was most concerned. Speaking in March, 1947, the Pandit said:

"There is another difficulty. As soon as India is completely independent the question of nationality has to be considered. Is an Indian in Mauritius to call himself an Indian national or a Mauritian national? That will be for him to choose. Many of the Indians have lived there for three or four generations, for a hundred years or more. They do not even know India: they have never been to India.

That is a question for the future. But this question of nationality is in a sense coming up now. Hon'ble members should remember that Indians from Burma, Ceylon, Mauritius, Fiji and elsewhere have still not got out of the habit of thinking in terms of their common nationality, which is connected by the somewhat unfortunate expression 'British Subject.'"

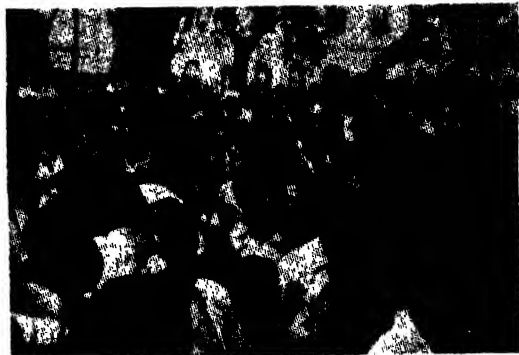
The New Council, composed of a majority of non-whites, ran the risk of being split up into two groups. Indian communalists would not shed their communalism.

In the meantime some momentous events occurred which proved to be blessings in disguise. Hon. Bissoondoyal was named by the retiring Governor, Sir Mackenzie Kennedy, and Hon. Dr. Millien, the leader of the coloured population, sentenced to fifteen days' imprisonment. The doctor was cheered both by the coloured people and Indo-Mauritians. The two major communities began to present

a united front on that day. In the hour of danger the leaders of both the communities sank their differences. The two important communities seemed to say to each other: 'Let us cry quits.' There was no love lost between them even in the days Elmour Hitie was editor of *Le vrai Progres Colonial*. The editor to whom allusions are frequently made even in Dr. Millien's *L'Oeuvre*, wrote to the Royal Commissioner, referred to above, a lengthy letter in which he said *inter alia*:

"What should be done, in the true interests of the Colony, is to compel the indentured labourers, whose time of service has expired, either to renew their contract or to return to India."

From the time Hon. S. Bissoondoyal had been named only to be re-admitted into the Council two weeks later, down to the day on which Dr. Millien was convicted, many mass meetings had been held. The leaders of both



The building in the background is the Port Louis Museum that houses the biggest library in Mauritius

the communities would address the people from the same platform. On the 5th of December, 1948, Hon. S. Bissoondoyal had the pleasant surprise of seeing 20,000 Mauritians hearing his speech at the Company's Garden, Port Louis, when only 600 persons were bidding the Governor farewell! To the young Indo-Mauritian leader goes the credit of having spoken to the largest number of coloured people that have ever attended a political meeting. His fearlessness, wide sympathies and healthy Mauritianism led the coloured people to admit him, so to say, into the free-masonry of their community.

At that monster meeting he took up his favourite cry. He had been touring the country for the last two years and explaining why the time is ripe for a Royal Commission to be solicited. At first the leaders were lukewarm. The country-wide campaign convinced the people that Mr. Bissoondoyal was a realist who knew beforehand what the country wanted. His speeches in the Council are a source of inspiration.

A Royal Commission was appointed in 1872. Its recommendations led to the abolition of many iniquitous laws that were anti-Indian through and through. A second Royal Commission was appointed in 1909. Forty years

constitute a long period in the political life of a country. If this year the Council invites the appointment of a Commission, as it did forty years ago, the people of Mauritius will have every reason to be grateful to the members they have elected at the general elections. Teamwork has become a possibility. All have been roused to ceaseless activity. The desire of all today is to live, move and have their being in freedom. The very mention of a Press Bill that aims at muzzling the press has upset the

elected members of the Council. The *Daily Express* has asked Dr. Millien to supply information about the onslaught on the press. Only the other day Monsieur Andre Blanchet, the well-known literary figure who represents the Parisian daily *Le Monde*, had a long interview with Professor B. Bissoondoyal and his brother. Journalists in England, France and in India have a feeling that Mauritian politics are reaching the turning-point.

Mauritius

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## HISTORIC BLAIR HOUSE—AMERICA'S GUEST HOUSE

By JACKIE MARTIN

A distinguished and gracious old mansion, rich in the best of America's native traditions, serves as official Washington guest-house for important visitors from foreign lands. To many of them, it gives their first impression

official residence of the President of the United States, it has sheltered and entertained Kings, Presidents, and Prime Ministers, official guests of the President and of the Department of State. The White House itself has



Entrance to Blair House which is across the street from the White House



View through the back drawing-room to the garden of Blair House

of a United States of America that has dignity, warmth, and friendliness. This is Blair House, bought by the United States Government in 1942, so that the Department of State could better carry out its vital assignment of fostering good relations with other nations. During the recent war, and during the troubled times of so-called peace since, it has played a strategic role in furthering our friendships with our neighbors around the world.

Situated on Pennsylvania Avenue, across the street and a block to the west of the White House America's

limited accommodations for such distinguished visitors, and, according to custom, even the most important of them, such as Their Majesties, the King and Queen of England, stay, at most, for a few days in the President's home.

For a good many years the State Department had desired such an establishment. The costliness and coldness of hotel entertainment was pointed out as a bad substitute for the friendliness of the real America. The house was purchased from the Blair Estate with its almost priceless furnishings intact. Later, in 1944, the adjoining Blair-Lee House also became United States

Government property. The Government had the good fortune as well of being able to persuade the woman who garden and the stable that is now a four-car garage. Bed-rooms and sitting rooms are on the upper floors.



Upstairs library of Blair House

for 24 years had served Major and Mrs. Gist Blair as housekeeper-manager to remain as manager and custodian of the treasures. Mrs. Victoria Geaney knew the traditions of the house, extending over a century of association with the men and women who had built the nation. She knew good food; how and where to buy it, and how it should be served; she knew where to get good servants and through long experience in arranging for the entertainment of both Washington and international society, she knew protocol.

In spite of its historical significance, Blair House has escaped having the air of a museum. From the outside it looks comfortable and lived in, a dignified four-story mansion with pale yellow, stucco walls trimmed in white. Architecturally it belongs to no one particular period. It was built about 1824 as a square, two-story brick building by Surgeon General Joseph Lovell. Francis Preston Blair, who came from Kentucky to Washington, D. C., to found a newspaper, the *Washington Globe*, at the request of President Andrew Jackson, bought the house after Lovell's death. Blair added one story, and his son had a fourth built on.

Blair House has drawing rooms that stretch its full length, a large panelled dining room and a second-floor library, as wide as the building, that overlooks the rear

The house is furnished with American antiques, mahogany tables, tapestried chairs, long gilt mirrors, Aubusson rugs, four poster beds, crystal chandeliers. On the walls hang rare cartoons picturing incidents in American life (1861-64), Currier and Ives prints, portraits of Americans in powdered wigs and rugs, paintings of several United States Presidents. Lowestoft china and antique silver are used in the dining room. In these diverse furnishings of the mansion, collected by various Blairs, are recorded 100 years of American history.

During the first year of its new role Blair House entertained such world figures as President Prado of Peru, Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov of the U.S.S.R., King George of Greece, King Peter of Yugoslavia, Prime Minister Peter Fraser of New Zealand, President-elect Dr. Alfonso Lopez of Colombia, President Carlos Arioste del Rio of Ecuador, President



The red bed-room of Blair House

Fulgencia Batista of Cuba, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Venezuela, Dr. C. Parra Perez, and the Prime Minister of Poland, General Wladyslaw Sikorski. Since that time the list of distinguished guests has gone on growing until it is now past half a hundred. All of them have taken away with them a better understanding of the United States because of their brief residence in the official mansion.—From *The Christian Science Monitor*,

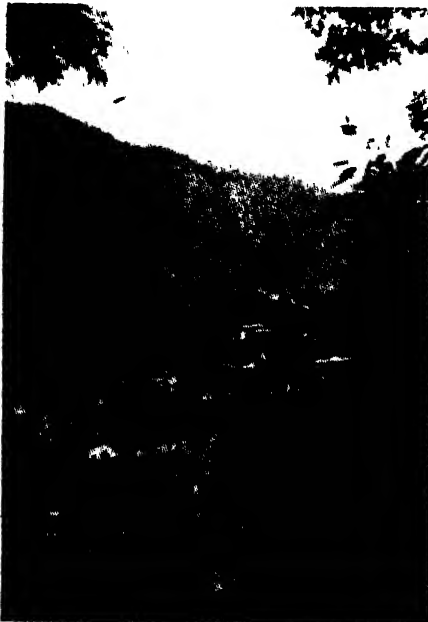


## THE T. B. SANATORIUM, BHOWALI

By YASHPAL JAIN, B.A., LL.B.

Of all the tuberculosis hospitals in India, the Bhowali Sanatorium is the best known, perhaps because it is the oldest and most popular. It was in this sanatorium, that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was kept in 1932 for treatment and rest, and later Srimati Kamala Nehru, the dearly loved wife of our great Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, lived for some time while she was a T.B. patient. I, too, had heard the name of this sanatorium, but had

very high, only about 1900 ft. above sea-level. In fact, the hills commence from there, although the imperceptible ascent starts from Lalkua, fourteen miles this side of Kathgodam, wherefrom an additional engine is attached to pull the train to the terminal station. It was on one February noon with cold wind blowing that I got down at Haldwani station with a friend of mine. Immediately we got a bus and reached the Bhowali sanato-



A general view of the sanatorium

never dreamt that it would be my painful duty to take someday a dear and near one to that dreaded place. Two and a half months' treatment in the Hospital at Agra proving of little avail, the doctors advised that my wife be taken to some hilly sanatorium. We felt rather upset as the people had painted a very grim picture of sanatoria; but there seemed to be no help. Kasauli, Jubbar, Rau, Panchgani and other places were suggested, but our choice ultimately fell on Bhowali.

### BHOWALI AND ITS SITUATION

The way to Bhowali is *via* Kathgodam, the terminus of the O.T. Railway or the preceding station Haldwani. Most of the people prefer to detrain at Haldwani as they can catch the buses to Bhowali, Nainital, Almorah and other places earlier from this station. Kathgodam is not



A view of snow-clad Himalayas as seen from the sanatorium

rium at about 1 p.m., it being only twenty-two miles from Kathgodam. After making necessary arrangements I shifted my wife to the sanatorium. Since then I have been visiting Bhowali and its neighbouring places quite frequently.

The way to Bhowali is beautiful and attractive. The zigzag way, high mountains, dense forests, pleasant springs and the blue horizon which seem to be touching the distant hillocks, drive away all worries and anxieties of burdened life from our mind. It seems as if Nature has bestowed her great and liberal gift there to rejuvenate the weary heart of travellers. Pine and *Deodar* forests commence from nearly two miles this side of Bhowali, although these health-giving trees are found scattered hither and thither all over the area.

Bhowali's situation is very central. Nainital, Bhimtal and Sat-tal are about four to six miles distant, while

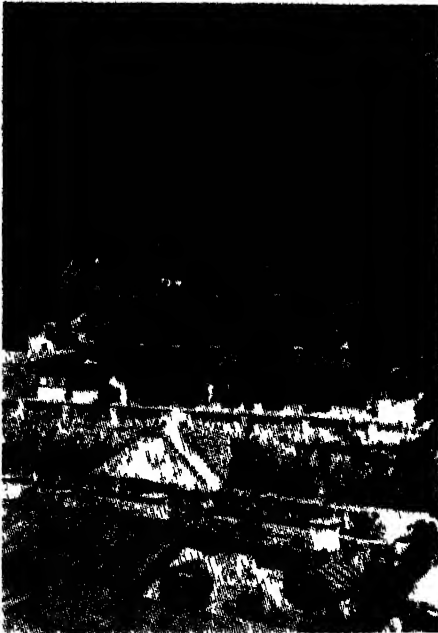


## THE T. B. SANATORIUM, BHOWALI

259

Nokuchia Tal is about seven miles. As the name signifies the last tal or lake has nine corners and according to a local superstition anybody who sees all its nine corners in one glance becomes a prince or dies instantaneously

at the sanatorium gate, on which is written in broad Devnagari characters *Sarkari Kshaya Arogyashram, Bhowali* (Government T.B. sanatorium, Bhowali). As a matter of fact, from its very inception till provincialised,



A general view of the sanatorium, the central building being the Recreation Hall

At Sat tal is the *Ashram* of Rev Stanely Jones, who is a great admirer of Mahatma Gandhi and whose recent publication *Mahatma Gandhi An Interpretation* has attracted much attention in India and abroad. A few intellectual families also reside there. On the way from Bhimtal to Nokuchia Tal is seen Silauti, the birth-place of U. P.'s distinguished Premier Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant. Ranikhet Cantonment is 25 miles from Bhowali and Almora is sixty. The whole way up to Almora is very charming indeed.



The flowery garden of the sanatorium

It was called the King Edward VII sanatorium, as it was named to perpetuate the memory of that King. It is said that some farsighted people realising the grave dangers of the fast growing tuberculosis menace, made efforts to establish an all India sanatorium at some suitable hill station. The then Nawab of Rampur, who and whose entire family had unfortunately fallen a victim to this disease, was much impressed by this philanthropic idea and decided to donate a large sum of money for this



The fountain of the sanatorium

Bhowali sanatorium is just a mile this side of the Bhowali town and visitors to the sanatorium get down



The main gate of the sanatorium

for a laudable purpose. Soon after, a big conference was held at Allahabad, in which great leaders and public workers

from different parts of the country participated. An influential and representative committee of which well-known leaders like Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Sundarlal and others were members, was

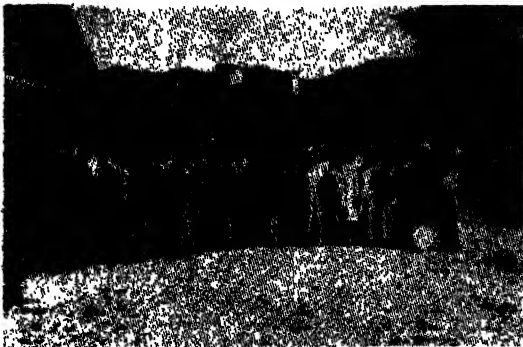


At Nokuchia Tal: (1) Yashpal Jain (writer), (2) Dr. Singh, (3) D. N. Kesarbani, Medical Superintendent, (4) Father of Smetacek (a Sudetan German)

formed. A survey of various hill-stations was made with a view to choose the venue of the sanatorium. All the facilities for the establishment of a sanatorium were not available at any one place, but the final choice fell on Bhowali, where the sanatorium was established in 1912 with 60 beds. Unlike Nainital and Bhimtal, Sat-tal or Nokuchia Tal, there is no lake here, but the pine and *Deodar* forest, the climate and some other things were important factors in its favour.

#### SANATORIUM BUILDINGS AND WARDS

The gateway to Bhowali is only 5700 ft. above sea-level, but the sanatorium buildings are at a height of



Patients of the sanatorium gather together on special occasions about 6000 ft. On either side of the gate are two routes, the right one leading to the police ward under the supervision of Dr. U. N. Malhotra, the left one leading to the main hospital and its male and female wards. Near the main entrance is a small shade in which patients stop, while waiting for a *dandi*. There is also a rest-house called *Joshi-Vishramgriha*. Near the shade is a grocer's shop serving the sanatorium. A little

above is the post and telegraph office and nurses' quarters, beyond which on the left are male wards and on the right female wards. Arrangements for men and women are separate. On the uppermost hillock are the office, dispensary, operation-theatre, recreation hall and the guest-house. In front of the office is a small fountain in which fishes of different colours are seen playing. A small garden and a play-ground lend a beautiful front to the Medical officers' bungalow. Near-about the patients' wards are the residential quarters of the doctors, compounders, sisters and other sanatorium staff. The Medical Superintendent's residence, is about half a mile from the sanatorium office, and in the neighbouring quarters some of the medical officers, clerks and menial staff reside.



The new Police Ward, a double-storied building with 32 beds

From the financial point of view the patients in the sanatorium are divided into these categories: Special, B, C, D, and F. On the female side there is no D class. For special Rs. 140/- per month is charged for boarding, lodging and treatment. For B and C Rs. 48 and Rs. 19|3/- are charged respectively for rent. The patients have to pay extra for their meals. Class E is rent-free while F is like a general ward in which no charges are made for boarding or lodging. The buildings are of two types, (a) in the form of blocks, each block having independent accommodation for six to twelve patients, (b) separate cottages, each cottage with two rooms for two patients, each having a separate kitchen, bathroom and lavatory. In addition to these, there are military Red Cross ward and Police ward.

The sanatorium runs for the convenience of its inmates two kitchens, general and special; but most of the patients prefer to make their own arrangements.

#### SANATORIUM STAFF

The sanatorium is run under the supervision of Dr. Dharmananda Kesarbani, Chief Medical Superintendent

who is a T.B. Specialist. Behind his services lies a pathetic tale. His wife died of tuberculosis. On that occasion he decided to dedicate his life to fight against the scourge of T.B. He went to Germany and other countries, studied and worked for about ten years and specialised himself in the diseases of chest and brain. He was a lecturer in the University of Munich (Germany) and was in charge of the T.B. ward of the University Hospital before he joined this sanatorium about two years back. During this short period he has performed some rare operations which were never performed before. He has done thoracoplasty successfully in a number of cases. His colleagues and assistants, Dr. H. S. Saxena, Dr. S. P. Nagrath, Dr. O. P. Mital, Dr. K. N. Tandon, Dr. U. N. Malhotra and Dr. R. Prasad, who all have specialised in phthisiology, make an able and hardworking team. To work devotedly in an atmosphere, where people are afraid to go for the simple reason that they might catch infection, is a matter of no small credit and it is, therefore, difficult to measure the value of the services of the doctors, nurses and other staff members who are serving the sanatorium at no enviable salary.



Thoracoplasty is being performed. The chest is open.

#### ASTOUNDING FACT

The sanatorium has now been provincialised by the U.P. Government and much improvement has since then been made due to the incessant efforts of the Medical Superintendent and his colleagues. A new X-ray plant has been installed with high voltage and the whole sanatorium has been recently electrified at a cost of about two lakhs of rupees. It is hoped that with the electrification, it would lead to better treatment of patients and the Government would provide it with up-to-date equipment without delay. The Switch-on ceremony was performed by the Governor of U.P., Shri H. P. Modi, who also inaugurated the new police ward. Ever since its provincialisation the sanatorium has been visited by Acharya Kripalani, Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Minister, Central Government, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Premier, U.P., Shri Sampurnanand and Shri B. C. Gupta, U.P.'s Education and Health Ministers respectively and a num-

ber of other noted leaders and high officers. The sanatorium has at present accommodation for 200 indoor patients. Every year all the beds in the male as well as female wards are full by March, but the rush of



Here the Governor shaking hands with the doctors and other medical staff of the sanatorium.

patients for admission continues. Hundreds of patients go back disappointed, failing to get admission. There is always a long list of applicants waiting for their chances. Gethia, Bhumiadhar, Bhowali town, Bhimtal and other places near about the sanatorium also furnish accommodation to quite a large number of patients and yet a lot of them find themselves left to their fate. And out of about two millions and a half of infected people, how many can afford to reach a sanatorium! Expenses of boarding, lodging and treatment are so high that only well-to-do people can take an advantage of the sanatorium treatment. Relatives of many patients told me that they had become paupers due to the expensive treatment. There were tears and helplessness in their eyes. One old mother, whose only son had been there in the



The Medical Superintendent shaking hands with the Governor of U. P.

Bhowali sanatorium for the last four years broke down to sobs as she spoke. My heart goes out when I think of the sad plight of these people. We have now won

independence. The Government is our own and the responsibility for the life and death of thirty-five crores of people is, therefore, ours. Our Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel laying down the foundation-



The patients salute the flag on Independence Day

stone of the T.B. Research institution at the Delhi University last year, revealed the astounding fact that there was an arrangement for only 8000 tuberculosis patients in Government hospitals, while there was need for 25 lakhs. These figures are not imaginary. Who does not know, how rapidly tuberculosis is increasing in our country? The Health Minister of the Central Government, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur remarked the other day



Hon'ble C. B. Gupta, Food and Health Minister of the United Provinces in the centre

that in our country on an average one person died of T.B. per minute. The Government must concentrate fully on this all-important problem. They should start new sanatoria and expand those already existing and

make the treatment so cheap that even a common man could derive benefit from the facilities of sanatorium treatment. The other day there appeared in one of our popular Hindi dailies a photograph of a resourceless T.B. patient lying on a cot under a tree with his grief-stricken wife sitting by him. In their helpless eyes one could perceive the eyes of twenty-five lakhs of T.B. patients looking for succour from our Government and national leaders. To save them and the coming generation from this devastating disease is the foremost duty of the present Government, the national leaders and the well-to-do citizens.

#### T.B. RELIEF WORK DONE ABROAD

In India very little has been done to check the progress of the disease as compared to the other countries of the world. In the United States of America a committee



'C' class female ward

was established in 1904 with a view to (1) maintain co-ordination among all the health-organisations, (2) promote co-operation among the T.B. specialists, (3) disseminate educative information about T. B. among grown-up people, (4) take special care of the children, (5) educate teachers to train their boys about checking the spread of disease, (6) raise voluntary subscriptions, (7) publish journals, books, pamphlets, preparing films, etc., (8) encourage investigations of T.B. in all its complications, (9) train the right type of personnel to tackle the disease, and finally (10) cater to the needs and requirements of T.B. sanatoria in general.

As a result of the efforts of this committee the annual death-rate from T.B. was brought down from 202 in 1900 to 55 in 1935 for every lakh of population. In New York for every lakh of people 60 persons died of T.B. in 1935 as compared to 211 deaths in 1910.

It is a creditable thing indeed that in 1928 this committee had 1434 branches of its activities; the number of bulletins, magazines, etc., on T.B. was 400; 717 doctors were taking specialised training in T.B.; 618 sanatoria had been established, total beds being 60,000. Besides, for children of weak constitution 83 'Preventoriums' with a capacity of 5001 beds were in existence. 3671 T.B. dispensaries were opened. There were 3115 special nurses for T.B. and the health of 20 lakhs of children

had been examined. In addition to this, thousands of 'open air' schools were functioning and 'summer camps' for border-line cases were started.

England, Scotland and Ireland have not been lagging behind in this respect. In 1937 the total number of sanatoria in British Isles were 831 (with 37023 beds), besides 527 T.B. dispensaries. In 1937 the death-roll from T.B. in great Britain came down to 26761 (pulmonary) and 5431 (other types) as compared to 70,279 deaths in 1898.

In 1937 for every lakh of population in England and Wales T.B. was responsible only for 70 deaths as compared to 354 in 1871, while Scotland recorded 74 deaths against 373 for the same period.

Italy has given top priority to tackling the problem of T.B. She has introduced compulsory insurance in cases of T.B. patients and more than 50 per cent patients get free treatment, their dependents getting sustenance allowances. During five years from 1929 to 1933 Italy spent a sum of Rs. 26 crores on prevention of T.B. There are more than 800 sanatoria and dispensaries in Italy, with a capacity of 40,000 beds. Death-rate per lakh came down from 186 in 1900 to 89 in 1935.

In Germany, for every lakh death-rate from T.B. came down from 225 in 1900 to 73 in 1935; in France from 242 in 1915 to 151 in 1934; in Denmark from 210 in 1915 to 106 in 1935; in Sweden from 203 in 1915 to 94 in 1935.

France had 71,632 beds in 1934 for a total population of 4 crores and 20 lakhs; England had about 40,000 beds for 3 crores 70 lakhs, while in India we have only about 8000 beds for a population of 35 crores!

While death-rate in England by T.B. has gone down by 40 per cent, at Calcutta it has gone up to 70 per cent

#### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

Looking at these figures we can easily imagine how much yet has to be done in our country. Social and economic factors play an important part in spreading T. B. Famines, malnutrition, overcrowding of population in urban areas have been shown to account for the increase in the incidence of the disease.

#### DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT

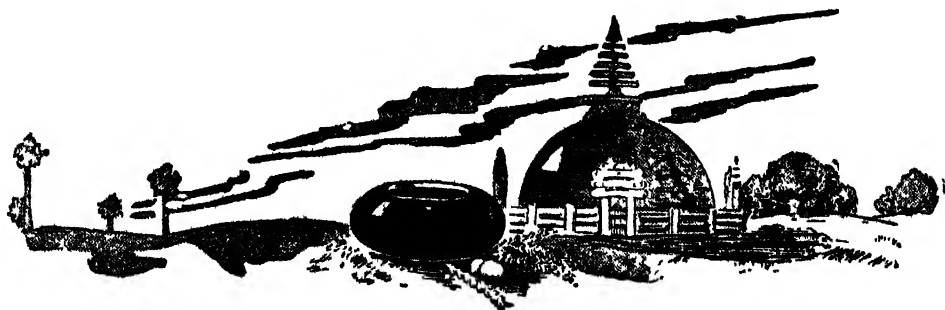
It is, therefore, essential to raise the general standard

of people and to provide them with good housing accommodation. As a prophylactic measure in one or two provinces of India the B.C.G. vaccination has been started, but as the first step to check the spread of the disease, it is most essential to isolate the patients from their families and bring them in suitable environments and to treat them further at last on humanitarian grounds. The Government has to take preventive as well as curative measures. Tuberculosis has been described by Bunyan as 'Captain of men of death' and it is absolutely true in the case of India, where no or little value is attached to human lives. No, things must change now and the Government must rise to the occasion.



Hon'ble Govind Ballav Pant paying a visit to the sanatorium

There is no dearth of suitable places in our country. We have hundreds of places on the hills as well as plains where new sanatoria could be built. The only thing needed is the pointed attention of the Government and of duly qualified medical men fired by missionary spirit and service of the suffering humanity. It is obvious that one Bhowali, one Kasauli, one Madanapalle or Miraj cannot fulfil our great need in this respect. To save lakhs of our countrymen from untimely and preventable deaths, we have to establish hundreds of Bhowalies at present and in future create such healthy living conditions that not even one Bhowali be required. That, indeed, will be a red-letter day for us, our country and humanity.



# PROBLEMS OF NATIONALISATION

By H. K. DATTA, M.A., B.COM.,  
Reader in Commerce, Andhra University

State interventionism in the field of industries and economic development is not altogether new. Everywhere the State from the early days has been interfering now and then in an indirect manner with the economic activities of the country. Interference in the early days was intended to bring about the functioning of the business units in an orderly manner and this was achieved by passing legislative measures of a general nature, such as the Companies Act, Partnership Act, and Factories Act, under which firms and jointstock companies operate and function. The State also began to interfere so as to afford protection to the weaker sections of the community by passing socio-economic measures, such as minimum wage legislation. It has further been realised that the State cannot feel contented by simply protecting the country from internal disorders and external aggression but it must also make the country economically strong, the external manifestation of which lies in increasing the national income and its equitable distribution among the various sections of the community as reflected in the higher standard of living of its members. This can be achieved by an all-round increase in production by systematic planning both in the field of industry and agriculture.

## STATE TO PLAN

But a systematic economic development of any region or country demands the presence of a central organisation to plan and co-ordinate the activities of various industrial and commercial units operating within that region. An all-round economic development cannot be achieved by allowing a business unit to work in its own way. Planning implies co-ordinated progress on all fronts simultaneously and so every sector must be properly organised, closely harmonised and dovetailed, and effectively controlled as an integral part of the plan. Therefore, the tendency everywhere is for the State to assume that role. It is said that the most effective degree of such control would be attained only if the whole field of production and distribution is under the direct ownership and management of the State, whether directly as government enterprise or under some specially created statutory bodies. This has compelled the State to take an active part in the industrial development of the country. In some countries the cry is for complete nationalisation of industries, if not all, at least of certain basic and key industries. In some countries the cry is for State ownership and management, in others for State control and in some others the tendency is for the State enterprise to be operated through public corporations. It may be mentioned here that the Government of India recently (23rd March) introduced a bill to provide for the development, regulation and control of twenty-five groups of industries with the object of providing the Central Government with the means of implementing their industrial policy announced in April last year.

Before going into the merits and demerits of these

various methods it may be said that the various methods are merely means to an end and not an end in themselves, the end being planned progress on all fronts. The method or methods to be applied to achieve the end must not be based on mere ideological grounds. No one method can be preferred to the rest without any reference to the time or place or the stage of economic development of the country for which the system is being advocated.

## NATIONALISATION—WHY

Nationalisation implies State ownership and State management of industries. Positive reasons given by the protagonists of nationalisation have been aptly summarised by Prof. K. T. Shah in his note submitted as a member of the Advisory Planning Board of the Government of India.<sup>1</sup>

- (a) Under nationalised ownership and management there would be better co-ordination and greater economy in working the industries;
- (b) The distribution or diffusion of all industries throughout the country so as to facilitate the fullest employment of local labour and utilisation of local material resources of every region will be very much easier and more real;
- (c) The surplus profits from such nationalised enterprise will be available for the use of public treasury and so provide ever-expanding financial resources which tax resources cannot provide;
- (d) The operation of nationalised Industries, Services or Utilities will be primarily to render service or assistance to the national economy as a whole, and not for making profit for the owner, as would inevitably be the case under private enterprise;
- (e) Only under socialised<sup>2</sup> production will the fullest possible employment to all adult workers, in accordance with the aptitude and training of each, be secured.

A few of these arguments call for some comment. It is no doubt true that if the whole field of production and distribution is under direct ownership and management of the State there is the greater possibility of a better co-ordination in the working of the industries but the question of greater economy in working the industries under State management is questioned by many. Many feel that the standard of efficiency in nationalised undertaking is very low. The greatest danger attendant upon nationalisation of industries lies in the political and popular pressure to which it may be subject to. Very often, political and popular agitations of some kind or other are likely to undermine the efficiency and financial stability of the undertaking.

A nationalised undertaking is supposed to be lacking in incentive and initiative due to the fact that those who are responsible for the management of the institution have no direct financial interest in the success of the undertaking; they manage a property which is not

1. Page 47 of the Report.

2. The term 'nationalisation' and 'socialisation' are used, here as almost synonymous.



their own, for profit which is not their own. No doubt factors like patriotic sentiment, the desire to serve the country, the desire to earn recognition and the glory of inventions may inspire only a few to do their best. A direct financial interest does not only act as an incentive to people in general to do their best but also acts as a brake upon any tendency towards extravagance and recklessness. It both encourages and restrains men in their business transactions and enables them to manage their business in such a way that their efforts neither run in grooves nor are characterised by speculation and rashness.

As regards (c) and (d) it may be pointed out that they are to some extent contradictory. If nationalisation is advocated for augmenting the revenue of the State, the question of 'priority of service over profit' is likely to be relegated to the background and the consumers' interest is not likely to be protected in a way better than the same is protected under competitive capitalistic system of economy. Also the question of making profit is dependent upon the efficiency with which the nationalised institution will be managed. It may be pointed out here that the cost of maintenance of Government-owned collieries is higher and production less compared with privately owned collieries. This has been revealed by the Hon'ble Member concerned of the Government in the Dominion Parliament recently.

Moreover, if the object is to augment the revenues of the State it may even be better achieved by introducing direct progressive taxation on the income of the institution when managed by private bodies. In case of undertakings, such as railways, electricity, tramways, gas, where direct competition is not desirable and the institution has to be run as a monopoly concern the above object might be better achieved by selling the concession or by requiring the monopolist to pay a portion of the surplus revenue or by taxing the monopolist instead of State managing the monopoly.

Before nationalising any industry, the State must also find out its capacity to manage the industry which depends on the availability of trained personnel as well as its capacity to undertake the financial responsibilities it involves. These two important factors may necessitate a state to proceed slowly and cautiously in the matter of nationalising its industries. It may be worth quoting here the opinion expressed in this connection by the "Advisory Board on the Principles for the Control of Public Utility Electric Supply Finance." The Board says :

"Some Provincial Governments while accepting the ultimate nationalisation of electricity supply within their territories as a goal, have at present neither the necessary organisation nor adequate financial and technical resources to take up electrification schemes on a large scale . . . . Certain Provincial Governments would appear to prefer to utilise their limited financial resources to the carrying out of new development projects rather than for the acquisition of existing licences."

But there are others who feel the need for liquidating

"the existing private enterprise in every considerable field of economic development and bring all efforts, which are part of an all-round plan of national development under public ownership, control and management. The liquidation may be effected by expropriation pure and simple or acquisition by ordinary process of law with or without such compensation as may be deemed just and appropriate."

Such a radical measure will have serious repercussions for the field of industrial development. Exportation, pure and simple, is bound to retard the formation and growth of capital within the country. Investment tends to be shy. Greater attention must be paid to these problems in countries which are industrially backward.

Some people argue that, under public ownership and management, conditions of labour would improve, the idea being that the State is a better employer than private bodies. But this cannot always be considered true. Moreover, ameliorative measures for improving the conditions of workers or other employees in an industrial undertaking may be taken by the State without the State becoming the employer.

It is also argued that the State can borrow money under more advantageous terms than private bodies, with the result of easy finance for the development of industries. But it should be remembered that the functions of any authority or institution must be determined by clearly established principles and not according to the price at which it can borrow money.

In view of the various considerations involved in rationalising industries, a complete nationalisation of all the industries of the country at one stretch cannot be advocated. Nor has this been done in any other country except in the U.S.S.R. But the example of Russia cannot be considered a very strong ground for an all-embracing scheme of nationalisation of industries in our country or in any other country. It may be pointed out that private enterprise is quite successful in America just as public ownership and management is in the U.S.S.R. Moreover, the success of an all-embracing nationalisation of the productive undertakings in Russia has been the result of many special circumstances, the most important being the political ideology to which many a state may not agree.

#### CASE OF PUBLIC UTILITIES

However, public utility undertakings present a far stronger case for public ownership and management than other industries since these are engaged in the supply of basic needs and indispensable products and touch the social, economic and political life of the community at many points. Being provided with monopoly power, public utilities, if left to themselves, are likely to exploit the public. This is more so with regard to water and gas though the possibility with regard to gas is much less. The case of tramways is a bit different due to the presence of indirect compe-



tition. Moreover, if good service for reasonable fare is not provided, people might prefer to walk. The case of electricity is more akin to that of tramways due to the presence of indirect competition and the demand being somewhat elastic. In spite of the presence of indirect competition both in the case of tramways and electricity the interests of consumers may not be well served. A tramway company, if left free, might provide service for that part of the city which will be most profitable for it. Similarly, the electricity company would limit itself to selling current in the densely populated part of the area it serves so as to keep the distributing cost as low as possible. Besides, although competition tends to modify prices and keep them within reasonable limits it may not always be strong enough to do so actually.

Hence for the reasons mentioned above it will not be desirable to leave a public utility undertaking entirely free. Either there must be some degree of control over the monopolist or the undertaking must be nationalised or municipalised.

Various methods of control are generally adopted. Some people suggest control over these undertakings by the municipality participating in the management of the undertaking either by holding a controlling interest or without having such interest. Control is also exercised by controlling the price to be charged by fixing the maximum selling price or by sliding scale method, dividend to be declared, quality of product, pressure to be maintained. According to many, the method of control does not always prove satisfactory due to the difficulty of drafting a lease entirely satisfactory to both the parties. Moreover, the more the number of public utility undertakings managed by private bodies the more the interference with public amenities. The presence of these difficulties makes out a case for municipalisation of public utility undertakings.

Even then there can be no general rule on the subject of public ownership and management of these undertakings. Each must be considered on its own merits. However considerations of public health and general welfare strengthen to a great extent the movement in favour of municipalisation of undertaking supplying water and to a lesser extent gas, tramways and electricity undertakings.

#### GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE

Since the attainment of independence, the Government of India has been taking a more active interest in the development of our industries and in this connection the question of nationalisation has come to the forefront. Even as early as 1945, the Government of India prepared a list of 'basic industries' of national importance which might be nationalised, 'provided adequate private capital is not forthcoming and it is regarded as essential in the national interests to promote such industries.' The list included such important industries as iron and steel, chemicals and dyes, automobiles and tractors and electrochemical and

non-ferrous metal industries; but the proviso left the question of nationalisation open.

The Advisory Planning Board appointed by the Government of India in October, 1946 also dwelt at length on the question of nationalisation (even though it was not within their terms of reference). The Board felt that

"It is a matter which so intimately affects industrial planning that we can hardly pass it over without a word."

They remarked :

"We would give it therefore as our opinion that if at the present juncture the State attempted to take into its own hands the ownership and management of a large range of industries the industrial development of the country might not be very rapid. Nevertheless it seems to us that it should be our policy to bring under State ownership and management some at least of the basic industries of the country and that the execution of such a policy should form part of our plans. We recommend, therefore, that apart from Defence Industries and any industry or branch of any industry which it might be found desirable to start as State enterprise through the reluctance of private capital to undertake it, the nationalisation of the coal, mineral oils, iron and steel, motor, air and river transport should be considered. . . . Some of us believe that the best way of conducting State enterprise will be through Public Corporations."

The Industries Conference held in New Delhi in December, 1947 under the Chairmanship of the Minister of Industries and Supply of the Government of India adopted a resolution indicating the industries (1) which should be under State ownership and management, (2) which may be jointly owned and managed by the State and (3) which are to be owned and managed by private enterprises. While discussing the question of nationalisation of industries he referred to the common criticism of State management being less efficient than private management. The Hon'ble Member said that

"This is rather an argument really in favour of the State adopting the methods of private management and not for giving up industrial undertakings altogether. In the advanced countries of the West, owner-managers are rapidly yielding place to salaried Managing Directors who are experts in business administration and industrial production. Management of State-owned industries by statutory corporations may offer the correct solution."

In his speech to the Annual General Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India in Calcutta in December, 1947, the Prime Minister of India declared :

"I have little doubt that the approach will involve a large measure of socialism in regard to certain basic and key industries. I have little doubt that the tendency will be for them to be State-owned or at any rate to be State-controlled, whether the State is Central Government or Provincial Government or a Municipal Corporation. Normally, the control will be in the shape of public corporation."

The Economic Programme Committee of the All-India Congress Committee in their report submitted in January, 1948 recommended that new undertakings in

defence, key and public utility industries as well as new undertakings which are in the nature of monopolies or in view of the scale of operations cover the country as a whole or more than one province should be run on the basis of public ownership.

#### GOVERNMENT'S POLICY—HOW FAR RIGHT?

In addition to these statements on nationalisation mentioned above, many a pronouncement on the subject has been made by the members of the Government, which made the business community apprehensive of the Government of India's real intentions. However, the enunciation by the Government of India of its industrial policy on 6th April, 1948 sought, to a great extent, to set at rest their doubts and fears.

No one will disagree with the government in its policy of completely nationalising railway transport, arms and ammunition, the production and control of atomic energy because of their vital national and strategic significance. It is further stated that management of State enterprise will, as a rule, be through the medium of public corporations.

The establishment of new industrial undertakings, such as coal, iron and steel, aircraft manufacture, shipbuilding, mineral oils and manufacture of telephone, telegraph and wireless apparatus excluding radio-receiving sets and generation and distribution of electric power is to be exclusive responsibility of the State. If necessary, the State will secure the co-operation of private enterprise subject to such control and regulations as the Central Government may prescribe in the development of these industries. It may be pointed out that the Government of India have decided to go into the business of excavating coal in partnership with Lindsay Parkinson and Company, London. The company formed by this fusion has been named the Indian Mining and Construction Company. In addition to this, there are nine industrial concerns either partly or wholly owned by the Government and they include the fertilizer factory at Sindri, the mathematical instrument office at Calcutta, the Hindustan Aircraft Company in Bangalore, salt industries in Sambhar and other places, collieries, Indian Telephone industries, the P. and T. workshop in Calcutta and other places, the postal seals office at Aligarh and Air India International.

The operation of industries mentioned above by both private bodies and the State simultaneously will lead to unequal competition due to the privileges and prestige attached to the undertakings owned and managed by the State. It is better to avoid the possibility of such competition and hence it is better for the State to combine with private bodies for establishing new industrial undertakings in this sector subject to regulation and control of the Central Government. The existing undertakings in these fields will not be disturbed for a period of ten years. During this period they will be allowed all facilities for efficient working and reasonable expansion. At the end of the ten-year period the whole matter will be reviewed and a decision taken in the light of circumstances obtaining at

the time. The period of immunity given is too short to encourage the existing private concerns to invest funds for the development of their institutions, nay, it has made the business community nervous and apprehensive of investment in these industries as all the industries mentioned in the group require heavy capital outlay which pays but slowly. The period of immunity ought to have been longer.

Industries in the sectors other than the two mentioned above will be open to individual, co-operative and private enterprise. However, a further list of eighteen<sup>6</sup> major industries has also been given which will be the subject of Central regulation and control as their location has been considered to be governed by factors of All-India import and national interest. The business community cannot view with equanimity the proposal of the Government to participate in this sphere also without questioning the inherent right of the State to acquire any industrial undertaking whenever public interest requires it. It may be said that it would have been better to keep at least one sector of industrial activity completely open for private enterprise.

Thus the official clarification of the industrial policy of the cabinet as a whole has not been able completely to eliminate the state of uncertainty in the matter of nationalisation.

Subsequent statements of officials of the government have, however, referred to the great scope still available to private enterprise and, in this connection, the statement made by the Hon'ble Dr. Matthai, India's Finance Minister at the annual meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce in December, 1948 deserves to be quoted. He said:

"The Government's Industrial Policy contemplates a combination of both private and public enterprise in the furtherance of India's industrial development; that there is no ground for the apprehension that there is less scope hereafter in the country for private enterprise; and the extent to which private enterprise will function in future will be determined by the logic of facts, rather than by considerations of policy or ideology."

Let us hope that, in the application of the policy of nationalisation, 'logic of facts' will be the guiding factor. If the industry, after nationalisation, is able to provide products or service at a cheaper rate, if it can ensure greater employment with a higher standard of living to its employees, if it can increase production, and if the undertaking can be managed more efficiently on a self-supporting basis, then and then only the case for public ownership and management of the undertaking will stand on unassailable grounds.

6. Salt, automobiles and tractors' prime movers, electrical engineering, other heavy machinery, machine tools, heavy chemicals, fertilizers and pharmaceuticals and drugs, electrochemical industries, non-ferrous metals, rubber manufacturers, power and industrial alcohol, cotton and woollen textiles, cement, sugar, paper and newsprint, air and sea transport, minerals and industries related to defence.

# INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONISM

By SARATHINATH SET, M.A.

THE end of the second world war has unleashed new forces in the socio-economic pattern of modern civilisation. It is a fact that the international thinkers have been in earnest to see the birth of a new order perhaps a little different from one the world faces today in the economic phase of the nations, big or small alike. The international trade unionism has been rapidly revolutionising the thought-currents of industrialists, social experts, policy-makers, directly or indirectly interested in the advancement of social forces useful to the cause of the people. The post-war era marks a distinct departure from the otherwise *laissez-faire* tendencies born of centralised economy of the past. The fundamental approach to the new era of international trade unionism has however been yet to be reoriented perhaps in curing the existing ills and anomalies inherent in the structure of rival interests, and philosophy in the sociological phase of the national economy to come. Be that as it may, the potentialities of trade union organisations the world over have been tremendously upsetting the vast regions of existing socio-economic patterns, nationally or internationally, since the era of industrialisation.

## INDIA

Modern trade unionism in India, as in most other countries, has been the product of industrial development. The emergence of the new industrial class heralds a peaceful and orderly change-over in the socio-economic order. Various forces have been reconciling themselves in shaping the trade unionism for formulating the workers' grievances and conducting industrial disputes since the twenties. With the international labour organisation at the end of the first world war, the trade union movement has been accelerating at a rapid pace and the Trade Union Act of 1926 has given the legal basis of organised labour-movement in line with the evolution of political institutions.

The phenomenal rise of the trade union as a political force has now been accepted as a part and parcel of the industrial life of the community. In 1945-46 British India alone claimed 1,087 registered trade unions with a membership 864,031 strong, of which the female membership was about 38,570 strong, percentage to total membership being 4.5. It is significant that a majority of trade unions in India are industrial unions i.e. unions which aim to organise all the workers in a single industry without any distinction as to occupation, skill or sex. Very few unions are craft unions i.e. organisations of workers following a particular calling or occupation (e.g. Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association). There is a third type of unionism in a general trade union, i.e., an organisation of workers from various industries or crafts in one

association (e.g. the Mazdoor Sabha, Kanpur and Bombay Girni Kamgar Union). At present, the All-India Trade Union Congress, Indian National Trade Union Congress, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, United Trade Union Congress, a new body, have been competing with one another for positions in labour movement in our national plane. The labour representation in the legislatures has, however, not been very striking for many reasons. The Government of India Act 1935 provides for Labour 38 seats in the Provincial Legislatures and 10 in the Federal Assembly.

## ALL-INDIA RAILWAYMEN'S FEDERATION

The peculiar problems facing the railwaymen all over the Indian Union have been uppermost in the minds of the trade unionists under the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. The Federation represents the largest number of railway unions and has been the only recognised body in the railway labour relations. At its Dinapore Session on the 6th and 7th June, 1949 the Federation submitted a memorandum to the Krishnamachari Committee sponsored to investigate into the finances of Indian States. The Memorandum says that the Provident Fund assets of all the Indian Railwaymen exceed 55 crores of rupees and their stake in the future of the Indian States Railways whose total capital outlay is only Rs. 51.54 crores is greater and as such the Railway workers throughout India are vitally interested in improving the conditions on Indian States Railways or a part of these with those obtaining on the Indian Government Railways with the Indian Government lines. The Federation emphasises the urgent importance to integration of all the Indian States Railways with the Indian Government lines and fixation of Railway contributions to the general revenues on a uniform basis after making necessary deduction so that Indian States Railway capital may not be over-written and uneconomic management may not be allowed to continue any longer to the detriment of the over-all interests of the country.

Very recently the Working Committee in a meeting at Patna decided to affiliate, to the International Transport Workers' Federation, our affiliated national organisations of Railway transport workers and seamen all the world over. The Headquarters of this Federation are in London. An Asian Regional Commissioner's Office is situated in Singapore.

The Working Committee at Patna discussed specific issues like pre-1931 staff, leave and temporary staff, yearly increments, confirmation of staff and decasualisation of labour grainshop option, leave in hours and emphasised the need for fresh approach to the stated problems intelligently and intellectually at a high level.—*Railwayman*, organ of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation,—Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1949. Edited by S. Guruswami.

Fortunately, the dynamic movement of trade unionism has naturally spread itself with the stupen-

dous role of the Socialist Party of India in the national plans. Internationally, the world scene to-day has been undergoing a tremendous change. The conditions of a free society have perhaps been realised a step ahead with the international labour conferences which the trade unions of the world as a whole have been long interested in. It is a fact that the United States and the U.S.S.R. have established themselves as the giants on the world scene. Continental Europe has been battered and enfeebled. It is to be pointed out that the world has never before as to-day seen the role of individual nations taking the initiative and supporting the plans for reconstruction of trade unionism in line with the changing signs of the hour. In the World Federation of Trade Unions held on October 3, 1945 last, 56 countries representing sixty-six and three quarter million members, participated and it was resolved that the World Federation of Trade Union must improve the living and working conditions of the people of all lands. The prime purpose of the world federation is to organise and unite within its ranks the trade unions of the world, regardless of considerations of race, nationality, religion or political opinion, to assist workers wherever necessary in countries socially or industrially less developed, to set up their trade unions, and to carry on the struggle for the extermination of all Fascist forms of government and every manifestation of fascism. It may be added here that the last decades have seen the consolidation of trade union movements the world over, apparently in line with the evolution of political institutions, nationally or internationally. Since 1919-20, the (International Federation of Trade Union) I.F.T.U. has been a European body with no affiliations from among the vast numbers outside its fold. It is a fact that the I.F.T.U. with affiliates as American Federation of Labour, National Joint Committee of the South African T.U. and Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, (affiliated to A.F.L.), National Trade Union Federation of India, the New Zealand Federation of Labour and the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Eretz Israel had the support of only 22 or 23 million strong in 1919-20, and fell to 14 millions in 1933 and subsequently to 8,400,000, again rose to 19,000,000 in 1937 and at the world Conference in 1940 its membership was 11,000,000. It is a patent fact, too, that not a few nations remained unrepresented at the I.F.T.U. and their strength at the world Conference is given below :

Countries	Total membership
Soviet Union ..	27,562,000
Congress of Industrial Organisation (U.S.A.) ..	6,238,000
Railroads Brotherhoods ..	800,000
United Mine-workers of America ..	500,000
Confederation of Latin American Workers ..	4,000,000
Australian Council of Trade Unions ..	1,100,000
Canadian Congress of Labour ..	350,000
Nigerian Trade Union Congress ..	500,000

Over 40 million

which is double the total strength reached in any time during the whole history of the European body of I. F. T. U.

It may be helpful for better understanding of the trade unionism as a whole to discuss the organised labour movement in the most advanced countries like U.S.S.R., U.S.A., U.K. and in some of the less fortunately placed countries as well.

#### U. S. S. R.

The trade union movement in U.S.S.R. has been unique from many points of view. The Soviet T.U. is not formed to fight any one and has no inducement to prevent the competition among workmen for particular jobs. The pecuniary interest of its members is found in the productivity of Soviet industry in general, which is made up of the productivity of all the factories in which they work; and it is this aggregate productivity, not anybody's profit, on which the standard wage rates of all of them will directly depend. The rise of the movement has been phenomenal indeed. The figures below explain the position to-day :

Year.	Total Membership.
1905	All Russian Trade Union Congress, 600 separate Unions and 250,000 members.
1917 ..	1,475,000 "
1918 ..	1,946,000 "
1919 ..	3,706,779 "
1920 ..	5,122,006 "
1922 ..	5,846,000 "
1925 ..	6,950,000 "
1827 ..	9,827,000 "
1933 ..	15,900,000 "
1935 ..	20,272,000 "
1938 ..	23,758,000 "
1940 ..	25,000,000 "
1944 ..	27,562,000 "

There are over 31 million wage and salary earners in the Soviet Union, so that the percentages of those organised in unions is about 87 per cent. At the World Conference, the Soviet delegation of 35 included 7 women. Nationally, trade unions are represented on all the state planning bodies, General Plan for industry each year or over a period of years. Since 1933 the unions have been responsible for the whole administration of the Social Insurance Funds. Each enterprise pays over the fund an average of 8 per cent of the wages bill and this fund covers sickness, accident, maternity and medical and funeral benefits, as well as old age and disability pensions. These benefits are paid on a generous scale, trade union members getting on the whole favourable scales of payments. In addition the entire medical service of the country is free to all. The tremendous administrative responsibilities of the trade unions is revealed by the 1944 budget figures—the trade union budget was almost 1,500 million roubles and the social insurance fund administered by the union amounted to 3,500 million roubles. The trade union budget includes in addition to membership subscriptions, charges of admission to an infinite variety of sports and cultural functions and income

from other similar sources as well. The fundamental question needs emphasis that there is no unemployment and could not be any under this system and it is obviously to everyone's advantage to see that the annual wealth of the community is distributed in the most equitable and profitable way for all concerned.

#### U. S. A.

In U. S. A., the trade unionism has always recognised the capitalist system as the framework within which to work since the era of the Noble Order of the Knights of Labour a century ago. Below is given a table indicating the rise of trade unionism in U.S.A.

1896	..	American Federation of Labour.
1894	..	500,000 members.
1920	..	4,093,000 "
1933	..	2,317,500 "
1936	..	Split with C.I.O.
	..	3,542,000 members.

It is well known that the Minority Report of the Resolution Committee at the 1935 Annual Convention of the AFL at Atlantic City stated the case for industrial unionism and pointed to the failure of the craft method to organise more than 3½ millions out of a possible 39 millions of organisable workers after 55 years of activity. This Minority Report being rejected, 12 unions combined in Nov. 1935 to form inside the A.F.L. the Committee for the promotion of the unorganised workers in mass productions and other industries upon an industrial basis—and to bring them under the banner and in affiliation with the A.F.L. Unfortunately, the Resolution of Executive Committee on August 5, 1936, suspended 12 unions concerned "for inaugurating a state of rebellion against the A.F.L. and a breach of their contractual obligations in the character of affiliation of each of the said unions." It is remarkable that C.I.O. had enlisted 41 affiliated organisations with 14 million members in the year 1938 and represented at the W.T.U.C. on the basis of 6,238,000 members. It is in keeping with the broad aspects of modern life that C.I.O. has remained actively interested in the wide fields affecting the living standards of workers. In so doing, it has become involved in co-operation with government, with management and with professional, civic and church groups in many communities. It has proposed and supported a great deal of social legislation. It has actively entered politics. It pioneered in the field of race relations. And it has called for close collaboration between the labour movements of the world. Besides, there are important organisations like the United Mine-workers of America (500,000 members), Railroad Brotherhoods (600,000 members, 20 separate organisations) not affiliated to the A.F.L. or the C.I.O. and Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (200,000 members), all contributing in their own way to the industrial life of the community as a whole.

#### U. K.

In line with the evolution of political institutions, trade unionism in Great Britain has been a voluntary

organisation on democratic lines. At the end of 1944 there were 946 trade unions in Great Britain with a total membership of 8,024,000. The work of the trade unions is co-ordinated through the Trades Union Congress—the central organ of the trade union movement. A total of 192 unions with an aggregate membership of 6,671,120 were affiliated to the T.U.C. at the end of 1945. The T.U.C. meets annually and comprises nearly 1,000 delegates appointed by the affiliated unions in proportion to their membership. It is the Congress that decides broad questions of policy for the trade union movement as a whole. The main purposes of the T.U.C. are to promote the interests of its affiliated organisations and generally to improve the economic and social welfare of the workers. It must be emphasised that a substantial part of trade union work is concerned with Parliamentary and political questions (the method of "legal enactment"). Inevitably the trade unions situated as they are in the British political life, maintain a strong interest in the Labour Party, which they helped to form because experience had taught them the need to establish an independent Party for the workers. The Labour Party constitution provides both for individual members and for the collective affiliation of organisations. In 1945 there were 69 unions with a membership of 2,510,369 affiliated to the Party, and six socialist and Co-operative Societies with a membership of 41,281. The individual members of the Party numbered 487,047. The Party constitution also provides that 12 of the 25 members of the National Executive Committee shall be nominated by affiliated trade unions and elected by their delegates at the annual Party Conference, to co-ordinate the activities of the Trades Union Congress, the Labour Party, the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Co-operative Union, a National Council of Labour is elected. The Council, which represents the four bodies, discusses questions of common interest and issues joint statements of policy when necessary. This machinery enables the trade unions and the other organisations to maintain regular contact with each other and to pursue an agreed policy.

Chief among the organisations with which the British unions are connected (for a period only) is the World Federation of Trade Unions which was founded in 1945 to replace the old International Federation of Trade Unions. Its affiliated body in Great Britain is the Trade Union Congress. It is to be noted also that the British unions have maintained a specially close contact with the trade union in the U.S.A. and Canada since 1894 in the case of U.S.A. and since 1918 in that of Canada. Delegates from the T.U.C. attend the Conventions of the American Federation of Labour and the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress every year, and delegates from the U.S.A. and Canada visit the T.U.C. in their turn. During recent years the British unions have also entered into arrangements with the trade unions of certain other countries for the formation of Joint Committees to discuss

matters of common interest. The first of these was the Anglo-French Trade Union Council. There is also an Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee and two Joint Committees, one representing the T.U.C. and the American Federation of Labour, and the other representing the T.U.C. and the C.I.O.

#### EUROPE

The post-war Europe has been coming back to its own in the sphere of trade union activities. In France, Confederation Generale du Travail had the support of 4,500,000 members at the world T. U. C. in 1945. The pre-war membership of the C.G.T. was five million in 1936 but fell to 3½ million in 1939. C.G.T. consists of national industrial federations, and also department (county) federations each trade union being affiliated to its national industrial Federation and to the Department federation. Recently C.G.T. has outlined a programme for nationalisation of the bank's key industries, sources of power, raw materials, social insurance and transport. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that C.G.T. had a delegation of 12 to the W.T.U. Conf. In Belgium, there have been fresh signs of trade union activities as in most countries elsewhere, with the reorganisation of Confederation Belge des Syndicates Uniques (the membership running to 175,000 strong) and Mouvement des Metallurgistes Unifies the membership being 60,000 strong). Out of these movements a new Federation Generale du Travail de Belgique took shape and enunciated a programme for socialisation of banking and industrial trusts, planned control of foreign trade, social security, social legislation and workers' participation in industrial management. It is to be stated that the structure of Federation Generale du Travail de Belgique consists of industrial unions affiliated with local trade councils. It is an encouraging sign that in many countries in Europe, a newly organised trade unionism Catholic Trade Union Confederation in Holland, Czechoslovak Trade Union in Czechoslovakia, Seamen's Union in Norway, United Workers' and Employees' Syndicates in Yugoslavia (325,000 members), Central Council of Trade Unions (250,000 members), and National Union of Railway Workers (50,000 members) in Poland, National Trade Union Confederation in Finland (85,000 members), Italian General Confederation of Labour (1,300,000 members), Bulgarian General Workers' Union, Rumanian Trade Union (500,000 members), Sweden Trade Union (1,053,266 members), Supreme Junta of National Union in Spain (underground) faces the national reconstruction in the transitional phase of the post-war economy.

#### CHINA

In the World Trade Union Conference in 1945, China played a distinct role by virtue of its vast trade union organisations. Nationalist China was represented by Chinese Association of Labour whose membership was 422,652 strong in 1943 and there were 26,610 women members. In 1943, Congress of the Chinese Association of Labour discussed labour legislation, welfare, resistance and reconstruction, organisation and training of labour

and international problems. The membership in Trade Union is compulsory. Simultaneously there is a North China Federation of Trade Unions with its one million members actively associating themselves in the industrial life of the community. In 1945, a new Federation of Trade Union of China Liberated Areas with an organised strength of 925,000 members enunciated a policy of the union as a whole. It is to be pointed out that two Chinas have long been pursuing a policy of their own apparently with interests not common to each other for many reasons. The Federation declares a central policy of the union to organise all the workers of the Border region for active participation in the war of resistance and national construction. In order to guarantee victory, it stresses discipline and productivity of labour and aims at raising the political, cultural and technical level of the workers by strengthening the bonds between the workers and soldiers. Friendly relations between capital and labour must be maintained and unity guaranteed for the prosecution of the war against the invaders. All enterprises whether private or government owned in which unions are set up, are taxed 6 per cent of the total wage bill, which is given to the union for use in developing educational and cultural projects.

#### LATIN AMERICA

In 20 Independent Republics of Latin America inhabited by no less than 125 million people, there has been a tremendous change of outlook with the rise of better organised trade unionism. The Confederation of Latin American Workers with 4 million members, represents trade union movements of 17 countries except Honduras, Colony of the American United Fruit Company, Haiti (French-speaking Republic), Brazil (law forbids trade union having international relations). In 1938, the Confederation de Trabajadores de la America Latina (C.T.A.L.) enunciated programme for defence of the democratic form of government in America and in the entire world, struggle against Fascism wherever it is found, respect for the autonomy of each affiliated movement, the unification of the labour movement in each country and material and social progress of the workers and the common people of Latin America. In recent years, the C.T.A.L. has concentrated upon exposing the Fascist dictatorship in Argentine. At the World Trade Union Conference this fight was carried on and it is regrettable that the British delegation did not feel more able to support the case put forward for the exposure of the Argentine menace at several levels of the Conference—each previous one having failed—by Lombardo Toledano, President of the C.T.A.L. and the other members of the Latin American delegations. These episodes left an unfortunate impression that the British delegation were not entirely free from British Government influence in this matter.

#### TRADE UNIONS IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND COLONIES

The impact of trade unionism elsewhere has naturally paved the way for organised labour move-



ments in the British Commonwealth and colonies. Very recently the Australasian Council of Trade Unions with its 1,100,000 members enunciated a programme for socialisation of industry, production, distribution and exchange through closer organisation of workers on industrial basis, consolidation of Australian labour movement, centralised control of disputes, educational propaganda and consistent work in relation to wages and living conditions. It may be stated also that ACTU at its 1943 Congress went on record for an extension of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee to include Australia. In Canada there have been enough signs of feverish activities with the rise of Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, Canadian Congress of Labour and the Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada. Their respective strength is given below :

Trades and Labour Congress	329,000 members
Congress of Labour	270,000 "
Catholic Workers	50,000 "
Railway Brotherhoods	25,000 "

In all—there are about 800,000 trade unionists in Canada today. The special features of the Canadian trade unions may be briefly stated that Canadian trade union movement is part of the larger and broader movement in the United States. Furthermore, all trade unionists cover only 30 per cent of the working population and one-third of the population of Canada consists of the French-speaking Catholics living in or near the province of Quebec ; thus religion, language and racial difficulties impede national organisation. It may be interesting to know that Canadian Congress of Labour consists mainly of unions affiliated to the C.I.O. in U.S.A. and it is to be regretted that organised labour in Canada today is still split in various organisations. At the 5th Annual Convention of the Canadian Congress of Labour held in Quebec in October, 1944, a heated debate took place on the question of affiliation to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation ; affiliation was agreed upon by a small majority. However the Political Action Committee of the C.C.F. continues its previous work without ties to any political party. It is to be noted that here also the Unions in the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada are primarily affiliates of the American Federation of Labour and by 1944 have a total membership of 329,000 strong.

In very many cases, however, there has been recent development of far-reaching importance to the labour union as a whole. For instance, *Irish Trade Union Congress* covers 260,272 members from among the unions both in the Irish Free State and in Northern Ireland. The present position is that a number of the unions are affiliated through the headquarters of their individual unions to the British Trade Union Congress. In *New Zealand*, the trade unions have been going well with the formation of New Zealand Labour Party since 1916 and the popularity of trade unionism is easily understood. It covers 166,819 members in 1945. In *South Africa* the policy of the government has been responsible for the weak trade unions from many points of view. It is a thousand pities that throughout the

history of trade unionism in South Africa the separation of the Unions of the white and the non-European population has been one of the greatest sources of weakness. The problem should not be under-estimated for the fear of the European trade unionists that their standards might be drastically cut by unity is the result of years of clever work on the part of the employers who have been able to play one section off against the other. It is an open secret that there is something radically wrong in the system that maintains 55,008 white workers with £21,104,467 in wages salaries whereas the number of 425,131 non-European workers get only £14,129,172, i.e., eight-times as many native workers received only two-thirds of the total wage sum of the European group. The above figure was true for 1929 and the tragedy of the situation is that the colour bar is still legal and an iniquitous system obliges many natives in many parts of the Union to carry passes and there has been a tremendous law-making authority pursuing a discriminatory policy in every walk of national life.

#### TRADE UNION IN THE COLONIES AND MANDATED TERRITORIES

The public opinion in the Colonies has recently been stirred with the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940. This Act contained a provision that no Colony should benefit from funds available under the Act unless it had adequate trade union legislation. Later on, the W.T.U.C. emphasises that it is necessary to bring to an end the system of colonies, dependencies and subject countries as spheres of economic exploitation, and to facilitate immediately the developing of free Trade Unions in these countries, thereby laying the foundations upon which in accordance with Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, non-self-governing communities and nations can attain the status of free nations and be enabled to govern themselves and develop their own institutions of free citizenship. It is to be stated that the British Colonies like Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Gambia, Jamaica, the British East Africa and in other politically undeveloped countries, there has been a tremendous class-consciousness for mobilizing the trade unionists in line with the rest of the advanced countries of the world. At present Nigerian Trades Union Congress covers 500,000 members.

"In 1943, 33 unions representing at least 50 trades with a membership of about 200,000 were affiliated to the Congress. In 1945, 50 unions, representing over 64 trades with a total membership of about 400,000 are affiliated to the Congress."—Report of the Second Annual Conference, August, 1944.

N.T.U.C. publishes a paper *Nigerian Worker*. Gambia Labour Union of 2,000 members was represented at the W.T.U.C. It is unfortunate that the Government in Gambia has the right to refuse registration to a union without giving any reason. Gold Coast Railway Civil Servants and Technical Workers' Union of 2,500 members are painfully emerging from infancy. Sierra Leone Trade Union Congress covers 11 unions and as



in Gambia, the Government has the right to refuse registration to a union without giving any reason, some unions have been victimised unjustly in this way. Neither the Trade Union Ordinance allowing the establishment of unions, nor that on arbitration are working satisfactorily, while workmen's compensation is not working at all. The Sierra Leone Government, according to Mr. Wallace Johnson, President of the Sierra Leone T.U.C., is one of the biggest employers of labour and one of the worst offenders in this respect. Trade Union Council of Jamaica groups 25 unions with the exception of Bustemente Industrial Union (Bustemente was the strong man of the Jamaica Labour Movement before the war and built up a considerable movement through methods little akin to trade unionism). At present there is no satisfactory body of trade union law, no central labour board and nothing to compel an employer to recognise a union for collective bargaining. The British Guiana Trades Council of 10,000 members covers 14 unions that have been influencing the labour economy for a long time. The Pan-Cyprian Trades Union Committee of 12,000 members in 90 unions with 60 district organizations has recently been given a rightful place in the W.T.U.C. Ceylon Trade Union Federation of 16,360 members and Ceylon Indian Congress Labour Union have been emerging from infancy with a view to advancing the social, economic and cultural interests of different groups like the plantation labour, Harbour Workers, Engineering workers, Toddy Workers, and others. General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine (Histadruth) covers today 140,500 members. As early as 1937 the Histadruth in a Memorandum to the Palestine Royal Commission, said:

"The Histadruth functions are not merely those of a Federation of Trade Unions whose main task is the improvement of labour conditions of its members. The Histadruth is—an aspiration and essence—an organisation binding together the founders of a National Home, the builders of a country, the liberators of the people."

The idea today gains currency that trade unionists in Palestine is not free from political influences abroad. For many reasons there has been no trade union legislation existing, no government ruling or guidance or minimum wages, maximum hours, health insurance, unemployment, old age pensions and trade union rights. Recently, Arab Workers' Society since 1925 and Federation of Arab Trade Unions have been playing not an insignificant part in the Palestine labour movement.

Rightly or wrongly, the W.T.U.C. has not been able to foster a spirit of universal goodwill and harmony for the labour movement on a world scale. The Governing Body of the I.L.O. meeting in San Francisco, decided on June 20, 1948 by 31 votes to 1 (only the Polish Government Delegate opposing) to admit the World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.) into formal relationship with the I.L.O. in a consultative capacity. At the same time it was decided to admit two other international organisations opposed to the W.F.T.U., the International Confederation of Christian

Trade Unions and Inter-American Confederation of workers, the former body has its main strength in France and the Low Countries, whilst the latter was founded in January last at a Conference in Lieva with the support of the American Federation of Labour (which has rejected membership of the W. F. T. U. on the grounds that the latter body is allegedly under Soviet domination) and a number of Latin American labour unions. The matter obviously did not rest there. At the 8th annual conference of the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain held at Margate from September 6 to 9, 1948, under the chairmanship of Miss Florence Hanevek, Chairman of the General Council, Mr. Arthur Deakin, President of the W. F. T. U., said that there had been for long "little or no agreement" within the Federation, and pointed out that whereas in the beginning the balance between Communist and non-Communist countries was even, there were now about 5 representatives of the former to 3 of the latter in the W.F.T.U. with a much more heavily weighted balance on the Federation's executive, which if an issue were pressed to the vote became a Communist dominated organisation. Unfortunately, later on at a joint conference of W.F.T.U. and the International Trade Secretaries held on October 26, 1948 in Paris, U.K.T.U.C. General Council sent an ultimatum calling on the World Federation to suspend its activities for 12 months failing which the T.U.C. would withdraw from the W.F.T.U. altogether. On December 26 in the same year, Mr. Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O. announced in Washington that in consequence of the C.I.O.'s dissatisfaction with the continued use of the W.F.T.U. as a "sounding-board for anti-E.R.P. propaganda," a delegation led by Mr. James B. Carrey, Secretary-treasurer of the C.I.O., would confer in London with Mr. Deakin, and other T.U.C. leaders on the future of international labour co-operation before the next meeting of the W.F.T.U. executive in Paris, this announcement being followed on December 28 by an invitation from Mr. William Green, President of the A.F.L. (a non-member of the W.F.T.U.) to Mr. Deakin and other European labour leaders opposed to communism to attend a meeting of the A.F.L. executive at Miami on January 31. On January 10, Mr. Irving Brown, European representative of the A.F.L. issued from his Brussels headquarters a statement which declared that the "fruitless discussions of the last four years left no doubt of the W.F.T.U.'s Russian domination", warned that "the Communist declaration of war on Western economic recovery made it essential to begin to forge the instrument of an international free trade union movement." It is well known that U.K. T.U.C.'s demand for the suspension of the W.F.T.U. supported by the U.S. (C.I.O.) and Dutch members of the Executive Bureau, came before the latter on January 17, 1949. Louis Saillant (Secretary-General of the W.F.T.U.) argued that the proposal was outside the powers of inner executive, and demanded a conference of the full executive committee of

28 members to consider the matter. Unfortunately the split arose and on January 19, when Mr. Deakin, as chairman of the Executive, announced that a vote on the British proposal would be taken, only the British, Dutch and U.S. members voted in favour, the other members refusing to vote. Mr. Deakin thereupon declared the meeting closed and together with Mr. Tewson (general secretary of the T.U.C.) and the U.S. and Dutch members (led respectively by Mr. Percy and Mr. Evert Kupers) left the meeting, thus breaking off relations with the Federation. The T.U.C. General Council (U.K.) confirmed on January 26, its decision to withdraw from the World Federation, authority being given at the same time to the Council's international Committee to examine the question of the setting up of a new international organisation of democratic trade union centres.

Very recently, the Geneva Conference held on June 25, 26, 1949, was attended by 127 delegates from 38 national trade union centres, representing some 45,000,000 workers and was representative of the unions of Great Britain, the U.S.A., the non-communist unions of France and Italy, the Benelux and Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Austria, Finland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Greece, Germany (the Western Zone and the Berlin U.G.), India and many countries in Latin America (including Argentine, Brazil, Chile, Cuba and Panama), the Middle East (including an observer from Israel), the Far East and Africa. A 16-man Preparatory Committee outlined a programme that includes the following :

- (1) Close contact between the free and democratic T.U. movements throughout the world;
- (2) Assistance in the establishment and development of T.U. Organisation in under-developed countries;
- (3) Furtherance of peace between the nations of the world;
- (4) Association with such international organisations both governmental and non-governmental, as would further the aims of T.U. movement;
- (5) Economic, social, cultural interests of the populations and rebuilding of economies;
- (6) Maintenance of full employment and the raising of standards of living.

It is, however, to be emphasised that the Milan Conference of W.F.T.U. held on June 29, July 19, was attended by 45 countries representing 71,000,000 members. It is a fact that the Soviet Trade Unions, C.G.T. (France), C.G.I.L. (Italy), Chinese communist unions, Latin American Workers' Confederation, Soviet zone of Germany, played a very significant role in preserving the solidarity of the truncated W. F. T. U. The Milan Congress sent a manifesto to the U. N. Secretary-General for transmission to the Economic and Social Council, alleging that the official figures of unemployment in the U.S.A., Canada and Western Europe

were unreliable and charging that there were over 700,000 unemployed in 14 "capitalist" countries. This year also heralds a new era in the history of international labour relations. On June 19, 8 Asian countries, India, Pakistan, China, Japan, Persia, Turkey, the Philippines and Indonesia in a meeting held at Geneva, decided to set up an Asian Federation of Labour. Dr. S. C. Banerjee (I.N.T.U.C.) presided. The aims and objects are stated as follows :

- (1) To protect the Asian countries against foreign exploitation ;
- (2) to raise the standard of living of Asian workers to fight communist menace, and to make the voice of Asian workers heard at international conferences.

We must admit, the world trade unionism has not yet been able to check the spread of the battle of 'isms' rooted deeply in the structure of political institutions at a high level. The economic phase of national reconstruction has not yet advanced to a degree of better adjustment in political plane and various forces, social, economic, cultural, have been aligning themselves to the growth of turbulent streams of disintegrating tendencies over the vast land mass of Eurasia. It is in the context of realities ahead that the internal dissensions at this hour of international labour crisis must be resolved in the best interests of humanity at large. The tragedy of the situation, however, lies in the fact that the great powers have been in earnest to exploit the huge reserves of labour population in their own way subservient to the national interests of their own apparently in anticipation of a risk of a third world war or fear of that emergency. The dominant trends of international power-politics have been paving the way for sectarianism and dissections of the living forces over the less developed regions for a fairly long time and universal basic rights of work-people have not been maintained in the eye of international labour. About the goal of trade unions there has been agreements about the methods ; opinions are shortly divided nationally and internationally if not intelligently and intellectually. It is however no less true that sooner or later the world statesmen may resolve their apparent differences in line with the evolution of better political institutions for the entire segments of the peoples, irrespective of creed, colour or race or nationality, religion or political opinion.

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## W. B. YEATS : THE POET OF LONELINESS

By PROF. A. G. STOCK

A longdrawn, grey evening; a ragged landscape of water and rough pasture with a line of hills in the distance; a whiff of burning peat, and a light in the window of a lonely cottage: Ireland does not look or feel like England, and the difference goes deep. The economy, the religion and tradition and ways of thought are different but apart from these and more indefinable is something in the very essence of the country—not the human population but the earth and water. You may come from Ireland to the Weald of Kent, and feel a sort of impact from the generations who have cultivated Kent to the last ounce for centuries; as if the land had given itself to their labour and been 'humanised'. Ireland never seems in this way to become the servant of human activities. It is true that ghosts linger there with a persistence rare in Anglo-Saxon countries. In some parts there is hardly a square mile without a face looking out of a derelict tower, or a headless coach plying round a tree-shadowed corner, or a murder re-enacting itself from time to time. The living emigrate, but the dead stay on. And yet, behind this life of shadows and memories the spirit of the country remains unimpressed by civilisation, preoccupied with non-human elemental things. As you walk there you feel it throwing off the print of human habitation and remembering some supernatural past, which is not past either but only just beyond visibility. All the tribes of spirits which are not ghosts but follow their own remote life and lay a spell now and then on chosen human beings are an emanation from it. There is no rational way of making this statement, but it does, I believe, convey something about Ireland which many people would admit they have felt.

W. B. Yeats wrote the English language, and Spenser, Blake, Shelley and the pre-Raphaelites were among his masters. He was unavoidably an English poet. But by birth and temperament, by the accidents of his upbringing and, no less by deliberate and studied choice, he was the poet of the Irish tradition. In a sense, there was no Irish tradition; for though its elements existed no great writer had arisen to give it form. Perhaps his youth in England made him sharply aware of the un-English strain in himself, the ways of thought and threads of experience which found no immediate echo among his English contemporaries. He accepted the difference and trained his genius on it. It enabled him to break away from English poetic traditions, not to flounder in sheer undisciplined self-expression, but to find sources of thought and imagery which both imposed their own discipline on him and led his mind forward into new ranges of poetry. Being a great artist, he grew to such mastery that in his old age he had no need to be self-consciously any special kind of poet, but what he had done was a part of himself. In

spite of a surprising change of style his latest poetry grew from his earliest as the man himself grew, meeting new experience without renouncing his youth.

Though it may be reiterating a platitude, it is important if one wants to understand Yeats to keep on remembering that Ireland is not England. There is such a thing as an English sense of values shaped out of a national experience, and just because it is so difficult to formulate completely it is easy, in reading English literature, to slip into the assumption that no other values are possible. If one does so, much of what Yeats wrote will look like mere embroideries, or else a deliberate shirking of the realities of the modern world, when in fact he was true to his own experience and deeply in earnest. It is worth while therefore to dwell a little on the peculiarities of Ireland—not so much the Eire of today, which may be changing in some ways, as the Ireland Yeats knew before and during the fight which began in 1916.

Towns are not Ireland's strong point. It is scarcely even a land of villages, like India. Its most characteristic dwelling is the cottage standing by itself. Physically and mentally it is the least industrialised, least collectivised country in western Europe, and unlike England it has no middle class that counts for much. The sea-going merchant Yeats knew and respected but the business magnate and the industrial worker hardly even impinged on his consciousness, and he hated the small-town shopkeeper and everything he stood for. The significant people of his world, who stamped their likeness on Irish history and thought, were the peasants, and the landlords in the big houses.

Of the big houses and what they stood for in his eyes Yeats writes much, with nostalgic admiration. They were diminishing even before 1916 and their glory was finally extinguished in the Civil War—not superannuated by industrialism but burnt out in an agrarian upheaval. The peasants are the enduring element. They are not often in the foreground of Yeats' thought as they are in J. M. Synge's, but their presence in the background makes a difference. They have long traditions, and their way of thinking about religion, about history, and not least about the people in the big houses, has become a part of the characteristic Irish outlook.

It would be false and shallow to define the difference by saying that English writers as a whole have been reconciled to industrialism, whereas the Irish reject it. There are things about western industrial civilisation which every artist hates from the bottom of his soul, and English literature has been one long outcry against them ever since the eighteenth century. In our own time D. H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, T. S. Eliot, who cannot

be called members of one school, have all in some way or other shown their horror of the anti-spirit which it generates. But they all live in its orbit and have to share its torments or else run away from their own problems. Lawrence raged against it and died; Huxley has begun to find his own answer in mysticism but the process of discovery is traceable in the growing self-torture of his novels up to *Point Counterpoint*. Eliot soars out of it into religious faith, but not before dissecting it and himself with it in *The Waste Land*.

Irish writers as a whole think less about this industrial-western complex. Sean O'Casey has something vivid and convincing to say about it because he, more than the others, has felt its feet upon him. Yeats, and most of them, have a standpoint a little outside the turmoil. Often it gives their poems and stories a curious, remote serenity; often it exasperates English critics who feel that they are missing the point of the modern world. But an artist has to be true to his own mental experience; this is more important to his integrity as an artist, and hence to his ultimate greatness than that he should express what his critic or even his own depersonalised brain may judge to be the crucial problems of his age. Only a future generation can judge what were the crucial problems of his age; he himself knows what were those of his life.

Besides being a peasant country Ireland is Catholic. The people are Catholic, but most of the landowning families were Protestant, like Yeats' own. The past tense is needed here; as a class they practically vanished in the Civil War. The typical South Irish landlord had antipathy in his blood; he felt for Catholicism a contempt that was half social half religious in origin. In general he was loyal to the Crown, although half the great leaders of Irish nationalism have been landlords by birth. But he never felt himself an Englishman, and still less a poorer imitation of the English country squire, and he resented nothing so much as being confused with the Ulster Protestants, whom he thought of as planters and industrialists, alien to the true spirit of Ireland. Perhaps of all the people he was the most conscious and the proudest, of the distinctively Irish qualities of his life. And yet his Protestantism kept him a little apart, and this may well have added something to Yeats' temperamental aloofness.

But the country is Catholic, and the difference between Catholic and Protestant culture goes beyond theology or politics. When Protestantism broke with the past it broke with ritual and imagery and all the concrete, visible forms in which humanity expressed its sense of the unseen long before it had mastered abstract language. In its hatred of idolatry it broke, more completely, than Catholicism had ever done, with a thousand ancient ways of feeling which are not expressible in the terms of Protestant thought.

For making a felt invisible world visible to the understanding, for giving separate identity to its regions and inhabitants, the language of imagery is an

instrument far more subtle and flexible than abstract words can ever be. Its very imprecisions are capable of expressing shades and links of meaning not to be reasoned out. It is the poet's indispensable language, and if he is not born to a system of imagery he has to adopt or invent one before he can find full freedom of utterance. England has no such language of its own: scholars learn the grammar of one from Greek mythology, but it is not on the lips of the common people. The more education tends away from fairy tales towards actuality and the Children's Encyclopaedia, the less they can read its meaning. In Catholic Ireland education is still unscientific: angels, devils and ghosts are common-places of popular thought. People's sense of the other world being thus more expressible, it is brought into closer neighbourhood with this one and the understanding of poetry comes more naturally.

Moreover, Ireland is profoundly different from England in that it has never lost its legends. The Anglo-Saxons came to England bringing their gods with them, and were Christianised long before the gods could be fully naturalised; and later, whatever of native folklore managed to thrust its way upwards was stamped upon by Puritanism. Superstitious practices, traces of witchcraft and divination, are not of course extinct in England, but they have nothing august about them; habits they are, that no longer have power over the imagination.

The tradition in Ireland is that the gods were there before the Gaels came; that they fought for their possession of the country and at last came to terms and withdrew inside the hills, leaving the surface of the land to the invaders. And before the gods there were darker powers, some of whom still survive. However that may be, the land is alive with spirits who are known and respected. Their deeds in different places are remembered; history trails away into myth and myth projects forward into history. There are fairy hills, green terraced mounds into which no farmer will drive a ploughshare. The faeries are seldom talked of, and most seldom by that name, for fear of drawing their attention to the speaker. They are the Good People, much in the way that the Greek Erinyes were the Eumenides, or Well-Meaning Ones, because disaster and madness were within their gift. But the people remember what they are—the dispossessed lords who ruled before Christ came.

The Christian Church teaches that this world is not man's true home, that he has a soul which is here to prepare for eternity. The pre-Christian faith found its eternity in nature. The gods lived on earth, but not as man lives. They were as everlasting as the elements and as immune from the ravages of experience. This is the same in Greece as in Ireland, though the names and natures of the gods are not the same; and in Ireland some kind of understanding of the old faith survives in the folk-imagination. The priests still have to carry on a battle against it in the Church's name. Actual, tangible daily life is confronted not only with Christian other-worldliness but with the different spirituality of paganism.

All these are threads in the complex web of the national mind. People for the most part live by them without explicitly thinking about them; only the student and the creative artist may realise how much they mean. Politics is a far more conscious force. In Ireland the struggle for freedom has left deep marks on the people's thoughts. Children hear stories of Oliver Cromwell's savagery, as English children hear about the Black Hole of Calcutta, and believe them as naturally: they pick up tales of Red Hugh O'Donnell, Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmett, and the Irish myth-making genius keeps the heroes vividly alive. Dean Swift himself, that tower of rationality, is a folk-tale in the cottages of Louth. But there is much more than myth and daydream in it; there is bloodshed. Since the sixteenth century some kind of violent rebellion against England has happened in every generation but one, and from that one, the "hungry forties" starvation has left memories bitterer than bloodshed. The English think these vagaries either pigheaded or picturesque, according to temperament; it baffles them that men will deliberately die for what they themselves can only see as a piece of attitudinising. The average Englishman can best make sense of politics when he can reduce it all to economics:

*"His resouns spak he ful solemnely  
Sounynge alway thencrees of his wunynge—"*

he always did and probably always will. In Ireland on the contrary other activities tend to turn into politics. At times of crisis commerce, art, sport, in fact everything takes on a political colouring, and not even the purest artist could ignore it.

Yeats was a poet, not a politician. This, however, certainly did not mean that Irish nationalism had not entered his soul, or that he acquiesced in the dominant British outlook on politics in order to practise his art. He could remain untouched by the first World War, but felt the uprising of Easter Week in the very pulse of his poetry. He kept out of the political struggle because it seemed to him to degrade and limit the very values it set out to serve, but never because he thought like an Englishman.

With all this in his background, Yeats as a young man both was and chose to be something of an alien among the English poets with whom he was numbered. It is true that all of that group of the nineties were dissatisfied with the values and literary codes of their

time and felt themselves isolated. But whereas they fell back on themselves, he had another reservoir, deeper and richer than his own mind could exhaust. That was why his early poetry had, as someone has remarked, the accent of authority, while theirs was fumbling and tentative.

Not that he ever tried to be a poet of life and manners. Neither did Rabindranath Tagore; but Rabindranath could hardly have expressed his own distinctive vision if he had not summed up in himself so much of the Bengali inheritance that he was able to make the commonest and most enduring things of the life around him, effortlessly as it seemed, into a language for his spirit. This was what Yeats recognised in Rabindranath when he first read him, and it moved him almost to tears because it was so close to what he aspired to do himself. But his was an even lonelier mind than Rabindranath's. He wanted to revive the spirit of Ireland and to teach it a voice, other than the high-pitched voice of political argument, but he wanted too to express things that were no part of a collective vision but had to do with the soul's isolation. He loved controversy, and hated it as the enemy of his genius; shunned popular applause and half-envied popular leaders; took the lead in creating a national theatre, and concentrated his art upon an esoteric poetic drama which sought to avoid building on the collective emotions of men. He was a genial man competent in business affairs, a good intellectual fighter who enjoyed battle, and he was always founding movements and championing causes; but in the end he would turn from them and accept the loneliness essential to him as a poet rather than the comradeship within his reach as a man.

In one of his own metaphors, mankind builds up a traditional civilisation as a bird builds a nest, to be a resting-place where the soul is nourished, whence it takes flight. But bird and soul are most truly in their element when they take off from the nest and soar on lonely wings into the uncharted fields of the sky. So with Yeats. He could not be himself and he cannot be understood apart from the Irish civilisation which is the groundwork of his thought; but when he is most fully himself he is aloof and alone, rising out of his civilisation into an emptiness of solitary experience.

"Who can distinguish darkness from the soul?"





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**COMMUNAL UNITY :** By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. August, 1949. Pp. 1006. Price Rs. 9.

Mahatma Gandhi's utterances on questions of importance are being lovingly compiled by competent editors and published by Navajivan Trust, an organisation founded by Mahatmaji himself. Indeed, the two—Mahatmaji's writings and Navajivan Publishing House, have been connected together in the public mind all these years. This "comprehensive and encyclopaedic publication" has been edited by Sri Bharatan Kumarappa; and it consists of Gandhiji's writings from the days of Khulafat to the establishment of Pakistan, and even sometime after. Such a compilation with its matter chronologically arranged is at the same time a history of modern India in one of its aspects—which is an additional attraction.

In such a volume, the work of editing must have been very arduous, and Shri Kumarappa deserves all credit on that account. But one wonders if the book would not have materially gained, had a little restraint been exercised in the matter of judicious selection. Is not selection No. 182 quite unnecessary in this context, the contents of the passage being not connected with 'communal unity' on any point? The writings, we are told, "spring out of action," but these springs are hidden from the view of the present-day reader. A few prefatory remarks prefixed to each passage and explaining the context, and brief notes appended to them would have been a substantial help to the readers' understanding and enjoyment.

A printing mistake on p. vii, line 8, disfigures Dr. Rajendra Prasad's foreword.

The Calcutta reviewer specially regrets all omission of Sachin Mitra and Smritish Banerji, martyrs to the cause of communal unity, and mentioned by Mahatmaji in his post-prayer speech of 6th September, 1947 (See *Harigan*, September 21, 1947).

The tragedy (or, shall we say, the crowning triumph) of Gandhiji's supreme self-sacrifice has been a living testimony to his faith in Hindu-Moslem unity. But we cannot afford to treat it as a mere historical event. We have to build our future on it. Some of the issues in this connection have not been decided yet, and our future is still ours to make or mar. If we can use our heritage—Gandhiji's advice and suggestions—to our advantage, things may still go on well with us. And that hope makes this publication seem a timely one.

P. R. SEN.

**WOMEN AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE :** By M. K. Gandhi. Foreword by Amrit Kaur. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1947. Pp. xi + 216. Price Rs. 3

The present book is a collection of one hundred and eight articles or speeches by Mahatma Gandhi on the question referred to in the title of the book. It will prove indispensable not only to those interested in the feminine question, but to every one who wishes to understand Mahatma Gandhi and the methods which he proposed for the removal of all forms of injustice and human degradation.

**MAHATMA GANDHI'S SAYINGS :** Selected by Priyaranjan Sen. Orient Book Company, Calcutta, 12 1948. Pp. 31. Price six annas

A neatly printed and cheap, handy booklet which every reader would treasure.

**THE WEAPONLESS WARRIOR :** Edited by Mrs. Suraj Harbans Singh Thapar. Available from Civil and Military Gazette Ltd., Lahore.

An anthology of articles from the pen of writers like Roman Rolland, Lin Yutang, Radhakrishnan and others. It is good at times to read how other great minds have viewed the advent of Mahatma Gandhi, and what they consider to be the most significant aspects of his life.

**MODERN COTTAGES :** By G. V. S. Mani. Published by Mani Puthaka Salai, Swamimalai, S. India 1948. Pp. iv + 80. Price Rs. 5.

There are altogether 80 designs in this book from which the would-be owner of a house may choose one to suit his purse and taste. The buildings cover a floor-space from 600 to 2500 sq. ft., and as the plan and elevation of each is given, we are sure the book will prove useful and practical to the average middle-class householder.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**OUR EDUCATION :** By Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay. National Council of Education, Bengal. Pages 156. Price Rs. 3.

In advanced countries of the world education, as one of the essential nation-building factors, has a legitimate claim upon the patient thought of the brainy people as well as upon a fair share of the public exchequer. At the dawn of independence India stands in dire need for both. The author of the volume under reference has had a long experience of educational administration in Bengal and personal knowledge of educational systems abroad. As a professor of Anthropology he has made a special study of the aborigines of India and their educational requirements. A man of independent views Professor Chattopadhyay has criticized the Wardha and the Sargent schemes of education and offered counter-suggestions on some important points. That he has not tamely accepted

the Wardha scheme in toto though it is associated with the hallowed name of Bapuji shows his courage of conviction. His arguments have force, and the book deserves careful perusal by the educated public.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

**THE ESSENTIAL UNITY OF ALL RELIGIONS:**  
By Dr. Bhagavan Das, M.A., D.Litt. Published by the  
Ananda Publishing House, Benares. Third Edition  
Pp. 625. Price Rs. 7-8.

When this book first appeared in 1932 it was reviewed by me in the form of an article in the *Vedanta Kesari* of Madras. Then articles were written and talks were given by me on the basis of this masterly work. I am now glad to see its third edition in which it is almost double the first. The book has also been highly appreciated abroad. Captain Russell Lloyd Jones of U.S.A. happened to get a copy of its second edition and on perusal liked it so much that he bought up all the copies available and presented them free to leading persons of all countries. Captain Jones appraises rightly the book thus: "This compilation of texts from all great religions is a work of rare scholarship and tireless research. It is one of the long awaited books of the world, and one of overwhelming importance in the present crisis confronting mankind . . ." In the first chapter the learned author wisely points out that Asiatic thought is eminently coloured by religion as modern European thought by science, and then traces the unity underlying both. He rightly urges that in order to promote the cause of world peace what is needed most is to recognize the eternal unity existing in the essentials of all religions. All the seven chapters of the book are devoted to bring out the essential unity of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Taoism, Judaism, and other world religions with appropriate quotations from respective scriptures. The texts are quoted in the original languages and given in Roman characters with English translations. It is shown clearly that the conceptions of God, heaven, and hell, origin of world and nature of man, method of worship, prayer and meditations and in fact all fundamentals of the great religions are in essence identical, only the language vary. That the Vedas, the Bible, the Quran, Zendavesta, Old Testament, Tripitaka, Tao-Teh-King and other scriptures—all agree in essentials is very carefully established leaving no room for doubt. Dr. F. L. Riley's *The Bible of Bibles* and Prof. R. E. Hume's *Treasure-House of Living Religions* are two remarkable books on the same subject. But Dr. Das's book, under review, surpasses these two noteworthy works in many respects. It is a very valuable and scholarly work and indispensable for a comparative study of religions. It is regrettable however that profuse annotations and quotations have marred its readability which should have been maintained for the sake of wider circulation.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**AUROBINDO—THE PROPHET OF PATRIOTISM:** By Hemendra Prosad Ghose. Published by A. K. Mitter, 12/10 Goa Bagan Street, Calcutta 9. Pp. 49. Price Re. 1.

Sri Hemendra Prosad Ghose, doyen of Indian journalists, has in the course of 40 pages recalled the present generations of politically-conscious people in India to the days when Aurobindo Ghosh was a leader of political thought, of "secret activities" that erupted into the world's attentions on the 30th April, 1908,

with burst of the bomb at Muzaffarpore in Bihar. Hemendra Babu can write and speak of the times with knowledge having been an editorial writer of the *Bande Mataram*, the English-language daily of Calcutta that made history in India in course of two years only, 1906-1908.

In the first page of his book Hemendra Babu says that "it was politics" which brought him and Aurobindo Ghosh "together," and in this small brochure he has tried to indicate certain of the personal and impersonal influences that hastened the development of aggressive nationalism in India of which Aurobindo Ghosh was a prophet and organiser both.

The present generations do not know that Aurobindo Ghosh was a consistent critic of the then Congress politics of public gatherings, of prayers and petitions. Hemendra Babu has just referred to this phase of his life, raising hopes of knowledge that are left unsatisfied. We wait for a fuller history from his pen, as he remains, perhaps, one of the last witnesses of that glorious period.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

**NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE SERIES:**  
*Power and Fuel.* Published by Vora and Co. Publishers Ltd., Bombay 2. 1947. Price Rs. 6.

The Sub-committee on Power and Fuel, under the auspices of the National Planning Committee has presented their report on the present state of power supply in India from all the sources, i.e., coal, oil and hydro-electricity. It has also stressed the handicaps from which the power supply system in India suffers and has analysed the charges at which power, at present, is made available to the industries. The rate has been found to be abnormally high, so much so, that most industries which are based on cheap power supply cannot be developed at all. The reason for this has been not so much the lack of resources in the shape of material or man power but a subtle hostility on the part of the Government which was at the helm of affairs in the past.

In view of the paucity of petroleum and coal, and the need for conservation of the latter for metallurgical and chemical purposes, hydro-electricity developed from the running streams in all the provinces of India appears to be the most important and unfailing source. The necessary conditions for developing hydro-electricity as well as the requisite statutory provisions have also been discussed by the framers of the report. One of the most important findings of the Sub-committee, with which we are in full agreement, is that the entire enterprise of production as well as supply of this energy should be considered as Public Utility Concern, owned, controlled and managed by the Government in the interests not only of big industries but also of rural consumers and peasants. India has, so far, developed only 2 per cent of the potential hydro-power and at that, it is feeding so many industries; with the further development of 70 to 80 per cent of hydro-power India can reasonably hope to become an advanced industrial country.

While going through the report one feels that the Sub-committee favours steady but cautious and systematic pace for undertaking the contemplated hydro-developments; but, the Government seems to be hustling the paces at the present time. This may lead us to wrong paths, unless the recommendations of the Sub-committee are born carefully in mind.

KANANGOPAL BAGCHI



**PAPERS IN ECONOMICS** (Silver Jubilee Memorial Volume) : Edited by Prof. C. N. Vakil, School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay. Pages 262. Price not mentioned.

The contributors to this volume have all been students of the School of Economics and Sociology, Bombay University, and some of them held distinguished position in life. There are altogether twenty essays—five on employment, four on agriculture, three on industries, five on finance and three on other miscellaneous subjects. 'The Limitations of Full Employment' by Prof. J. J. Anjaria and 'Price Flexibility and Employment' by Mr. K. S. Krishnaswamy deserve special mention. Mr. N. G. Abhayankar's 'Stabilization of Agricultural Prices' gives a plan for the future Indian agriculture which, properly worked out together with large-scale industrialization, can solve the problem of employment of all able-bodied persons in the country. In 'Stabilization of Agricultural Prices,' Prof. M. L. Dantwala suggests a system of statutory forward-prices with compensatory payments by Government to producers when actual prices fall below their prices. Mr. V. V. Sayanna's 'Land Colonization' is an interesting study of the State efforts in Madras Presidency for the settlement of ex-service men. Mr. G. L. Mehta invites attention to dearth of managerial efficiency in the country and suggests improvements and actions by all interested in industrial uplift. In the Finance section, Dr. D. T. Zakdawala in 'Post-war Finance in India,' does not show much optimism for the future but at the same time expresses hope that future will be fairly good if Central and Provincial finances are handled with care and caution for planned production. Messrs. D. N. Maluste and M. S. Nudkarni's essays on 'Joint Stock Banking in India' and 'Banking Legislation in India' respectively are illuminating on subjects they deal with. In the Miscellaneous section, Mr. J. E. Castellino's article on 'The People's Railways' deserves special mention for lucidity of treatment of a vast subject in short compass.

The editor of this useful and scholarly publication is to be congratulated for his nice selection and compilation on the burning economic topics of the day in which statesmen, scholars and ordinary citizens are equally interested.

A. B. DUTTA

**CONFLICT** : By Amir Ali. Published by National Information and Publications Ltd. Price Rs. 3-8.

The unforgettable incidents of the '42 August Movement in India have provided the background of quite a number of short stories and novels, published in journals or in book-forms. All the provinces have seen such incidents in varied local colours attached to them. *Conflict*, which closes with a vivid portrayal of a certain local phase of the Movement, narrates the gradual development of the mind of a young village boy coming to the city of Bombay to receive his college education through a series of conflicting ideas and situations.

The book is lucidly written with a powerful grasp on not only the gross realities of life but also the finer sentiments. Though there is nothing remarkable about the handling of the story, nor anything outstanding about the technique of presentation, the story has been faithfully and appealingly revealed.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

**THE SILVER PALM** : By G. P. Hall. Thacker and Co., Bombay. Pp. 92. Price Rs. 2-8.

A crisp narrative of the dope traffic—an enjoyable story with plenty of movement and adventure, a good companion in a long rail journey.

J. M. DATTA

## BENGALI

**TRAYI** (Valmiki, Kalidas, Rabindranath) : By Sri Sashibhusan Das Gupta. Sri Guru Library, 204 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.

This is a valuable contribution to recent Bengali literary criticism. To understand Tagore thoroughly, one has to study the great Sanskrit classics. But such study has not been undertaken by our modern scholars. In the present volume Dr. Das Gupta has given us a comparative study of the three greatest poets of India. His masterly analysis is enlivened by real critical appreciation.

**SHIKARER KATHA** : By Sri Bhupendra Chandra Sinha. Samskriti Baidhak, 17 Panditua Place, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.

The author, Maharaja of Susang, in Mymensingh, near to the Garo Hills, is not only a skilled *shikari*, but also a lover of wild nature and wild animals. The book under review is rich in narrative interest as well as occasional descriptive beauty.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

## HINDI

**SWATANTRA KI OR** : By Haribhan Upadhyaya. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Connaught Circus, New Delhi Pp 301. Price Rs. 4-8.

This is a revised and enlarged edition of the well-known author's work, *Towards Freedom* which first appeared several years ago, when we were still striving to secure Self-government. It was then an inspiration to many a servant of the country, it should be a constant companion of the latter now when we are desirous of shaping our destiny in accordance with true democratic principles, as envisaged and interpreted by Gandhiji—that monarch among democrats! Shri Haribhan, with his characteristic clarity of thought and vision has given us a classic on the ethics of freedom. Every patriotically-minded citizen should have a copy of *Swatantra-ki Or* on his shelf to enthuse and energise him for the service of his motherland—the cradle of the highest ideals of life, individual as well as collective. The modern politician may find fault with the author's ideology, but the patriot will embrace it with appreciation.

G. M.

## GUJARATI

**SABAL BHUMI GUJARAT** : By Gokuldas D. Raichura. Published by the Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, Limited, Baroda. 1948. Illustrated. Cloth-bound. Pp. 270. Price Rs. 2.

Kathiawad is the home of romance, chivalry and courage. The tribes inhabiting that ancient land have till today kept up the tradition of these manly qualities, and the life and adventures of the fourteen tribes like Ahirs, Mers, Rabaris, Waghers, Patanvadias, Bhils, Kols, Kharwas and others, are most informative and interesting to say the least. Mr. Raichura writes from intimate contact with the mode of life lived by them; in fact, he has become one of them from infancy and participated in their perils and adventures. They are martial tribes and though circumstances have made them serfs and agriculturists, the old spirit lives and comes out whenever occasion requires it. Gujarat is strong (*sabal*) because of them and Mr. Raichura has rendered signal service to literature and the province by inditing this remarkable book.

K. M. J.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Yeats and His Circle

William Butler Yeats is perhaps the greatest of the Irish poets. Some critics would give the genius of Æ (George William Russell) the higher place. Both men came in their younger days under the influence of Theosophy and the attraction of India for both persisted. R. M. Fox writes in *The Argyan Path*:

W. B. Yeats—the greatest of our Irish poets—died at Mentone in January 1939, but only recently has it been found possible to carry out his wish to be buried in Drumcliffe graveyard in his native Sligo, beneath the shadow of the massive Ben Bulbin Mountain. Yeats was the leader of the "Celtic Twilight" period of the Irish literary movement, about the beginning of the century. He was, too, the founder and chief inspirer of the Abbey Theatre in Dublin and a poet of such distinction that he received the coveted Nobel Prize.

Poet, essayist and dramatist, he was, besides, an unforgettable personality. Well-proportioned, he stood over six feet and had a massive, finely-shaped head with white, waving, leonine locks.

He entered the Abbey Theatre in the same lordly way, that theatre which, with Lady Gregory, he had created and where, on the stage, he had faced angry mobs to demand a hearing for the plays of J. M. Synge and Sean O'Casey.

In 1899 he began his dramatic work in Dublin with the Irish Literary Theatre, producing a play of his own, *The Countess Cathleen*, which was fiercely denounced at the time. But it was not until 1904 that the Abbey Theatre was established through the generosity of Miss L. Horniman of the Manchester Repertory Theatre.

Even before the Abbey Theatre was launched—in 1902—his best known play *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* was produced in Dublin.

Yeats was never much at home in crowds. In his earlier years he was a tall, willowy poet with a stray lock of dark hair that hung over one eye. His portrait now hangs in the foyer of the Abbey.

Another distinguished contemporary of Yeats was G. W. Russell (A. E.) who edited *The Irish Statesman* from his watch-tower in the Plunkett House. Yeats first interested Sir Horace Plunkett—a co-operative enthusiast—in A. E. and when that man of affairs annexed Russell, he was said to have grafted a sprig of poetry onto his economic tree. A. E. was poet, philosopher and painter besides being an authority on the practical details of agricultural co-operation. A. E. looked like a burly farmer with a touch of the artist-craftsman after the William Morris pattern.

Yeats and A. E. had the Grand Manner and their passing marked the end of an epoch.

Yeats gave precise instructions concerning his final resting-place. He wrote:—

Under bare Ben Bulbin's head  
In Drumcliffe Churchyard Yeats is laid.  
An ancestor was rector there  
Long years ago; a church stands near;  
By the road an ancient cross,  
No marble, no conventional phrase;  
On limestone quarried near the spot  
By his command these words are cut :  
*Cast a cold eye  
On life, on death  
Horseman, pass by*

This verse is a good example of his later style, that hard bare use of words which took the place of his earlier shadowy, romantic poetry.

He was a man of proud bearing an aristocratic spirit, with an air of reserve.

Yet this proud, aloof, aristocratic man came out on the side of the Dublin tenement dwellers in the great Labour struggle which rent the city in 1913. He poured scorn on those people who prevented the hungry children of the strikers being sent to homes in English cities on the ground that it would harm them spiritually to leave Dublin. Others said it would only make them more discontented on their return. So they were compelled to remain in conditions of wretchedness and squalor. The indignation of Yeats was paralleled by that of G. W. Russell. Both wrote on the Labour side. For some time there had been an estrangement between the two men but their common sympathy with the poor and their hatred of hypocrisy brought them together again in close friendship. This should be remembered to the credit of Yeats as a man when tributes are paid to him as a poet.

In his early poetry his love of the Sligo country is evident.

The names of Knocknarea, Lissadell, Dromahaire and many others familiar to those who know the district, shine out with a magical glory. Eva Gore-Booth—second only to Yeats as a lyric poet—has also written with the same affection of the Sligo country which was her home land.

The foamless waves are falling soft  
on the sand at Lissadell  
And the world is wrapped in quiet  
and a floating dream of gray;  
But the wild winds of the twilight blow  
straight from the haunted hill  
And the stars come out of the darkness  
and shine over Knocknarea....

The stars will shine now over Yeats's grave with his own words cut deep in the stone, just as his poetry cut deep in the hearts of his countrymen, giving them fire and courage in the dark days of the national struggle when, with Eva Gore-Booth and her sister, Constance Markievicz, so many could say:—

I have seen Maeve of the battles wandering over the hill.

Yeats put some of the towering beauty of the Sligo mountains into his poems and Eva Gore-Booth added the gracious quality of her "Little Waves of Breeny," one of the loveliest things she wrote:—

The great waves of the Atlantic sweep storming on  
 their way  
 Shining green and silver with the hidden herring  
 shoal  
 But the little waves of Breffny have drenched my  
 heart in spray  
 And the little waves of Breffny go stumbling through  
 my soul.

Eva Gore-Booth died in June 1926, some years before Yeats. When they went, all the wild sweet poetry of their time vanished to give place to the petty poetising of the cautious bureaucracy who set the tone of the post-revolutionary era in Ireland.

Yeats stood for the truth of the artist which stands alongside every other truth in the world. For Yeats and his contemporaries were servants of truth and of beauty in the era of struggle.

### Kashmir

*The New Review* observes:

The Kashmir incident has grown into a festering nuisance, and has been a record of blunders on all sides. In the early stages, India's appeal to the U.N.O. and the declaration that the Maharaja's accession had to be ratified by a popular referendum were unduly hurried steps of a young government in the first flush of idealism. India's acceptance of a cease-fire line before the disbandment of the Azad army was equally precipitate and opened the way to a possible division of Kashmir.

Pakistan was more realist from its point of view; instigation of raiders and marauders, invasion by Pakis-

tan forces, denials of complicity were devious but effective manoeuvres to secure the advantages of actual possession. Aggression was solemnly denied at first, but had to be admitted officially; help to raiders, control of the Azad forces, incorporation of these forces into the Pakistan army built up to a clear case of aggression.

Pakistan followed the logic of the Partition which was designed to reduce to a minimum the non-Muslim patches under Muslim rule and *vice-versa*. The Congress had applied the principle when giving up the Congress-dominated North-West Frontier Province and the division of Bengal and Punjab. In the case of Kashmir, it invoked, and rightly so, the Maharaja's accession and the contiguity of Kashmir to the Union. Such an argument was indeed sufficient to justify Delhi, but it was not enough to appease Karachi or to make a clear-cut solution at Lake Success.

The U. N. Commission did not prove very helpful. By dint of conflicting explanations and promises, it clouded the issue. It acted as a surveying commission busy on a rectification of frontiers, and it avoided adjudicating the rights and wrongs of the dispute. The Truman-Attlee move to urge arbitration met with no success in Delhi. India is not prepared to submit to arbitration points which have already been settled and in particular she insists that the 'Azad Kashmir Forces' be withdrawn and disbanded before she herself calls back her occupation forces and contemplates a referendum. The UNCIP is now preparing a report to the Security Council. The results of all tractations up to now is a cease-fire line nobody wishes to turn into a front line.





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# Devaluation

The same *Review* observes:

Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. Attlee went arm in arm to eat humble pie at Washington. Nine times since 1948 had Sir Stafford denied that it would happen; yet it happened last week. The sterling was devalued under the pressure of irresistible forces. The explanation can be made clear enough if it is remembered that trade between nations is reducible to direct or indirect barter. On July 1, 1944, it had been considered that in terms of commodities and services 20 shillings could and would buy as much as 4.3 dollars, both in Britain and the U.S.A. This was the official exchange rate. In course of time, it became apparent that 20s were buying less in Britain than 4.03 dollars did buy in America; in other words the internal purchasing power of the pound was getting smaller than its official purchasing power (after being exchanged against dollars) in the U.S.A. Hence the British people made the most of such a good bargain; they did their best to get dollars whilst the Americans grew allergic to the pound. Finally Americans who are not slow at renouncing bad business forced the issue; they gradually refused to accommodate their Anglo-Saxon brothers and imposed an adjustment between the purchasing powers of the currencies.

How did the English banking and currency authorities succeed in keeping up the game for so long? The answer is that the British are good at financial manœuvring (though they enjoy no monopoly) and at working together when in a tight corner. They pooled their dollar and gold assets in Britain, in the Empire in the sterling area, which pool acted as a common reserve of banks or as the reserve pool of battling armies. They also brought into play tariff variations, rationing, licensing, all measures nations are wont to use as a defence against unpleasant foreigners. They even obtained aid from America who was not anxious to kill a goose which might later on lay the golden eggs but was rather keen on keeping the bird in fighting form. But finally the strain became excessive, and sterling pride had to be sacrificed to make international business a little smoother.

But why this growing disparity between the currencies? Whence this increasing weakness of the pound? It all came from the disparity in productivity of exchangeable goods and services between British and American economies. Deterioration of industrial equipment and labour efficiency, diversion of productivity to procurement of social benefits, (full employment, free medical services, pensions, etc.), timidity of capital; summarily such were the main causes which diminished productivity (not production) in Britain relatively to the U.S.A. so that 20 shillings could not fetch for fastidious Ameri-

can purchasers in Britain the equivalent of what British purchasers could buy in the States for 4.03 dollars. Hence the hunger and scarcity of dollars in Britain and redundancy of pounds in America leading to a stress which broke down all official barriers.

## RUPEE DEVALUATION

India had to follow Britain. This not only because of sterling balances in London and of business dealings with the sterling area, but because of similar factors lowering productivity. A typical illustration can be had from the latest report of the Bengal Steel Corporation. Comparing 1942 with 1948 the report is striking; the number of employees went up from 3,700 to 6,000, (an increase of 45 per cent), the wage bill from Rs. 23 to Rs. 56 per ton; the production fell by 7,000 tons. The wages increased from Rs. 1,200 per head per annum to Rs. 1,740 (nearly 40 per cent), whilst production per head fell from 51 to 31 tons (a decrease of more than 40 per cent). And most of the industrial concerns tell the same tale whilst the number of government servants, the refugee problem, and the Kashmir incident added to the expenses economically unproductive. On the other hand, international trade did badly. The Commerce Minister publicly denounced inferior quality, lack of standardization, adulteration, short measure, faulty packing etc. which spoiled the country's name and lost us much of the market in Australia, South Africa, Iran, East Africa and other places in pepper, turmeric, cashew-nuts, textiles, leather, and even tea. In such circumstances, the rupee which had fallen to a four-anna level in India could not keep its former buying power in foreign countries and its exchange rate with other currencies.

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## Adult Education

J. C. Kumarappa writes in *Gram Udyog Patrika*:

With the advent of political freedom, the Government is turning its attention to various types of nation-building activities. One of the basic activity, especially in a country like ours, steeped in illiteracy, is education. Many of the provincial governments are carrying on campaigns of social education and adult education. These campaigns are pushed forward with the aid of educational films, propaganda material, and with a drive for literacy. The experience gained so far shows that, as far as adults are concerned, bulk of them revert back into illiteracy in course of time. To avoid this, certain means are being adopted to keep up the knowledge gained through a regular supply of books from village libraries and publication of popular literature. This form of educating the people is, at the best, one for the purpose of meeting the present exigency.

Adult education of this type largely centres round liquidation of illiteracy and as has already been said, the campaign does not succeed cent per cent. Hence major part of the finance spent on this work is not represented by permanent gains. Such education of grown-ups should not be content with pure literacy. True education should prepare the people for life and so it should centre round some activity of the individual who is learning. For instance, if it is an oil press man whom we wish to educate, he should be taught subjects closely related to his occupation. This may have a literacy backing, but unless it is definitely related to his work, his education will have no stability. It is because of this that Gandhiji has formulated a system of education which became commonly known as "Nai Talim."

Nai Talim is a system of education calculated to develop the whole personality of the individual. It gives information correlated to some activity, preferably an economic creative work. This system will have a stability of its own.

Having taken root in the individual's life in an activity which has become a second nature to the person, such education will be helpful in developing a culture, which will pervade the life of the nation ultimately. While the present programme of adult education is superficial and provides an exterior veneer of education, it really does not affect the individual personality; but education through Nai Talim moulds the character, thinking and expression of the individual. And in this way it becomes not only a means of developing the pupil himself but becomes the mainstay of the nation's culture. Being a nation-building activity we have to be extremely careful in choosing the means and directing its channels.

The introduction of mass education will, therefore, involve close understanding of our rural people. Unfortunately today, those in charge of education have little or no contact with the masses. Hence the present machinery may have to be scrapped or entirely rebuilt if mass education of the type we advocate is to be introduced.

Adult education of the type recommended will need a strong group of teachers who are capable of thinking for themselves and who will be able to gain the confidence of the villagers. At the present time there is a great dearth of capable individuals who will take to this profession. Teaching profession, under Nai Talim, is a nation-building occupation. It needs men of devotion, sacrifice and vision. Unless a sufficient number of young men and women come forward to dedicate themselves to this noble profession, not only from altruistic considerations but also from a patriotic urge, it will be difficult for us carry through any programme of education for the masses. Under these conditions there can be no appeal stronger than the cause of the nation to call young men and women to serve the country at the present time. Without their help no organisation or artificial programme can help us in fulfilling this need.

We hope, therefore, that the young people of our country will come forward to serve the country at this juncture in this field of activity and thus help to build up a strong India which will be worthy of the freedom that we have acquired.

At the present time many efforts are put forward to educate the people through what has come to be known as constructive work. These centres are striving hard against many difficulties. In many such centres of constructive work, in the different provinces the one common factor is that the help given by the Government is both halting and much stunted. These constructive work institutions, engaged in nation-building activities, call for generous public support backed by a definite drive from the Government. These two are lacking and the workers are struggling against odds. If our new-found freedom is to mean anything, it should be based on the creation of a citizenship, which would be capable of shouldering the responsibility that freedom brings in its wake. To this end nation-building activities should be considered fundamental in a country which has recently attained its political freedom. We trust, therefore, the Government will turn their attention now to Constructive work and support, not only the existing centres, but open several such new centres all over the country to promote adult education.

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### The Story of the Graal

Ethelwyn M. Amery writes in *The Theosophist*:

"Heal ye the history of the most holy vessel that is called Graal, wherein the precious blood of the Saviour was received on the day that He was put on rood and crucified in order that He might redeem His people from the pains of hell."

Such are the opening words of an old French story of Perceval le Gallois, knight though not of the company of the Round Table, to whom, because of the exceeding purity of his life, was granted the vision of the Graal, which bestowed the greatest happiness on whomsoever saw its glory. The story of the Graal appears in English literature in connection with the cycle of stories of King Arthur and his knights, translated from the French by Sir Thomas Malory, and printed by Caxton—one of the earliest printed books in England. But the story is far older than Malory; the French stories from which he drew his materials date back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Some were written by Frenchmen, some in Latin by French and English writers and historians, and one of the most important was written in French by Walter Map, who was Archdeacon of Oxford and chaplain to Henry II. Latterly some students have said that Map did not write many of the documents ascribed to him; but whether he wrote them or not, they were written by someone who lived in the latter half of the twelfth century, and who thoroughly believed in the truth and importance of the things whereof he wrote. But none of the twelfth century writers make any claim to originality in their story; one and all declare that what they write is history, handed down to them from their fathers, and bearing with it prophecy of good times to return in the distant future, when righteousness shall be established and men shall be once more deemed worthy to see the mysteries of God.

What, then, is this Graal, to which so much importance is attached? Old Keltic legends tell us of a magic cup or Graal, from which men were miraculously fed and which was never exhausted, and with this cup was

associated a bleeding lance which was credited with miraculous powers of healing. These old pagan ideas could not be eliminated from men's minds when the formulae of their creed changed, especially when many became Christian by compulsion, and received baptism at the command of the king or prince of their tribe; and so by degrees a Christian significance became attributed to them—the Graal becomes the "Saynt Graal," the holy cup "from which our Lord drank at that last sad supper with His own"; the lance was the one with which His side was pierced at the Crucifixion; and the history of their wanderings and marvellous adventures on the way from Palestine to England from the subject-matter of the older Graal manuscripts. Later stories deal with the quest of the Graal and the fate of the knights who sought it.

While Geoffrey of Monmouth was writing his history of the Britons, which, although he professes to have manuscript authority for his statements, is really a collection of border legends concerning a British King Arthur, who vanquished the Saxon invaders, and made his Court the haven whither all who were oppressed by the heathen might flee and find redress, the Graal story was attracting much attention among the Keltis in France and the Channel Islands. The story became a favourite among the bards of the Northern French provinces, as did also the story of Arthur and his knights; and when the Graal long since disappeared, no man knew whither, was to be sought and found, who were so likely to undertake the quest successfully as those knights of Arthur's Table, sworn

To reverence the King, as if he were  
Their conscience, and their conscience as their King,  
To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,  
To ride abroad redressing human wrong?

And as the names of some of Arthur's knights were the same as those who were already connected with the Graal story, the two stories became interwoven, and so in Malory, and later in Tennyson, we find them welded into one whole. Such is briefly the origin which scholars ascribe to the legend.



# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The House of Tata—Sixty Years of Industrial Development in India

Under the above heading, Sir Frederick James writes in *The Asiatic Review*, July, 1948 :

The House of Tata was founded sixty years ago, but the founder of the firm, Jamshedji Nusserwanji Tata, was born in 1839, just after Macaulay had left India to write his famous *History of England*.

This paper, therefore, is partly the story of India's industrial development, and partly the story of one of the most remarkable figures of the nineteenth century.

There are plenty of books about Viceroy, Governors and missionaries, the political history of the Indian continent, and India's social, religious, and rural problems ; but there is a scarcity of literature on India's industrial development and on the lives of Indian pioneers in science, industry and education.

Jamshedji Tata came of an unbroken priestly line, and after passing out from Elphinstone College in 1858, the year the British Crown assumed sovereignty over India, he was articled to a solicitor, but shortly after, without completing his articles, joined his father's trading firm, whose business was general merchandise. He took a special interest in developing trade with China, exporting and importing tea, silk goods, camphor, copper, brass, and Chinese gold, and visited the firm's Hong-Kong and Shanghai branches to gain experience. When the American Civil War caused one of those booms in the cotton market to which Bombay is prone, he and his father joined the Asiatic Banking Corporation which was floated on the high tide of prosperity, and the son came to London to establish an agency for the firm. While he was here, the tide ebbed, and with it the Bank, and he found himself in an extraordinary position in a strange land, with credit impaired and a bagful of worthless scrip. The frank and able way in which he faced his creditors and the banks greatly impressed everyone, and they appointed him liquidator of his own firm on £20 a month. On his return to Bombay, something was salvaged from the wreck, but his father had to retrench severely. Incidentally the firm's credit was re-established during the next three years. A share in the lucrative contract for the commissariat of Napier's expedition to Abyssinia in 1868 restored the family fortunes, and Tata was able to spend four years in England, where he was fired with the ambition to manufacture textiles in India.

### THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

When he came back to Bombay, he, with three others, bought a liquidated oil mill and converted it into a spinning and weaving mill, naming it Alexandra after the then Princess of Wales. Two years later it was sold at a fair profit, and he returned to Lancashire to make a much more intensive study of the textile technique and organization. The result of this trip was a deepened conviction that India was a suitable and splendid field for the development of this industry. At that time it was wholly unknown to the city of Bombay. Most of the existing fifteen textile mills were inefficient

and out of date, and conditions of labour were bad. Tata therefore decided to establish new and up-to-date mills at Nagpur, in the Central Provinces, hitherto an undeveloped area, on the edge of great cotton-growing fields. So in 1874 the Central India Spinning and Weaving Company was floated, with a capital of £115,000. The new mills were opened on January 1, 1877, and called the "Empress Mills" in honour of Queen Victoria, who was proclaimed Empress of India on the same day. They were the first to incorporate "air-conditioning" apparatus, "ring-spindles," and automatic sprinklers.

Mr. Tata was also the first to introduce a bonus system and a provident fund, and to provide amenities for his employees.

The mills prospered and expanded, and so did Nagpur. I have not time to describe Tata's subsequent career in detail, or to recount all the incidents of his astonishing life. But the Empress Mills laid the foundations of his personal fortune, and those of the House of Tata. He enjoyed to the full his growing wealth and the amenities it commanded. He was generous and hospitable. He travelled far and observed and acquired much. Yet wealth to him was never an end in itself. He expected every industry he established to pay good dividends, but he also thought all the time of the prosperity it might bring to his country. He wanted to make India a great industrial power, and to this aim he brought a restless and inventive energy, a prophetic insight, and a high conception of service.

### TATA'S THREE CONCLUSIONS

During his many travels he compared his country with the great industrial nations of the West and came to three conclusions :

First, that no country could become industrially great which did not manufacture iron and steel.

Second, that no sustained economic growth is possible without the aid of science and technical education.

Third, that the prosperity of Bombay, of which he was inordinately proud, depended upon the provision of cheap electric power which would release it from its bondage to the distant coalfields of Bengal and Bihar.

## THE ARYAN PATH

Editor : Sophia Wadia

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Montaigne said that "a powerful imagination produces the event." From Tata's imagination flowed three great and practical projects : the iron and steel works at Jamshedpur ; the great hydro-electric system which makes Bombay virtually independent of coal ; and the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, which has produced some of India's finest scientists and technicians.

The story of each is a romance in itself. It took Tata twenty-five years of investigation and prospecting before he found the village of Sakchi in the jungles of Bihar, near ore-fields, within easy reach of the Jheria coal-fields, only 150 miles from Calcutta, and with an unfailing water supply from two rivers at the junction of which it was situated.

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#### GREAT CONCEPTIONS

As early as 1875 Tata foresaw the value of water-power to industry, and before his death he had made plans for driving the Bombay mills by combined electric and hydraulic energy. The foundation-stone of the Lonavla dam was only laid by Lord Sydenham in 1911, and in 1915, seven years after Tata's death, Lord Willington first switched on the power.

Tata's ideas for the development of scientific and technical education were formulated in 1889, as the result of a speech by Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, in his capacity of Chancellor of the University. They were accepted by the Government of India with commendable celerity ten years later in 1899, and with them an unconditional gift of £231,000. But it was not until 1911, seven years after his death, that the Maharaja of Mysore laid the foundation-stone of the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore, and thus the first students were admitted.

Apart from these, Tata's interests were many and varied. He created an endowment which was subsequently developed and enlarged by his sons for financing training abroad for the I.C.S. and the professions ; he applied the findings of science to the growth of cotton and other crops ; he introduced sericulture into India and was thus the pioneer of an industry for which Mysore has since become famous ; he floated a company for the reclamation of Back Bay ; he experimented in deep-sea trawling and prepared a scheme for refrigeration on a large scale ; he anticipated the needs of modern travel by building the Taj Mahal Hotel at a cost of £300,000, at a time when such a venture was regarded by his contemporaries as a "white elephant"; he started and operated an Indian shipping line between Bombay and the Far East, until it was driven off the high seas by the deadly and dubious competition of established shipping companies.

Although his achievements during his lifetime were many, his greatest visions were only realized after his death.

He was, in every sense of the word, one of the makers of modern India.

He saw Indian industry emerge from its primitive simplicity and begin to forge ahead. If today India ranks as one of the great industrial powers of the world, though still far behind many Western countries, with fewer reserves of skilled man-power and natural resources, it is largely due to Jamshedji Tata—eminent Victorian and business patriot.

The first cotton mill was established in Bombay in 1851 ; twenty years later there were twelve, mostly owned by Parsees. Textile manufacture was the first large-scale industry to be established with Indian capital and management, and in its development the House of Tata first built up its resources and experience.

The firm of Tatas was established in 1887 as a private trading concern, with Tata, his two sons, Dorab and Ratan, and a cousin, R. D. Tata, as members. It had a modest capital of £1,575. India was then on the eve of a great industrial revolution. The inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869 had opened the gateway to India. Railway and road communications were spreading, great irrigation works constructed, canal colonisation started, and a system of famine relief developed. The years 1858 to 1900 have been called the period of the "opening-up" of India. This period also saw the development of the cotton and jute mill industries, the opening of the Bengal coalfields, the establishment of engineering works and the rapid extension of tea and coffee plantations. With the turn of the century the pace accelerated, and paper, brick, hardware, soap, cement, rice and flour milling, and many other industries grew in importance. India's power resources of coal and oil were augmented by great hydro-electric schemes, and, under the impetus of the Swadeshi movement, rural industries and handicrafts were once more encouraged and developed. The period between the two wars saw prosperity and depression alternating, following the general course of world trade.

I have pointed out that textile manufacture laid the foundation of the House of Tata. It is still one of its principal activities. Sixty years ago the Empress Mills were just established on a satisfactory dividend-paying basis ; then came the Swadeshi Mills, started in 1886 for the manufacture of finer cloth ; then the Ahmedabad Advance Mills, which reverted to Tata in 1903 as the result of foreclosing a mortgage, and the Tata Mills in 1913 completed the group, which today has 286,000 spindles, 7,100 looms, 37,000 employees, and a capital of £6½ millions.

#### THE STEEL INDUSTRY

In London, the name Tata is generally associated with steel. This key industry was not started without many difficulties, all of which were overcome. Once the raw materials were found, and the ideal site selected, the last obstacle was finance. Many lakhs of rupees had been spent in development, and Tatas decided to raise fresh capital in England. They failed. The City of London had little faith in the project.

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Fortunately India had just launched the Swadeshi movement, and it was decided to ask Indians to subscribe the necessary capital. The issue was announced and the result is best described in the words of a foreign observer: "From early morning till late at night the Tata offices in Bombay were besieged by an eager crowd of investors. Old and young, rich and poor, men and women, they came, offering their mite; and, at the end of three weeks, the entire capital required for the construction requirements, £1,630,000, was secured, every penny contributed by some 8,000 Indians."

In 1907, the Tata Iron and Steel Company was launched, and in 1914 steel was being produced on a commercial scale. The first World War saw an immense growth in range and output; the second World War extended this to armour plating and all kinds of special steels which protected the gallant Indian troops on many a battleground.

Tisco, as for short the company is called, owes much to the technicians who came from America and Europe in the early days. Today very few remain. Indians have been trained, many in the Jamshedpur Technical Institute, and of whose 310 students 210 now hold responsible jobs in the company, the direct and detailed management of which is now in the strong and capable hands of Sir J. J. Ghandy.

The works now produce sheets, plates, bars, struc-

turals, rails, sleepers, fish plates, wheels, tyres and axles for railways, and agricultural tools. There are also valuable by-products such as coal tar, sulphate of ammonia, and benzol. Then there are smaller companies located near the steel works and associated with them, which made tin plates, wire rods, nails, bolts and nuts, electric cables, steel mill rolls and castings. The Steel Company also has its own ore-mines, quarries, and collieries.

The manufacture of steel in what was once a Bihar village meant building a new town from scratch. In its planning the advice of the Sidney Webbs and Professors Hobhouse and Urwick of the London University was sought, and they laid down a scientific programme. Today Jamshedpur, so named by Lord Chelmsford in 1919, is a well-planned garden city of 150,000 inhabitants with its parks, gardens, ornamental lakes, controlled markets, hospitals and dispensaries, schools, dairy farms, cinemas, hostels, hotels, and now an Indian coffee house! The high standard of its public services may be due to the fact that Jamshedpur is run by the Company and has not had the luxury of a self-governing municipality! The capital cost of the town up to date is £2½ millions and the annual cost of administration is about £500,000.

#### HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER

The third pillar of the House of Tata and project of its founder is the hydro-electric group of companies, which produce today through their three great power stations one-third of the total electrical energy in India. Here again the City of London rejected the first attempt of the promoters to raise £1,500,000, and in 1910 the requisite capital for the first development stage was found in India. The first unit, the Tata Hydro-Electric Power Supply Company, began operations in 1915, the second, the Andhra Valley Power Supply Company,

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in 1932; and the third, the Tata Power Company, in 1937. Tata Sons Limited were the managing agents of these companies up to 1929, when, with a view to placing the management in the hands of an organization specializing in the operation of public utility companies, they entered into a partnership with the American and Foreign Power Company Incorporated, and a new company was formed called Tata Hydro-Electric Agencies Limited, which has been responsible for the operation of these great units for the past eighteen years.

The power generated is transmitted through a grid system over 275 route miles of line to Bombay and Poona, and is distributed to industrial concerns in Bombay City through 200 miles of underground cables. Power is supplied to textile mills and other industrial undertakings in Bombay and elsewhere, to the G.I.P. and B.B. and C.I. Railways for electric services, to B.E.S.T. and eight other distributing companies for retail distribution. In the year 1945-1946 the electricity supplied was 58 per cent more than that supplied in any pre-war year.

Cement is another basic industry pioneered by the House of Tata. The Indian Cement Company Limited was floated in 1912 with a paid-up capital of £200,000, with a factory at Porbandar in Kathiawar. A second company was established in Hyderabad in 1925. Other companies came into the field and in 1936, in order to improve production, consumption, and marketing, and to avoid uneconomic competition, a manufacturers' combine was brought about by the late F. E. Dimsbaw, known as the Associated Cement Company (A.C.C.) with a capital of £5½ millions, whose Chairman is Sir Homi Modji, happily with us today, who has taken a keen interest in the cement industry.

The House of Tata was also responsible in 1919 for promoting the New India Assurance Company Limited to meet the growing needs of the insuring public in India. Sir Dorabji Tata was its first Chairman. As New India is now an independent institution functioning under its own Board, I will say no more about it except that it is today the largest composite Indian assurance company transacting all classes of insurance business, with branches throughout India, the Middle East, and the Far East.

#### OIL MILLS

In 1918, the Tata Oil Mills Company was promoted to produce crude vegetable oils for export, and a mill was built at Ernakulam in the Cochin State. Unfortunately, as soon as production commenced the United States put on a prohibitive tariff in favour of the coconut industry of the Philippines, and closed the chief market for Indian oil. A complete change in policy was required and the company decided to produce finished goods for the Indian market. The first oil-refining and deodorizing plant in the country was installed, and in 1924 "Cocogem" was on the market; later "Pakav"—a vegetable oil substitute for ghee. Then came soap. It is not generally known that the annual per capita consumption of soap in India is 3 lb., compared with 20 lbs. in Great Britain and 25 lbs. in the U.S.A. So Tata went in for soap manufacture, whose advertisements are seen around Bombay, sometimes disfiguring the scenery of the countryside. First came the washing soap "501," and then high-grade toilet soaps, and other toilet preparations were prepared—hair oils, shampoos, shaving soap, Eau de Cologne, and perfumes. Tatas produced some of the best Eau de Cologne on the market, unhappily not available in Britain. Production outstripped capacity and the second mill was built in 1938 at Sewri near Bombay. With a rising standard of living, and a growing demand for these products, there is room for still greater expansion.

#### CHEMICALS

In the nineteenth century steel was the foundation of industrial progress; today it is chemicals. One of the more recent and difficult enterprises of the House of Tata is the manufacture of heavy chemicals. Tata Chemicals was floated in 1939, and the salt works at Okha, one of the Kathiawar ports in Baroda, were purchased. Orders for machinery were placed in Europe, Great Britain, and the U.S.A., but owing to the war deliveries were hindered and delayed. Some of the plant had exciting and romantic experiences before arriving in India. The works were constructed at Mithapur, an arid and lonely place a few miles from Okha. The task of putting up a highly technical plant and of building a new industrial town during the war was immensely difficult. But the first stage was completed in 1943, when soda-ash, caustic soda, bleaching powder, zinc chloride, liquid chlorine, magnesium chloride, and the useful epsom salts were produced. Nothing was more courageous or persevering than the efforts of those who first worked at the enterprise. They faced endless difficulties, but overcame them because, convinced that alkalis are "the germ cells of industry," they felt they were helping to give India the means whereby she could become a modern industrial State.

Plans for another great enterprise have now been made. An agreement has been reached with one of the largest dye-producing concerns in the world, Imperial Chemical Industries, by which that great organization makes available to Tatas the information and technical assistance necessary to establish in India a dyestuffs industry which will, after a period of years, be owned and controlled by Indians. Thus another important stage in the industrialization of India will be reached.

#### AIR SERVICES

One of the lesser-known romances of the House of Tata is the development of its air line, known as "Air-India." The centre of this story is our present Chairman, Mr. J. R. D. Tata, a keen and much experienced pilot. Up to 1930 there was no regular internal air service in India. In 1932, Tatas started an aviation department, with the late Mr. Neville Vincent in charge, and a weekly service between Karachi and Madras via Bombay was established. This started with two light single-engined aeroplanes, two pilots (of whom Mr. Vincent was one), one ground engineer, and a few unskilled assistants. Thanks to the energy, faith, technical skill, and organizing ability of both Mr. Tata and Mr. Vincent, the experiment succeeded.

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and even the Government of India became air-conscious. Services were increased and extended until in 1939, with the inauguration of the "all-up" Empire Air Mail Scheme, five services a week were being operated between Karachi and Colombo, two between Bombay and Delhi, and one between Bombay and Trivandrum via Goa and Cannanore. The war interrupted this development, aircraft were requisitioned, and the company was called on to perform emergency tasks, such as the evacuation of civilians from Baghdad in 1941. After the war larger machines were purchased from the U. S. Foreign Liquidation Commission in India, and air travel spread with astonishing speed. Today Air-India are operating daily services between Karachi and Colombo, Delhi and Bombay, Bombay and Calcutta, and Madras and Trivandrum; and the staff of 1,900 includes 60 pilots, 25 radio operators, and 50 air hostesses.

India is now to enter the field of international air transport, and a new company has been formed called "Air India International" in which the Government of India hold approximately 50 per cent of the shares. Its purpose is to establish a regular air service between London and Bombay, via Cairo and Geneva, with long-range, high-speed, four-engined aircraft of the most modern type. Air-India has been chosen to operate the service, and thus will have the honour of carrying the flag of the Indian Dominion on the first Indian regular service to arrive at Heath Row early next month. Incidentally, this represents an interesting experiment in joint State and private enterprise.

While on the subject of transport I may mention the Tata Locomotive and Engineering Company which was established in 1945, with a paid-up capital of £1½ millions, for the purpose of manufacturing locomotives and locomotive boilers, under contract with the Government of India. This company has also undertaken, in association with a well-known British concern, the manufacture of road rollers for Government's road development programme and has plans for other heavy engineering work, such as the manufacture of agricultural machinery and components for motor-cars and trucks.

Capital in India has, until recently, been shy and reluctant to take risks. In order to help investors and to finance sound industrial ventures, Tatas established in 1937 the Investment Corporation of India with a paid-up capital of £1 million odd. Among its subsidiary companies is the National Radio and Engineering Company, which has succeeded in manufacturing an inexpensive three-valve radio called "the people's set," and which, in association with a progressive British radio manufacturing concern, now proposes to manufacture a wide range of radio and inter-communication sets, components, and other ancillary items. Other subsidiaries are the Indian Standard Metal Company, which recovers virgin non-ferrous metals from scrap, converting them into alloys and bearing metals of various specifications, and Pickers Limited, which manufactures pickers for textile mills, hitherto imported from abroad.

The Investment Corporation, with Tata Sons, has also promoted the Investa Industrial Corporation, with a paid-up capital of £75,000, to promote small-scale but important industries, such as the manufacture of lathes, drilling, polishing, punching, and shearing machines, and enamel hollow-ware.

I have hardly time to mention Tata Aircraft, formed during the war, first to make Tiger Moths for the Ministry of Aircraft Production, then Horsa Gliders, and then, when those projects were abandoned, to assemble and overhaul aircraft and engines

for the Air Forces in the Indian and S.E.A. Commands. The company is still in existence, making a final disposal of American surplus aircraft stores.

#### "CONSTRUCTIVE PHILANTHROPY"

I have almost completed my rapid survey, but there are two matters I wish to mention before I conclude.

First, when Jamshedji Tata founded the Empress Mills, he laid down as a principle that the poorly paid worker is not the cheapest, and that decent wages, healthy conditions of work, and education are the key to efficiency. To that principle the House of Tata has endeavoured to adhere. The well-planned towns of Mithapur and Jamshedpur, the workers' colonies in other centres, the profit-sharing scheme of the Iron and Steel Company represent a new deal for labour, often ahead of legislation or practice. Pioneering in industrial relations is as interesting, exciting, and important as pioneering in industrial development.

Secondly, in one of the corridors of Bombay House, the headquarters of the House of Tata, the doors are marked with the names of the great charitable trusts which have been established by the Tata family. The House is unique in that about 85 per cent of the capital of the parent company—Tata Sons Limited—is held by these Trusts, whose income is used for philanthropic, educational, and scientific problems. They have built, equipped and endowed the Tata Memorial Cancer Hospital in Bombay, the first of its kind in India; established an Institute of Social Sciences which trains students to deal with the many social problems of a changing India; set up the Institute of Fundamental Research for research in the problems of physics, mathematics, and nuclear energy; founded a chair at the London School of Economics for research into the causes of poverty and a chair of Sanskrit at the Bhandarkar Institute; contributed generously to the laboratories of the School of Engineering at Cambridge; financed awards to Indian and foreign research scholars for investigations which alleviate human suffering generally, and, in particular, research into diseases of the blood; endowed the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore, and assisted hundreds of Indian students to obtain advanced professional and technical training abroad.

The Trusts total nearly £4 millions, and they have spent, since their establishment, about £1½ millions. They symbolize Jamshedji Tata's attitude to philanthropy. He was sympathetic and generous, but held that "what advances a nation or a community is not so much to prop up its weakest and most helpless members, as to lift up the best and most gifted so as to make them of the greatest service to the country." "This," he said, "is constructive philanthropy."

#### India Awarded 18 Fellowships By U.N., UNESCO

Lake Success, August 1.—India has received 18 of the 1,135 fellowships awarded during 1947 and 1948 by the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

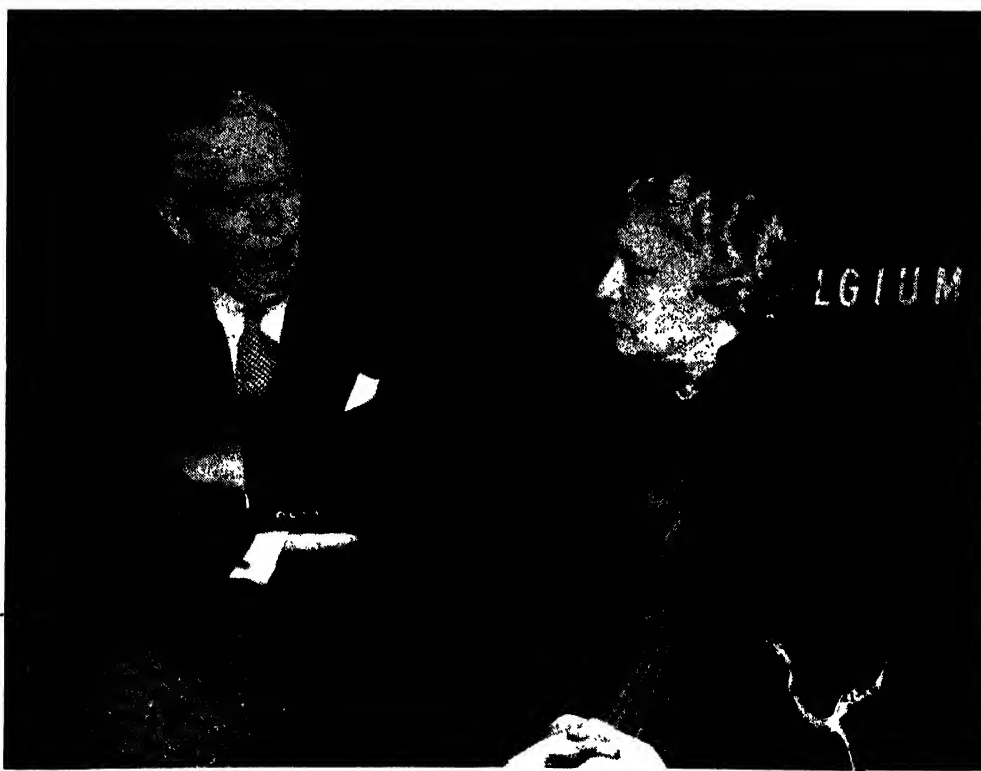
Fifteen of the fellowships were granted by the United Nations and three were awarded by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Fellows from India who are studying at Lake Success include Bhasker Mundkur of Mangalore, Miss Talat Rasul of Lucknow, and Surjit Singh from East Punjab.

The number of fellowships assigned to a country is determined by the needs of the applicant country and funds available. The applicant government selects the candidates for fellowships. Fellowships are granted in social welfare work, health work and the sciences.—U.S.I.S.



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru having an informal chat with the Canadian Prime Minister, Louis S. St. Laurent, (left) and the former Canadian Prime Minister, W. L. Mackenzie King





• HIS MAJESTY  
By Deenool Roy Chowdhury

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## NOTES

### *The Passing Year*

The year is coming to a close without any appreciable lessening of apprehension in the minds of all who think of the future of the country in the terms of the well-being of its nationals. There is apprehension about rising costs, which is intensifying the burden on the weary shoulders of the Common Man—as distinct from Capital and from Organised Labour. There is apprehension as well about the political stability of the country which is being jeopardized by the growing sense of frustration amongst the people as well as by the widespread increase in the suspicion that the Congress is betraying the masses. Both the Supreme Executive of the nation and the High Command of the Congress seem to be blissfully unaware of this state of affairs, or perhaps in their pre-occupations they have been unable to assess the portents at their real value.

Needless to say the stability and security of a country—which means its nationals—depends on the solidarity of the People behind the Government. A growing sense of discontent, distress and frustration can lead to grave consequences, little short of disaster, unless the Government is alert and takes steps betimes to provide for such eventualities. We regret to have to say that we can discern neither the alertness nor the determined combative effort in the quarters to which people look for action. Lectures and sermons we have had galore, with occasional half-hearted rebukes for the wicked and the recalcitrant, but of really efficient action we have seen but little, where relief of the distress of the vast majority of the masses are concerned. We are told that the Government needs time and the present policy of *laissez-faire* and postponement of debatable issues is a measure to gain time until the critical situation is tided over. This would be quite in the fitness of things but for the fact that the forces of reaction and of disruption

are not likely to wait. They are working overtime to sow the seeds as the soil becomes ready for the ploughing. We are as yet a very long way off from a real crisis in national affairs, but not quite so far off as to be able to ignore the lesson that Kuomintang China is teaching the Asiatic World and the democracies in general.

We have no intention of “crying havoc” at this stage and therefore we shall not draw any further parallel with China. But unlike many others, who are complacently reading the news of the Far East and the Far North as mere news, we are unable to shake off a sense of uneasiness, for those very news seem to us to be ominous portents on the as yet far distant horizon. So we shall content ourselves by remarking that the Kuomintang asked for disaster when it postponed remedial action in expectation of better times and foreign aid.

The rising cost of living is causing untold distress amongst the common people and particularly amongst the middle class. The Black-marketeer thrives on it, the Politically Great are unaffected by it—thanks to the foresight and acumen of the said black-marketeers—and Organised Labour is now quite able to cope with it, despite all that is said to the contrary by our friends the Socialists, or else there would be less absenteeism and “go slow”. Distress therefore is acute amongst voiceless 99 per cent of the population, while the Government is too concerned about Capital, Labour and lastly, but not the least, the Refugee, to take any active steps for their relief. Meanwhile the Communist and the Reactionary goes rejoicing on his way.

In France, the administration saw the danger in time and therefore imposed the death penalty on the black-marketeer in food, and this measure added on to the formidable *Code Napoleon*, in which the onus of proof to the contrary is laid on the accused, brought large-scale black-marketeering to a sudden halt. We are



constrained to think that something akin to that is needed in this country, and that very soon, or else Communism will gain a secure hold on the popular mind. Sardar Patel has referred to the profit-motive as an incentive for capital to invest in industry. But is he aware as to what capital in India today understands by "profit"? Big Business is ruthless and unmoral all over the world, no consideration of national well-being appeals to it. But then long experience has given foresight and capacity for long term calculation to them elsewhere. Here, in India, Big Business, with extremely few exceptions, only understands illicit gain as profit—illicit and limitless gain, by tax-evasion, racketeering and black-marketing. We have not the slightest doubt that, left to work its will on the People as it is today, Big Business is capable of bringing Communism to India in short order, just as a cancerous growth brings in a myriad of infections in a devitalized system. Today Big Business in the Jute trade is actively crushing to death all small ones in India, even though they are of their own kith and kin.

Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel were the twin hopes of the people and despite all disappointments they still have the regard and affection of the majority. They would yet be able to regain all the lost ground if the one would only drop the Hundred-inch telescopic vision and the other the proverbial *karnena pashyati* policy. We wish both of them long and fruitful years. May they realise in time that the Congress is in danger of back-sliding into the abyss, plunging the nation into chaos thereby.

### *The Sugar Racket*

There is a common saying in the Bengalee language which means—he who cannot get hold of an eel goes to catch a cobra! The Central Government's talk in the third week of September last about controlling the rising price of sugar reminded us of this. After this talk began sugar went underground within a week from the sugar mills, from the stockists' godowns, from the traders' shops. And the Government could only look foolish before all the world, once more demonstrating that they are no match for the foresight and cunning of those elements in our population which have proved again to be cut-throat parasites on their own people. Big Business in India has earned this notoriety; both the Government and the people are as yet but helpless victims of these malefactors.

But the sorriest part of the business is that the Government has gagged public opinion in regard to this latest betrayal of the general public. The Speaker of the Central Legislature and his opposite number in the Central Provinces denied to members opportunity to discuss this shameful profiteering. Except for their *dictat* that discussion was not relevant or necessary, we do not find any reason why the Government should have stifled this discussion. This is what forces the conviction into the common man's mind that in the Departments of Commerce and of Industry there are persons who

are in league with the profiteers and black-marketeers in the country.

It is not difficult to imagine how they start operations. Decisions of the Government are made known to such persons in office, who in their turn inform the profiteers sufficiently in advance to organize measures to defeat the Government. In this matter of sugar, the mill-owners had previous notice, the stockists and the traders were warned. The racket in textiles should have taught the Government that finance-capital in India has learnt from the British capitalists' regime all nefarious measures, that it has developed a predatory nature by commerce with it and that in its way it is as disruptive of Indian economy as Communism. And that the Nehru Government is only held in contemptuous regard by them as a result of its foolishness and goodness. Otherwise, how are we to explain their open defiance of and blatant disregard for all the exhortations of the Government?

The Government knew or ought to have known the amount of sugar in the mills and in the hands of the stockists. Their supporters in the Congress organization who are credited with having their fingers on the pulse of the people ought to have known the godowns in which the sugar was being stocked. The removal of this sugar to the under-world or black-market was no one-man job; at least a few dozens of people must have co-operated in doing this vanishing trick. Are we to believe that the watch-dogs of the Government, who are the police, and the watch-dogs of the people's interests who are Congress members, were taken unawares, were sleeping, when this trick was done?

### *Sugar. Case against Protection*

Mr. G. L. Mehta, President, Indian Tariff Board, has said at Bombay (November 28), that the fundamental solution for the problem facing the sugar industry lay not merely in increased production but also in increased economic efficiency which is equivalent to a reduction in the real cost of production. This could be achieved, he said, only by internal organisation from the farm to the factory and from the factory to the dealer. He stressed that the difficulties and problems of sugar industry had primarily been those of domestic concern and not related to foreign competition.

Mr. Mehta was inaugurating the six-day Conference convened by the Board to consider the question of the continuance of protection to the industry beyond March 31, 1950, as well as certain other matters including the working of the Indian Sugar Syndicate, the present methods of fixation and control of prices of sugar as well as sugarcane, and the rationalisation of the sugarcane cultivation.

In a survey of the sugar industry, Mr. Mehta said that the industry stood the country in good stead during the war. But in spite of protection extending

for 17 years, the industry had not developed on a sound basis, its costs of production were high and prices completely out of parity with world prices of sugar.

Mr. Mehta said, "It is widely felt that behind the tariff wall and with virtually a closed market during the last eight or nine years there has been little incentive for the industry to increase its efficiency. The situation that has arisen in the last few months does not indicate that this national and protected industry and the sugar trade have an adequate consciousness of their primary obligations to the community."

Mr. Mehta dwelt on the circumstances leading to the present sugar crisis, and enquired as to how the whole of the current year's production together with the carry-over from the previous year vanished and "scarcity" appeared within a few weeks. In this context he referred to the fact that according to the constitution of the Indian Sugar Syndicate, it fixed only minimum prices while a member was "quite free to sell at higher than the Syndicate's price and pocket the excess."

Apart from the specific complaints into which the Board had to inquire, Mr. Mehta stated that the Board had been entrusted with the function of reporting, as and when necessary, on monopolies and other restraints on trade. Whatever the justification for the formation of the Syndicate might have been at a time of depression, it was essential now to ascertain what useful functions were being performed by the Syndicate in the interests of the producer as well as the consumer.

Referring to the peculiar nature of the control over the sugar industry as it had evolved in the United Provinces and Bihar, Mr. Mehta stated: "It is of the essence of a system of control that the responsibility for policy and action should be clearly and finally laid on one particular party."

So long as private price controls continued to be maintained by the Syndicate he saw no substance in the demand for the removal of Governmental control over the price and movement of sugar. "*It is essential for the Syndicate,*" Mr. Mehta said, "*to prove that it is not a form of combination in restraint of trade.*"

The President referred to the fixation of the price of cane by the United Provinces and Bihar Governments and deplored the fact that the advice of the Board for reducing the price of cane by six annas had been ignored by the two Governments.

This, he said, was not also in consonance with the Government of India's policy to bring down the prices of all foodstuffs and other essential commodities. He reaffirmed the Board's view that "in a matter of this kind, the responsibility should be that of the Central Government."

Other steps which Mr. Mehta suggested for bringing down the cost of production of sugar were the efficient utilisation of by-products, such as molasses

and bagasse, particularly the production of power alcohol, and schemes of research based on the actual conditions and needs of the industry and agriculture in different parts of the country. He also mentioned the cane cess levies by the United Provinces and Bihar Governments and enquired how far the amounts collected from the cess since its imposition ten years ago had been utilised for the purpose of cane development.

Referring to the demand for allowing imports of sugar, the President made it clear that the Tariff Board had given it as its considered opinion that no ban on import of sugar should be maintained except for balance of payments considerations. While recognising that the foreign exchange position was difficult, Mr. Mehta observed that "if the industry is recalcitrant or creates an artificial scarcity, there is no reason why Government should not explore the possibilities of importing sugar on a barter basis or resorting to controlled imports which would have a salutary effect on internal prices."

On the question of continuance of protection, Mr. Mehta said that, while there was a large body of opinion in favour of its continuance, "it had been emphasised that any further protection should not be subject to a gradual reduction of duty in accordance with a reduction in costs and prices year after year."

He called for suggestions in regard to the conditions to be imposed on the industry and on the agricultural interests concerned and for establishing an efficient and honest sales organisation, and appealed for a more austere attitude on the part of all concerned by placing common interests above sectional and regional gains.

A discussion then followed on the question of demand for sugar during the next three years. After making allowance for various factors, such as price of gur and the partition of the country and also the tendency for rural population to consume more sugar, it was estimated that the demand during the next three years might be placed between twelve and thirteen lakh tons per annum.

It was stated that, as against this estimated demand, the industry had a total rated capacity of 15 lakh tons and out of this, U.P. and Bihar alone counted for about 9 lakh tons. The industry as a whole was crushing only up to 65 per cent of its capacity. It was suggested in this connection that the Industry's crushing capacity could be more fully utilised by shifting some of the factories to other provinces where they could have adequate supplies of cane.

As regards the present shortage of sugar, the representatives of the Indian Sugar Mills Association were of the view that to meet the increased demand in the country energetic steps should be taken to increase actual production, as otherwise the country would be faced with a net deficit during 1949-50, while representatives of the Indian Sugar Syndicate felt

that the factories at present were in a position to meet the entire indigenous demand.

It was argued that the present shortage was partly due to rapid despatch of sugar from factory areas to the various consuming centres during the months of June and July this year, which was especially facilitated by provision of more than adequate transport as also the desire of the factories to be relieved of congestion in their godowns resulting from sub-normal offtake of sugar during the first half of this year.

On the question of prices, the Indian Sugar Mills Association represented that when a statutory price for sugar is fixed by the Central Government the same authority should also fix cane prices instead of leaving it to Provincial Governments as at present. The most important element in the price structure today is the price paid for sugarcane which is Rs. 1-10-0 per maund in the United Provinces and Rs. 1-10-9 per maund in Bihar; cane prices in other provinces are also at about the same level as in U. P. and Bihar.

In the Tariff Board Report on the continuation of protection to the Sugar industry (1947), the technical efficiency of the industry has been given as follows: "So far as the technical efficiency of the industry is concerned, the recovery of sugar from sugar cane increased from 8.70 per cent in 1934 to 10.2 per cent in 1944-46. This is still below the recovery of 11.49 per cent in Java (1936-37), 12.05 per cent in Formosa (1938), 11.60 per cent in Natal (1941), 11.48 per cent in Mauritius (1941) and 12.33 per cent in Cuba (1933) . . . . The overall technical efficiency of India increased from 83.35 per cent in 1934 to 85.04 per cent in 1940-41. Considering the serious deficiencies of the transport system in the sugar cane areas of India 85.04 per cent technical efficiency of sugar factories in India would compare favourably with 86.36 per cent technical efficiency in Java (1932), 86.32 per cent in Cuba (1931), and 82.61 per cent in Natal (1941)." So although there is still room enough for increasing our technical efficiency, that is not the foremost problem. The most important problem that has to be faced and solved is the position of the Sugar Syndicate. Mr. Mehta touched the right note when he said, "It is essential for the Syndicate to prove that it is not a form of combination in restraint of trade."

The people want to see that the Government do not stop at that. The sugar industry of India today is dominated by a powerful combination of British and Indian interests and to the people it has been proved that the Sugar Syndicate has functioned and does function as a combination in restraint of trade. To ask the Syndicate to prove that it is not so is to ask not it to buy a rope with its own money and hang itself. It is for the Government to investigate and establish whether or not it is a combination in restraint of trade and we consider that it is perfectly within the competence of the Tariff Board to start such an inquiry. Even a rough calculation reveals that during the past 17 years, the consumers of sugar have paid some Rs. 350 crores by way of protective

duty alone, besides black market prices. This Industry has completely forfeited the goodwill of the general mass of the people as a national industry and serious questions have now arisen whether protection to such a set of racketeers should be continued for even a day more.

### *Pandit Nehru's American Tour*

The ideological and material dividends that are expected from the Indian Union Prime Minister's tour through the United States and Canada will take long to arrive. But a raucous section of our people have been going about with the cry that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has already bound his country to the chariot wheels of "dollar imperialism." We append hereunder, therefore, the summarized opinion of a U.S.A. commentator, I. F. Stone, which appeared in the *New York Compass*, as giving a typically American view of the matter. It was wired from New York on October 20 last by the "United Press of America" News Agency.

"The National Press Club lifted its Jim Crow rule for a coloured man. . . . Pandit Nehru was disappointing. It was a shock to see him out of his native costume. . . .

"What he had to say did not fulfil promise; the philosophical observations he made were at a level with any Rotary Club 'inspirational' speaker. . . .

"I tried not to judge too harshly for he was in Washington on the almost universal pilgrimage of the foreign statesmen of our time. The dollar has become the new holy grail and dangerous delusions and dragons lie in wait for the seeker.

"India, like almost every other country on earth, needs dollars for reconstruction and development. But the bright promise of Bretton Woods has long faded away and the dollar has a hidden price.

"There was something spiderish about the way the little men of Washington rolled out the rug for the Indian Socialist and thinker fresh from a successful revolution and the closest associate of Mahatma Gandhi. One may be sure they did not give Pandit Nehru a full reception with all the trimmings because they wished to find wisdom. What they want is to line up India for the coming war. Washington is not handing out our dollars for neutrality.

"Pandit Nehru's courageous speech at Columbia University last night more than made up for his cautious Press debut in Washington. The Columbia speech was an attack on the cold war, a criticism of President Truman's foreign policy, a protest against the pressure Washington is exerting on other countries to line up for war and a warning from the colonial world, by its foremost living spokesman, against the doctrine of racial and, in particular, White supremacy.

"When Pandit Nehru said he would not align India with either of the world Powers, he was hardly ingratiating himself with Mr. Truman. He was issuing a declaration of independence with which India may rally not only colonial and coloured people but those virtually of all the smaller countries on earth caught between the homicidal fears of the great Powers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

"It is worth recalling that Americans and Russians together make up a minority of mankind.

India alone has more people than both put together. Moscow, like Washington, wants no third force in the world. Yet peace depends on interposing some such blocs between the two great Powers. Pandit Nehru spoke for a greater Power than either. He spoke for mankind."

A

## 'akistan and Kashmir

On November 12, India's Prime Minister on his way back home, had something to say at London on 'akistan's way with Kashmir. Addressing a Press conference of 200 representatives of the world's press, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was in superb form, and his indictment of Pakistan was focussed in the following report sent by the *Press Trust of India* and *Reuter* :

"India was there as a protector at the invitation of the lawful Government of Kashmir and the popular leader of the people; but what do the armies of Pakistan do there?—I ask you for a straight answer to that question," he asked with passion.

"The one is a robber and invader; the other is a friend of the country, going in as a friend of the people. India will not put up with this, no matter what are the consequences."

With a view to enable our readers to understand this particular situation, we publish below a summary of the questions and answers, and describe the atmosphere of the conference :

Referring to Kashmir Pandit Nehru continued that whether the problem of the future of Kashmir took a longer or a shorter time to settle, one method of settling it should be ruled out completely—the method of armed force.

Pandit Nehru told a correspondent, who had asked him what were the hopes of early settlement of the Kashmir problem, that he supposed this question would come up before the Security Council at the beginning of next month. It was very difficult for him, however, he added, to say whether the problem would be finally settled.

"Kashmir has aroused tremendous passions in India and outside," said Pandit Nehru. "But we should be clear in our minds that there should be no armed force. Frankly I have the strongest and most passionate feeling about Kashmir and I will not put up with any bullying from Pakistan or any other country in the world."

He declared that Pakistan had committed in Kashmir "the most brutal aggression in the whole world" even taking into account what happened in Poland. People outside India proceeded on the assumption that as eighty per cent of Kashmir's population was Muslim, it should, for that reason, accede to Pakistan.

His voice rising passionately, Pandit Nehru added : "This is a completely false impression. It is ultimately the people of Kashmir who will have to decide regardless of Pakistan."

"Pakistan has no standing but that of an aggressor which would be beaten back and thrown aside."

The Indian Prime Minister went on : "Whatever the position of India in Kashmir under International Law, what position have the armies of Pakistan, I want to know that."

Kashmir acceded to India and India was

responsible for Kashmir when the Pakistan Army went in. This last fact had been denied before the Security Council, denied everywhere. He had never heard a more flagrant, a more outrageous lie. India will not put up with this, no matter what are the consequences.

Referring to letters in English newspapers on Kashmir, Pandit Nehru said he wanted to be clear about the true situation with regard to India and Pakistan.

"We shall not permit Pakistan to go into its usual tactics of creating religious feuds, as they have done elsewhere. Everybody of you find writings and preachings in the Pakistan Press and by Pakistanis that it was a *jihad* (a holy war). You must understand that it is no such thing. Over the last twelve years, even before the partition, the vast majority of the Muslim population under Sheikh Abdullah and the National Conference were fighting for democratic Government against the Maharaja. Muslim Leaguers who believed in this two-nation theory tried to create religious feuds there but did not succeed, even before the partition. What you now have ranged against in Kashmir, is Nationalist Muslims fighting on an ideological basis who had always been fighting for freedom, against other Muslims."

"It was generally assumed that because India accepted partition of the country, she accepted the two-nation theory and therefore it followed that Kashmir with a majority Muslim population automatically belonged to Pakistan."

India did not accept the two-nation theory, otherwise there were 35 million Muslims in India who could be held to be citizens of Pakistan, the Prime Minister said.

Partition had been agreed to by India on a territorial basis, not on the basis of the two-nation theory.

The vast majority of Muslims were against the two-nation theory. In the final analysis, the conflict in Kashmir was not between Hindus and Muslims but between people who wanted freedom based on Kashmiri nationalism, with all the population pulling together and believers in the two-nation theory—that nationality went by religion and should be based on that more or less. Practically every single individual who had fought for independence for Kashmir was on India's side. Those who had not fought were always talking about Kashmir being "liberated from the Hindus."

As soon as Pandit Nehru sat down, having been listened to for several minutes in dead silence, excited questions were flung at him from all directions.

Pandit Nehru rose to his feet again. To one question he answered that of the ways of solving the Kashmir problem, war was ruled out.

"India continues to suggest," he said, "that there should be mediation and that this mediation should be under the auspices of the United Nations; partly because we want to increase the prestige of the United Nations."

The passion which characterized Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's references to Kashmir at this Press Conference appears to have ruffled feelings at Karachi where Pakistan's Finance Minister, Janab Ghulam Mohammad, gave expression to his "pained surprise." On November 14, addressing the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, he is reported to have said :

"Pandit Nehru has come out in his true colours. He posed as an apostle of truth and non-violence before America. The exhibition of bad manners in his abuse of Pakistan, to say the least, is unforgivable. He calls us liars and robbers. I challenge Pandit Nehru in the name of democracy to face a free plebiscite in Kashmir. The verdict will then be with the people of Kashmir and that verdict will be the real answer to Pandit Nehru."

What Ghulam Mohammad failed to say was what was his idea of a "free plebiscite." In Sylhet, in East Pakistan, and in the N.-W. F. P. in West Pakistan, we have seen "free plebiscites" of the best Hitlerian model. No doubt that is what he wants.

On the 16th November last Pandit Nehru addressed a Press Conference at New Delhi where he appeared in a more mellow mood in his references to Pakistan's aggression on Kashmir. He reaffirmed his stand on this subject going over the same arguments. There was one remark, however, which has intrigued many of our people. He used the words "rectification of boundaries" or "modification of boundaries, etc., etc., which could not be ruled over." The more cynical amongst us find in these words a hint of coming events, of a possible partition of the Kashmir-Jammu State on lines almost similar to what followed the decision of June 3, 1947.

While on the subject we are disposed to think that Pandit Nehru's repudiation of the "two-nation" theory as influencing that decision will be taken by the world with some reserve as things stand. The party which had contrived to get Pakistan believes in it still, and the Nehru Government's "secular" policy makes but little appeal to most of the 35 million Muslims who still remain in the Indian Union. It may be unfortunate, but unless this fact be recognised by us all, there is in store for us more trouble and more of the bestialities that heralded the arrival of Pakistan.

### *Communist Activities in Calcutta*

The Police Commissioner of Calcutta has declared in a Press Conference that Communist activities in Calcutta are under control. A reporter asked him as to whether he would like to comment on the report published in a Calcutta daily to the effect that Communist activities of late have increased in the city and that the Communists have shifted their activities from the rural areas and have made Calcutta their base. Replying, the Police Chief said that he did not agree with the report that Communist activities have of late increased in the city and that the Communists have shifted their activities from the rural areas and have concentrated in Calcutta. He categorically stated "the Communist activities are very much subdued now-a-days and in Calcutta they are very much controlled." He did not think that Communists would shift their activities from the rural areas and concentrate in Calcutta because in the city they had the means of suppressing lawlessness quickly.

This Press Conference was held on November 21. Five days after the Police Chief's declaration that Communist activities in Calcutta were very much subdued, a very big Communist rally was held in the city, openly convened under the banner of the Communist Flag, in the name of a Peace Congress. The large meetings were followed on both the days by very big processions, one parading the northern sector, the other the southern sector of the city. Both the processions were at least a mile and a half long and several deep, and created profound impression upon the public although their news have been practically suppressed. In the villages, the situation is equally uncertain. That the Communists have secured firm grip on certain groups of peasants has been evident in several instances when the police suffered violent resistance in their attempt to apprehend Communist leaders resulting in firing and bloodshed.

The Communist processions of November 26 and 27 were perfectly orderly. This, to us, marks a change in their tactics. Hitherto, their processions were invariably always accompanied by violent activities like bomb throwing on the police and burning of State Buses and tram cars. The raid on Dum Dum Airport in broad day light has clearly demonstrated the worthlessness and unpreparedness of the police. The firing upon women processionists followed by the Coroner's verdict that it was unjustified, together with the firing on gaol prisoners, has added intense unpopularity to the inefficiency and unpreparedness of our complacent police. The later violent demonstrations, staged with all the techniques of street fighting during a *coup-de-etat*, smack as rehearsals for a coming *coup*. Now, a sudden change-over to orderly demonstration and rally can only mean that they are now going in for wider popular support which, with the unpopularity of the Government, would not be impossible of achievement.

It is not very difficult to see that the Communists have two objectives--to prepare for the coming elections, as well as to prepare for a coup. With Communists fighting on the Burma front and poised for invasion of Tibet, we do think that complacency of the nature indicated by the Calcutta Police Chief may lead us unwarily into a dangerous position. As regards the potentialities of such a situation, we are in substantial agreement with the writer of an article titled "Revolutionary Calcutta" in the *Statesman*. We append some significant paragraphs from that article below:

"The exploitation of the riotous potentialities of big cities has been a feature of violent political agitation everywhere in the world. I do not know how this was practically managed elsewhere, but in regard to Calcutta I can say that when it came to defying authority through rioting, or of teaching a rival party or community a lesson through the same means, no political leaders or organizations committed themselves. They did not even create or organize the rebellious elements. They simply depended on certain pre-existent and fairly well-known elements of disorder. The specific role of the open organizations was limited

to creating the psychological background and to maintaining a liaison, sometimes close, sometimes distant, with the promoters of disorder. Except in abnormal circumstances the switching on and off of the troubles was more or less under the control of the leaders.

The link between the rioters and leaders was maintained by a very easy method. The higher leadership kept in touch with the second-rank leaders, and at times even with the group leaders in the wards. The second-rank leaders were in contact with the group leaders, and the group leaders with the NCOs of the riot commandos. The links were rather loose, and thus there was a dilution of criminality as one went upwards, and at the highest levels there might have been no criminal incitement whatever. The lower leaders were never so crude as to ask point-blank questions. A bland smile was enough for them, and if money was wanted there always was a good patriotic, religious or social object to justify an advance. But in almost every case the lower hierarchy assured themselves that there was no express disapproval from the top. Nothing was done against the known wishes of the leaders.

Let us now consider the various elements of disorder. The general term "mob" is wholly misleading. The first and the oldest element of disorder is the riff-raff living in the congested bustees. There used to be both Hindus and Muslims among them. The majority were, and perhaps still are, non-Bengali. This riff-raff is under the influence of professional crooks, ruffians, smugglers and the like, but also has associations and affiliations quite high up. This particular group, which is analogous to any gangster group in any city, has played a more important part in communal than in political riots. It was never a very important factor in political disorders and its importance has declined further.

The second disorderly element is comprised by millhands, menial workers, conservancy personnel, and similar classes of labour. They too are mostly non-Bengali, and their disorderly propensities are sharpened by the fact that they live away from their families, with very few women and children in their midst, unless the women also happen to be millhands. These men have as their natural leaders the more assertive and unruly among themselves. But in the last 25 years or so Communists and Socialists of the doctrinaire type (mostly belonging to the intelligentsia) have acquired great influence over them. Under this new influence and leadership the political role of Indian industrial labour has grown and generally speaking the labourers can be roused very easily by a handful of key men.

The political demonstrations from the days of the Non-co-operation Movement have developed the habit of creating, in addition to demonstrations properly so-called, such as meetings, processions and the like, a penumbra of excitement, or what in India are called "hullahs", simple uproars. On the other hand, the communal riots have fostered the more deadly habit of secret assault, murder and arson.

Each of these forms of trouble had its characteristic outward aspect in British and epi-British days. In the "hullahs" a great concourse of people spilled out in the streets, stood excitedly on the footpaths, shouting, gesticulating, jeering at passing motor-cars, trams and buses, sometimes throwing stones and dirt at them, and stampeding widely away at the approach of a police wagon. The murderous manifestations were more stealthy. The assailants lay in wait, swooped on an unwary opponent, stabbed him and slunk away. It was not the professional badmash or goonda alone who practised these murders. In the communal riots of the last years of British rule, some young men of respectable families unconcernedly sat down to breakfast after a twilight adventure of bloodshed.

Since 1942, however, the two activities have tended to combine. The simple uproar has grown into a compound uproar, with assault and arson thrown in. Before independence these compound uproars did not normally take place where a police or military force was actually present. The attacks were usually directed against unprotected persons, places and vehicles. There were no pitched battles. Since independence, however, both uproar and assault or arson have become bolder. The crowds are no longer as afraid, as they once were, to stand up to the police, nor do the terrorists show the same readiness to run away after an outrage. If this is due to the possession of better and a larger number of lethal weapons, it (together with the very fact of the possession of these weapons) may also indicate a greater volume of connivance, sympathy and acquiescence on the part of many citizens."

What worries us most is the equal complacency of Dr Roy and Sardar Patel in regard to the realities in West Bengal. We are not unaware of the measures and precautions taken against disruptive moves by communists and others of that ilk. We further know that the situation as it is to-day is not at all so alarming, to the extent that it has been made to appear in certain papers outside this province. But what we would like to impress upon the Government, both in West Bengal and the centre, is that in the present atmosphere of popular discontent and frustration, coupled with the general political ignorance amongst the masses, a critical situation may easily develop into a general conflagration, if other circumstances are favourable to the underground incendiaries. We have seen little in the work of the Police to reassure us about their capacity to handle a major campaign of disruption.

### *Sardar Patel's Economic Policy*

Sardar Patel's speech, of which the substantial portion is given *infra*, at the Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Council of Industries marks a long step further towards placating the capitalists in order to win their support for the Government. For the past two years, Indian capitalists have been



virtually on strike and finally it has succeeded in re-orienting the entire economic policy of the Government of India in their favour. Sardarji has practically assured the black-marketeer to come forward to invest his ill-gotten and evaded money promising him a fair measure of immunity. Sardarji's speech marks a distinct departure from the economic policy enunciated by the Congress.

*Janata*, the Socialist Party's organ, has challenged the speech and rightly so. It states that "the Congress now stands avowedly for the support and defence of Indian capitalist domination. The Finance Minister gave the clearest expression to this decision and Sardar Patel outlined the manner in which this policy of orientation was going to be put into action in the coming months. . . . The Socialist Party is firmly convinced that in a country where the vast bulk of working people are robbed of their primary requirements of food, clothes and shelter, economic stability can only be attained by rapid and radical social changes, by ending the domination of profiteering interests and ownership of trade and industry."

Both Sardarji and the Socialist Party have taken only two classes of the population into their consideration, namely, the capitalists and labour and have left out the vast bulk of consumers. Capitalists, although the strongest and the most powerful by virtue of their wealth and say in the Government, represent numerically a microscopic section of the people. Labour accounts for well under one per cent of the population. The rest are the consumers, subjected to the tyranny of both. It must be admitted that labour is no longer the helpless proletariat as Marx had seen them in the middle of the nineteenth century. Today a number of legislations exist for their security and welfare and the whole society is susceptible about any injustice to them. Food, cloth, medical aid and shelter are available to them at a cost unthinkable to the common people who have not the good fortune to work in an organised factory. The recent growth of absenteeism in factories and slackness in work is a clear indication that standard of living has lagged behind increment in money wages leading to accumulation of cash in the hands of labour. Mutual competition between the Communists, the Socialists and the I.N.T.U.C. have all centred round the question of increasing wages and emoluments for labour which has resulted in a high cost of production. Overhead charges and managing agency evils are no doubt factors in the cost of production but the wage bill accounts for the largest proportion of it, and when increase in wages is accompanied by slackness in work, the result is found to be disastrous. In the interest of the country at large, the consumers in particular and even for the ultimate benefit of labour itself, time has come for crying a halt to this senseless competition in pushing up wages as the British Trade Unions have recently done. Even in the U.S.S.R. itself, there is a minimum wage but subject to a

minimum production. Production targets should be statutorily fixed not only for capital but labour as well. The society today has grievances against the labour as well as the capital; the adulteration of spindle oil with mustard oil is done not by the capitalist with his family members but by our labourers themselves in return for a few more shekels. Black-marketing and adulteration would have become a thing of the past if our labourers had refused to participate in these evils and earn tainted money. Is it unfair to expect that labour will reciprocate to the attention and sacrifice it has received from the people? As things stand today we are compelled to say that organised labour is victimising the common man to a degree that is beginning to be comparable to the capitalist racket.

We are unable to share Sardarji's boast of having reduced food and cloth prices. There is much truth in the assertion of *Janata* that "the peasants will not heed the appeal for expanded production so long as they are not able to buy their needs at a more reasonable price. Lowering of food prices is, therefore, like putting the cart before the horse." We fail to understand why the Government of India are not doing their best to plan their imports so that essential articles like cloth, sugar, etc., are imported in larger quantities. A judicious restriction of the import of secondary necessities like toilet products, cycles, motor cars, etc., must release sufficient foreign exchanges for the import of primary necessities. A reduction in the prices of basic articles like cloth, sugar, gur, kerosene oil, etc., will of itself pave the way for a reduction in food prices.

The analysis and remedies of our economic problems which the spokesmen of the Government of India have offered showed a total disregard of the primary privations of the "vast working population" according to the Socialist Party and the general population according to us. We refuse to believe that the Government of India are unable to devise and enforce stringent and deterrent measures for the elimination of the present loot that is going on in our consumer goods production and trade. Had they taken the general masses into their confidence and looked to their needs, we believe that two years of independence would have been enough to build up a production structure wherein the whole people would have participated. Sardar Patel has taken a step in the reverse direction which is bound to increase the present chaos.

### *Sardar Patel's Appeal to Industrialists and Labour*

Inaugurating the first meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Council of Industries in New Delhi this morning, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, said, "The ultimate object of all our efforts must be to attain that industrial efficiency and self-sufficiency which would increase



general prosperity and thereby secure 'a higher standard of living for the common man. On the basis of this ultimate objective you can devise a plan for what is immediately or in the near future practicable. We could then—Government, industrialists and labour—all of us participate in a great national effort for recovery and reconstruction." The meeting was attended by other members of the Cabinet and leading industrialists, besides the members of the Standing Committee.

Appealing to labour, industrialists, capitalists and shareholders to grasp the nature and extent of the difficulties facing the country, Sardar Patel warned them that the situation was such that they could not stand any further deterioration. "Any resultant uncertainties or confusion," he said, "are not going to help any of us; they will only be exploited by those for whom there is neither the sanctity of life nor property."

Sardarji said, "We must bear in mind the comparatively recent growth of our industries and the short history of our industrialisation. India has been looked upon for ages as a predominantly agricultural country. Those who swore by that statement little realised the wealth of resources that were available in the country and that they would, if properly tapped and efficiently exploited, place this country in the forefront of industrialised countries in the world. We have, however, to realise that in the process of this industrialisation we have to make up the leeway of decades, maybe, centuries. There has never been and never can be anything like an industrial revolution in this country, which would quickly transform its agricultural economy into a predominantly industrial one. Our industrialisation, starting, at a time of more progressive ideas than characterised the industrial revolution of Europe, has naturally to take note of modern ideas of relationship between the employer and labour and between both and the general community. It has also to take note of what would, in the context of 18th century conditions, be severe handicaps and drawbacks. These naturally place limitations on the freedom of individual initiative and enterprise. They naturally circumscribe the limit within which personal ability, talent and competence can function. If you add to these complexities, those of international finance and trade movements and the big handicap of foreign domination, you have a picture of difficulties which would make even stout hearts tremble.

"There can be no denying the fact that the two world wars have made a tremendous difference to the pace of our progress. The operation of the nationalistic forces in the country has not failed to affect the pace and character of our industrialisation. Nevertheless, I feel that those who try to find fault with our present industrial structure or with the policies which generally govern our conduct in the industrial field will do well to remember that there is another side of the story without which our appreciation of the situation cannot be complete.

"We are today faced with an economic situation without parallel in our history. After the end of the war we succeeded to an inheritance of substantial foreign balances and a comparatively large cash balance in our own country. Today we find our foreign balances substantially reduced; what is worse, they are locked up in a country which is finding itself considerably in difficulties, and the economic situation of which is in many respects worse than our own. Our cash balances have also been largely drained away. The tide of post-war inflation is still breaking on our shores. In foreign trade our imports have been outbalancing our exports, with the result that the currencies which matter to us for our industrial effort are in short supply. Inside the country the spiral of prices has been rising. There is a high level of taxation and we have already placed the last but one straw on the proverbial camel's back. The cumulative effect of our taxation policy has undoubtedly been to reduce the richness as it was understood in what some might regard as the 'glorious past.' This diminution in the resources of what were the investing classes has adversely affected the investments in trade and industry. Indeed, it would not be far wrong to say that, except small savings the sources of investment have practically dried up. The middle classes, which were the mainstay of our economic power, find themselves in sore straits. Labour has undoubtedly secured higher wages. Its demands in the way of consumer goods have increased both in quality and quantity. The agriculturists as a result of higher prices have also improved their material resources, but neither labour nor the agriculturists are in a position to invest on anything like the same scale in which the middle classes used to do in the past. Other countries have adopted the role of welfare state when they were substantially more advanced in their industrialisation. We have to adopt that role today when we are hardly on our feet as an industrial country. All this has produced a tremendous strain not only on our national exchequer but also on the capacity of industrialists to help themselves.

"If we look at the causes which have brought about the present situation, the remedies become obvious. It is quite clear that we cannot go on maintaining such a high level of prices. Prices must, therefore, come down. With our incomes shrinking and the prospect of further shrinkage, unless we stage a quick recovery, we must cut down our expenditure in order to balance our budget. We must build up our resources in those foreign currencies which we so sorely need for our industrial effort. For this we must cut down those imports which are for our immediate purposes unessential and in this I shall include food imports, because I am convinced that with honest, co-ordinated and concentrated effort we can make up whatever deficiency in food production

there exists today. We must create a sense of confidence both in the investor and in those on whom will fall the great national duty of utilising investments. It is only then that we can successfully implement our efforts to stimulate investments and to ensure that every pie that is saved is utilised in a great national endeavour to stage a recovery from a severe economic malaise. Above all this, however, we must build up our strength not on the basis of temporary palliatives or artificial reductions in prices or stimulation of investments but on surer foundation of increased production and increased wealth of which that production is such a great contributory factor.

"I should like to give you an account of what we have done since the Finance Minister announced Government's programme in his two speeches in the Constituent Assembly on the 5th and 6th October, 1949. I and my colleagues have constantly kept under review during the one month that has passed the requirements of our economic situation. You must have followed in the press the measures which we have announced from time to time in implementation of the programme that was laid down by the Finance Minister in his speech. We have succeeded in reducing food and cloth prices by an appreciable margin. These two commodities form by far the largest part of an average citizen's budget. We are going ahead with the examination of other proposals for the reduction of prices, but, frankly speaking, I am not satisfied with the reduction which we have secured either in extent or the manner of it. It is clear that we have been able to secure this reduction partly by artificial aids and I readily grant that, if reduction has to be effective, it must be natural and long-sustained. As you must have all noticed we have effected very substantial economies in our expenditure. It is true that it has meant the closure of some undertakings which must be regarded as useful, but when the question comes of one's own existence, it is life itself, and not artificial aids to life, which is of paramount significance. The economies which we have effected must be judged in that light. You must have also observed the heavy cuts which we have imposed in imports and the regulations which we have issued regarding our exports. These have already succeeded in substantially reducing our adverse balances and it is quite possible that sooner rather than later we shall achieve a position of vantage as compared to our previous margin of adversity. Our taxation policy is, as you know, formulated on an annual basis. I have no doubt, however, that my Hon'ble colleague the Finance Minister will re-examine the whole taxation structure in the light of the present situation when he frames his proposals for the next budget. You have already his assurance that, as soon as opportunity offers itself, we will bring down direct taxation to a more reasonable level.

"This brings me to the question of evasion of taxes which has admittedly taken place in the past and which I dare say is taking place even today. I do not think that any Government has been able to devise a leak-proof system of taxation. I also acknowledge that the profit motive is a great stimulant to exertion and rules human conduct in whatever walk of life it may be, whether it is the capitalist, the middle classes, the labour or the agriculturists with whom we may have to deal. At the same time, transcending everything must be a high sense of civic consciousness and national duty. What would riches avail those who have hoarded wealth if the economic conditions of the country, unsolved, lead to chaos? Nor would it help Government at all to devise measures which do not bring out for utilisation in economic undertakings all these hoards. The problem is not merely ethical but also economical. Economics is an intensely practical science and I would urge upon you to look at the practical side of this problem more closely and to evolve remedies whereby we can harness these hidden resources for the purpose of national service. I have always maintained that it is the duty of every citizen who has talent, who has experience and who has ability to give the benefit of these virtues to the nation. I can assure you that, if you can put forward constructive suggestions in this regard, Government would be only too glad to give their close and earnest consideration to them.

"I would not regard temporary palliatives as adequate. In my judgment the key to our economic situation lies in increased production. The problem of increasing production has to be looked at in two ways. It seems a greater utilisation of our industrial capacity at present. It also means that we must not be content with merely utilising what we have, but must explore fresh fields and pastures new. For the expansion of our industrial effort we must obviously have more capital and investments. I was looking the other day into the figures of our installed capacity and was comparing them with our production figures both last and this year. My study of these figures has convinced me that there is considerable scope for greater efforts in order to achieve peak production up to the maximum of our installed capacity. Increased production would enable us not only to meet the demands of the consumers but also substantially to cut down our imports thereby saving valuable foreign exchange for other more pressing needs, chief of which would be the import of capital goods which we would require for old or new industrial undertakings. To name a few industries in which I feel increased production is possible and must be achieved, I would mention; steel, cotton textiles, sugar, electrical goods, chemicals, machine tools, paper and cement. I can state unequivocally that our aim and purpose is to remove obstacles and not to place new ones in your way and it is our ambition to make a great do-

ordinated effort in order that by maximum co-operation between yourselves and Government we may jointly serve a great national cause.

"We are aiming at self-sufficiency in food-grains by 1951. I have no doubt myself that, with all-round co-operation from Provincial Governments, agriculturists and distributing agencies, we would be able to make up such a comparatively small deficiency in our food supply as exists. Whatever imports we make should be designed to support our food production drive by creating that psychological effect which the existence of reserves has always on the public mind; at the same time, it is clear that we must have a balanced agricultural economy in which cash and food crops find their adequate place justified by their importance to national economy. The recent devaluation crisis has convinced me that we have to attain a measure of self-sufficiency not only in our food production but also in the production of those valuable crops *vis.* jute and cotton, which not only support two of our important industries but also bring in valuable foreign exchange. As far as I can see, it is only by stimulating further exports of jute and cotton goods that we can substantially promote our export drive. The recent demand from foreign countries for our cotton goods has been an encouraging factor and Government propose to explore all possible avenues of meeting this demand consistent with the needs of our domestic market. We have in hand measures to increase the acreage under jute cultivation and also stimulate the indigenous growth of cotton. We are also examining the possibility of importing cotton in order to ensure that our mills do not suffer on account of difficulties in procuring cotton from areas which hitherto helped to feed our factories with raw materials, but are constantly employed.

"We now come to the question of opening up new industrial enterprises. The question is largely one of securing sufficient capital and capital goods and the necessary foreign exchange. In laying out our programme, however, our aim must be to survey our resources to plan out on the basis of what we can achieve in the near future and to ensure that what we produce goes a long way in reducing our dependence on currencies which we can save in order further to intensify our industrial effort. The ultimate object of all these efforts must be to attain that industrial efficiency and self-sufficiency by geometrical progression which would increase general prosperity and thereby secure a higher standard of living for the common man. On the basis of this ultimate objective you can devise a plan for what is immediately or in the near future, practicable. We could then—Government, industrialists and labour—all of us participate in a great national effort for recovery and reconstruction.

"As regards the problem of stimulating investment, we have already intensified our propaganda

drive for investment in National Savings Certificates. We have also appointed a Committee to consider immediate measures in the direction of extending banking facilities to rural areas. You have probably already seen the Press Note which was issued yesterday in which we have announced our schemes for emergency cuts and compulsory savings in respect of Central Government employees. We hope that other Governments will follow suit and that gradually we would be able to extend the scheme of compulsory savings to other sectors of the population. While the cuts would make an appreciable reduction in our expenditure, we hope that the general public will react to the psychological effect of these cuts. The scheme of compulsory savings is going to result in making available a few crores for our investments, but, if followed up in respect of non-Government employees, we expect a substantial relief to our ways and means position. I know that many of the investors are afraid of coming forward either because they fear that they might be rendered liable to tax on "evaded" income, or their investments might be taken into account in investigations into "evaded" money, even though the amount may come out of income on which they have paid taxes. We are, however, considering how best we can meet these fears and apprehensions and hope shortly to finalise our measures to deal with this category of potential investments without prejudicing the working of the taxation machinery which we have already set up; in other words, while that machinery will continue to function, we should like to evolve ways and means whereby, preserving anonymity of contributions, this important source of investment can be effectively tapped.

"I know the difficulties that confront both labour and labour leaders. The foundations of prosperity are often laid on self-denial. If, today, when the nation demands sacrifices all round, labour also makes sacrifices and helps others to do so, let it be labour's credit that it has taken the lead and shown the way. If others do not follow, the nation will know how to deal with them. Let them trust the judgment of the nation and those to whom has fallen the duty of leading the nation through the present crisis. Let it first participate in creating wealth before claiming its just share. Let it regard 'go-slow tactics' as mimical to its interests and those of the nation. Today, he serves the nation best who produces most and none is worse enemy of the country than he who retards the process of production.

"Finally, let me appeal to you all, labour and industrialists, capitalists and shareholders alike, to grasp fully the nature and extent of the difficulties with which we are faced. The situation is such that we cannot stand any further deterioration. Any resultant uncertainties or confusion are not going to help any one of us; they will only be exploited by those for whom there is neither the sanctity of life nor of property."

### Boundary Disputes with East Bengal

The following *Press Trust of India* news was sent out from New Delhi on November 11 last.

Lord Justice Algot Bagge of Sweden has accepted the invitation of the Governments of India and Pakistan to serve as Chairman of the Inter-Dominion Boundary Commission. The Commission is expected to start work in the first week of December 1949, it is learnt.

It was authoritatively stated in New Delhi that no reference, official or unofficial, had been made by the Pakistan Government to the Government of India to include the area adjoining Suleimanki headworks on the West Punjab border within the scope of the work of this Commission. During an interview with the Secretary-General of the Indian Foreign Office, the Pakistan High Commissioner had only made a personal suggestion that this might be done.

The dispute regarding the Suleimanki headworks, however, is under correspondence between the Governments of India and Pakistan and it is yet too early to say whether this matter should be referred to arbitration, and, if so, who should arbitrate on this issue.

It is explained that the specific provision in the Inter-Dominion Agreement setting up the tribunal to settle the boundary disputes regarding East-West Bengal and East Bengal-Assam relates to :

(a) *East-West Bengal disputes concerning—*

1. The boundary between the district of Murshidabad (West Bengal) and the district of Rajshahi including the thanas of Nawabganj and Shibganj of pre-partition Maldah district (East Bengal), and
2. That portion of the common boundary between the two Dominions which lies between the point on the river Ganges where the channel of the river Mathabanga takes off according to Sir Cyril Radcliffe's award and the northernmost point where the channel meets the boundary between the thanas of Daulatpur and Karimpur according to that award, and

(b) *East Bengal-Assam disputes concerning—*

1. The Patharia Hill reserve forest; and
2. The course of the Kusivara river.

The agreement does not provide for reference to this tribunal of any other boundary dispute and therefore the question of including the dispute regarding the area adjoining Suleimanki headwork within the scope of the tribunal, presided over by Lord Justice Bagge, does not arise.

Sir Cyril Radcliffe's Award was signed on the 12th August, 1947; it must have been submitted on that day or a day later. On the 19th August the then Premiers of West Bengal and East Bengal, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh and Khwaja Nazimuddin, issued a joint statement saying that "the Award is open to objection," that nothing stood in the way of the leaders of the two States from "coming to mutual agreement at a future date in order to readjust the Award."

On the 7th of September, 1947 an extraordinary issue of the *Gazette of India* published an Order over the signature of the then Governor-General, Lord

Mountbatten, in which occur the words: "The Government of India wish to make it clear that they consider the awards (Bengal, Punjab and Assam awards) to be unsatisfactory and unreasonable in certain parts.... They intend, however, to seek to modify the terms of the awards by such methods as may be found suitable." The Bagge Commission, appointed after 26 months, is the fruit of this intention.

The controversy aroused by the Award has to be recalled after this distance to help the public to understand the issues that will be pressed before this Commission. Angry was the reaction against it as it had disregarded the majority position of Hindus in Khulna and Chittagong Hill Tracts districts. Loud were the protests against the Sylhet Award which had been wrongfully used to include 12 of the district's Police Stations in East Bengal. Equally strong was the resentment against the award as it affected the district of Nadia whose river system influenced the life and work of the Port of Calcutta and its extensive hinterland stretching from Assam to Bihar and Orissa. Sir Cyril had said in para 8 of his award that "the demarcation of boundary line between East and West Bengal depended on the answers to be given to certain basic questions" which may be stated as follows :

(1) To which State was the City of Calcutta to be assigned, or was it possible to adopt any method of dividing the City between the two States?

(2) If the City of Calcutta must be assigned as a whole to one or other of the States, what were its indispensable claims to the control of territory, such as all or part of the Nadia river system or the Kulti rivers, upon which the life of Calcutta as a city and port depended?

But in his recommendations, Sir Cyril gave a twist to the whole purpose of his questions by depriving the City and Port of Calcutta of the use of the Nadia river system. There is some mystery somewhere, as Sir Cyril was of another mind as is reflected in page 11 of his award. Why, it has been asked in many quarters. And the answer has been found in the fraudulent map that had been placed before him by the Land Records or Survey Department of Bengal then under the Muslim League Ministry. This map was ante-dated to 1944, and the Director of Land Records, a Hindu, was a less vigilant guardian of the sanctity of records than he was expected to be. Today that man has found his reward in the New Delhi Secretariat—the last asylum of many a stooge of the British regime! We have a certain feeling also that Sir Cyril Radcliffe was not quite an unwilling dupe to this Muslim League deception. He chose not to attend any of the meetings of the Boundary Commission held at Calcutta of which he was the chairman; he has said that he "made arrangements to study daily the record of the proceedings and all material submitted for

our consideration." We are curious to know if he did care to "study" the proceedings of 22nd July, 1947, and to understand the significance of the questions put by Mr. Justice Charu Chandra Biswas to the Muslim League Counsel, Mr. Wasim :

Mr. Justice Biswas—I would like to know from you, Mr. Wasim, whether the copies of the Muslim League maps which have been furnished to us—five copies meant for the chairman and members of the Boundary Commission and the copies supplied to the major parties—are exactly the same?

Mr. Wasim—I do not know. I believe they are.

Mr. Justice Biswas—They are not, take it from me. For one thing, the map meant for the chairman is not the same as the one supplied to me. Whether differences are material that is a different matter, but there are differences and I think that is most unfair, to put it most mildly. You have said that the Congress scheme is neither fair nor simple. Is this a sample of fairness to supply different maps to different parties and even different maps to different members of the Commission?

Mr. Justice Rahman—If I may say so. I think somebody seems to have bungled on your side, Mr. Wasim. The map supplied to Mr. Gupta (Congress Counsel) does not tally with the map supplied to Mr. Justice Mukherjee.

Mr. Justice Biswas—The Chairman will be here and see what the maps are like.

Mr. Justice Mukherjee—Why do you prepare different maps?

Mr. Hamidul Huq Chaudhury (Counsel on behalf of Muslim League)—They were prepared in different sets. I believe there is some bungling.

A watchful and impartial Chairman of a Boundary Commission concerned with maps and their correctness as they must be should have taken warning from this day's proceedings; he apparently chose not to understand the significance of that day's questions and answers; we do not know if his fellow-Commissioners pressed on his attention the attempt to mislead him and others by the supply of different maps to different people as the Muslim-League-dominated Bengal Government did. For a proof of this deception he had only taken the statement of his Muslim colleague, Mr. Justice Rahman, and of the Muslim League Counsel, Mr. Hamidul Huq Chaudhury, both of whom declared that "somebody had "bungled" and continued "bungling." The result of this carelessness of Sir Cyril Radcliffe has been that the river Mathabhanga, an off-shoot from the Ganges or Padma has been erased from the map of "year 1944" and its place given to three streamlets unconnected with one another. This deception was exposed in the article published in our last October issue over the signature of Shri Nripendra Kumar Gupta. It was entitled—*Great Danger to the Life of the Port and City of Calcutta*. The map printed on P. 303 of this article appeared in the "Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of Nadia—1918-1926"; that appearing on P. 302 is the "faked" map "compiled in Bengal Drawing Office in 1944."

This story will have to be related before the Bagge Commission; and the authenticity of the map of "year 1944" challenged. If this challenge can be brought home to the then Muslim League Ministry, then more than 600 miles of the district of Nadia fraudulently taken away from West Bengal can be demanded back with justice.

Now, with regard to Assam-East Bengal boundary disputes. The Sylhet Partition Committee had presented a Memorandum to the Indian Union Government embodying their interpretation of the Radcliffe Award which would justify the restoration of 12 Police Station areas to the Indian Union. A report in the Calcutta *Hindusthan Standard* of June 1, 1948, published a despatch from its New Delhi office that the Union Government had "tentatively decided to accept the view-point" pressed forward by this Committee; it was also talked about at the time that they had been advised by their legal adviser, Kunwar Dalip Singh, judge of the Punjab High Court in pre-partition days that the Committee had certainly been able to make out an "arguable case" to be placed before the Boundary Commission as and when it will be set up.

That opportunity has now come. And the Nehru Government has it laid upon it the responsibility of arguing these two cases before the Bagge Commission. We have seen complaints made that the "issues" to be presented before it have been made so "narrow". We are led to believe that the opposition of the Pakistan Government has stood in the way of widening the "issues". We do not know when was the agreement arrived at that made it possible to set up this Boundary Commission. It appears now that the Pakistan Government are anxious to widen the terms of reference by including in these the case of the "Suleimanki headworks" lying within East Punjab just as the headworks of the Huseinwala bund used by our canal system lies in West Punjab. This offers an occasion for bargaining which the Indian Government can utilize if they found this profitable.

We have tried to draw up a picture of the issues involved in these disputes. We would like to believe that the West Bengal Government and the Assam Government would after months of somnolence stir them intelligently to present their case before the Bagge Commission. We would like to forget the betrayal of Sylhet by officers of the Assam Administration during the Referendum. We know how the present junta in Assam would like to throw out territories simply because these happened to have a majority of Bengali-speaking people. The Nehru Government should see that they are not able to play the old tricks which have lost them the tea estates, east of the East Bengal Railway. The Bardoloi Ministry had no idea of their value, of the Patharia area which could be snatched away so easily by East Bengal Pakistanis. They are like that. The time has come when the Nehru Government realize

the enormity of the Bardoloi Ministry's irresponsibility. We will, therefore, watch the proceeding of the Bagge Commission with no little anxiety.

### *The Andhra Province*

The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee has bowed down to the *dictat* of the Jawaharlal-Vallabhbhai-Pattabhi Committee appointed by the last session of the Congress held at Jaipur which recommended that the Telugu-speaking people can have their separate administrative province if they give up their claims to the city of Madras. The members of the A.P.C.C. in a meeting assembled at Vijoywada, on November 11 last gave their sanction to this arrangement, and suggested at the same time that the Congress Working Committee and the Central Government of the Indian Union do take steps "to carve out Madras City and the neighbouring bi-lingual villages" into a separate "City Province."

It is not easy to understand why the recommendation of a Madras "City Province" should have been made except as the cutting of one's nose to spite another's face, as a parting shot to Tamilian ambitions. We can also envisage the acceptance of a likely arrangement by the proponents of Samyukta Maharashtra in the matter of the Island of Bombay as and when the Central Government feels inclined or competent to tackle the problem of Gujarati-Marathi rivalry. Our Andhra countrymen might have avoided the bitterness of feeling against the Tamilians if they had not laid claims on Madras City. Now that they have their province, we hope this bitterness will somehow be laid low. These are aberrations of every popular movement which the world forgets and forgives.

The districts to be included in the proposed Andhra Province envisaged by the Andhra Provincial Committee are: North and South Vizag, East and West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and the three taluks of Adoni, Alur and Rayadurg of Bellary district as per the Kelkar Award. Even in this the Telugu-speaking and Kannada-speaking peoples have their separate demands, and agreement on the implementation of the Kelkar Award by the rival parties has not yet come. Further, the interior districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur known as Rayasalcema have their fears of their coastal brethren. These are being sought to be removed by promises of a University for the area and of more irrigation facilities.

Andhra ambitions have yet to be satisfied. More than 70 lakhs of their brethren are in the Nizam State, and since the beginning of the Andhra Movement, the dream of their inclusion in a Greater Andhra has been an inspiration. Today these dreams are nearer realisation. We have a certain feeling that concern for the integrity of the Nizam State had

stood in the way of the British bureaucracy acceding to the Andhra Province demand what time Sind and Orissa were set up as separate households.

### *India's "Food Front"*

Shri R. K. Patil, India's Food Commissioner, came to Calcutta saw and departed after 2½ days' stay in this city. During this short time he is reported to have visited certain neighbouring areas that remain unmentioned watching activities of his new "Grow More Food" campaign. He held the inevitable Press Conference, met about 100 "non-officials" interested in agriculture for discussing the problem of increasing food production, to quote the words of the letter of invitation sent over the signature of Shri Jadavendra Nath Panja, West Bengal's Agriculture Minister. This "conference" was held on the 8th November, and the way in which the Food Commissioner hurried proceedings was not the way to do things, to put the matter in the mildest of terms; every ten minutes he was looking at his wrist watch; this procedure could not encourage discussion. Perhaps, in other provinces he has amended matters.

This was his visit to West Bengal, the first made since he was clothed with "special and extraordinary powers" announced on July 23 last in a "notification" by the Government of India. The powers that were secured to him had been indicated as follows:

The principal functions and powers of the Food Commissioner will be fivefold. He will initiate all measures necessary for co-ordinating and revising the food plans of provinces and states from time to time in the light of actual achievement. He can sanction grants and loans for food production scheme put up by Provinces and States. He can make available to Provinces and States all controlled materials and other resources of production. He is empowered to secure the necessary priority of movement of materials for timely implementation of Provincial and State plans. Generally he will take all necessary steps for increasing food production with a view to stopping import of foodgrains by the end of 1951. He is also expected to take steps to ensure the active co-operation of the producers of food in this programme.

The Food Commissioner will have a blocked grant placed at his disposal for giving subsidy to the Provinces and States for approved schemes of production.

What use has he been able to make of these powers, we do not know. The "Conference" at Calcutta was not told of this, of the great things done during the last four months or so. He should have told us of these as an incentive. He must have passed the major part of his all-too short visit at Writers' Buildings or Anderson House trying to ginger up the bureaucracy enthroned in these two places. Indicating the causes of the comparative failure of the "Grow More Food" campaign, Shri Patil spot-lighted three of these: the Central



Government's unawareness of the urgency of the food deficit; the love for the "red tape" of the bureaucracy; and last, the apathy and listlessness of the peasantry. The why of this last phenomenon he did not care to explain. But if this apathy and listlessness are not diagnosed the Food Commissioner will fail, as his predecessors—sporting other titles—have failed.

This is a warning that he should pay heed to. One indication of this spirit in the peasantry has been revealed to us from the Burdwan area of West Bengal, a surplus district in rice. In the coal mines the Labour Ministry has been able to provide shower baths, soaps, croches, maternity homes and certain other conveniences of modern life. The reaction to this amongst the local peasantry has a significance which the Government should take note of. The peasantry are heard to say that all these conveniences have been secured to "labour" at their expense; the Government has not been able to provide any one of these for them. In the circumstance, why should they labour for these privileged class? The question is ominous. We feel that the unbalanced development of amenities as between labour in factories, mines and mills as compared to "labour" in fields should not be encouraged, though this is the special mark and note of Marxist practice where "industrial labour" has been accorded a special place of honour. India's philosophy of conduct apart from practice stood for a equality of status that satisfied all units of society. Indian Union's leadership would do well to understand it. Our Socialist brethren seem to be singularly blind to this fact as well.

### *Rural Welfare*

The restoration of health to our village economy is the greatest problem before the intelligence and practical sense of India. Owing to the present economic debacle, the solution of the problem has attained a new urgency. Organizations have been springing to help solve it. Gandhiji has left a rich legacy of these—the Village Industries Association, the Harijan Sevak Sangha, the All-India Spinners' Association. It is not easy to improve upon their plan of work. But under the new impulse imparted by the arrival of political *Swaraj*, other men have been coming forward to labour in rural welfare work. The latest in Calcutta are the Rural Welfare Society of which Justice Ramprasad Mukherji is president and Shri Devendra Nath Mitter is secretary; the other is the Indian Institute of Urban and Rural Planning of which Mr. G. M. Hirsch is secretary. Both these organizations are in their teething stage. We have long been of opinion that urban organizations will undertake the immense possibilities of the work ahead when they betake themselves to villages. They can succeed when they can "adopt" a village and tend it with parent love. These two organizations have yet to reach that status.

### *Banking Facilities for Rural Areas*

Government of India has appointed a high-powered Committee to examine the question of banking facilities for rural areas. This has been done in accordance with point five in the eight-point programme announced by Dr. Matthai in the Indian Parliament for tackling the situation arising out of devaluation which reads as follows:

"To further the stimulus for investment which devaluation generally provides and thereby assist production and promote development by an intensified savings drive by propaganda, and failing this by compulsion, and by provision of suitable Governmental assistance for the extension of banking facilities to rural areas."

Considering the fact that large amounts of money have flown into the hands of the cultivators and the labourers during the war and post-war years, this step had long been overdue.

The Committee will be presided over by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and C. H. Bhabha, for Commerce Minister, will be the Vice-Chairman. Considering the circumstances under which Mr. Bhabha had to quit the Government of India, it would have been better to have somebody else for this position. Other members of the Committee are: Mr. V. R. Sonalkar, Deputy Managing Director of the Industrial Finance Corporation, Mr. J. C. Ryan, formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras; Mr. B. Venkatappah, Finance Secretary of the Bombay Government and Mr. Ramgopal, lately Joint Secretary, Finance Ministry, Government of India. Mr. N. D. Nangia, Deputy Chief Accountant, Reserve Bank of India will be the Member-Secretary.

The terms of reference are fairly broad-based and are as follows:

1. To consider the measures that can be immediately adopted for the extension of banking facilities.
2. To review in this connection the present arrangements for the management of the cash work at Government Treasuries and Sub-Treasuries including those where the work is at present managed by the Imperial Bank of India.
3. To consider to what extent the extension of banking facilities will be facilitated by entrusting the cash work at Government Treasuries and Sub-Treasuries at places where the work is not at present being managed by the Imperial Bank of India to commercial banks and co-operative banks and in this connection to consider:

(a) the future management of such work in the provinces of India as well as in the States and Unions whose financial integration with the Indian Union will take effect from 1st April, 1950; and

(b) to what extent the management of the cash work in Government Treasuries and Sub-Treasuries could be entrusted to either a new State-sponsored Bank or to one or more of the existing commercial banks or co-operative banks; and the conditions to be



fulfilled by, and the assistance to be given to such banks.

4. To make recommendations in regard to the banks which may now be handling the Treasury work in the States and the Unions.

5. To make any other recommendations.

The Committee is expected to commence work at an early date and is required to submit its Report by February 15, 1950.

### India's Tea

The Commerce Minister of the Indian Union commented on the fact that the proprietors of Tea concerns in India do not appear to care for the progressive deterioration in the quality of the stuff that they help to produce. The prospect of losing their markets should warn them betimes. The setting up of the Central Tea Board on August 1 last should fulfil hopes that this new evil would be scotched.

The position of India in the world tea market may be summarized as follows: India is the largest producer and exporter of tea in the world. Out of 938 million pounds of tea representing the world output in 1948, India produced 567.75 million pounds out of which 420 million pounds was exported to foreign countries; Pakistan produced 44 million pounds or less than 8 per cent of India's output; Ceylon 299 million pounds; and Java and Sumatra 28 million pounds.

India exported to Britain last year 298.2 million pounds of tea; to Australia 8.7 million and to New Zealand 15 million pounds. To the hard currency countries, including Canada, the U.S.A. and South America, India's tea export amounted to 37.2 million pounds.

By increasing tea exports to dollar countries at the cost of sterling countries, India's dollar earnings will be greatly enhanced. The possibilities are that the devalued Indian rupee might prove to be a temptation to dollar countries to import Indian tea in larger quantities.

Pakistan with her non-devaluation decision may find that it has stifled her export trade in tea. Even Britain with her notorious fondness for this State which she has wet-nursed cannot be much of a help; we are told that she has not found it possible to oblige Pakistan by paying a higher price for tea.

India's home market has been expanding; in 1928 Indian consumption was 20 million pounds only; in 1930, it rose to 38 million pounds; in 1945, it was 150 million pounds. There are no limits as yet to this expansive tendency. Production also may be expanded. At present the international agreement limits the acreage of cultivation and the volume of exports, fixing a limit on both for member countries. It has been extended for one year, and is due to expire on March 31, 1950. The other factor that may halt this expansion is the deterioration to which Shri Kshatish Chandra Neogy had drawn, pointed atten-

tion. Another is labour's recalcitrant mood. India cannot adopt the Russian method of "liquidating" all opposition to her internal plans.

### "Culture Crisis" in India

Leaders of thought in India have, since the last quarter of the last century, been stressing on the need of a re-orientation of educational principles and practices as a method of creating a sense of self-respect and self-confidence amongst us, the stepping stones to *Swaraj* in all departments of life. The arrival of political freedom in India has added strength to this plea. It was natural, therefore, that Dr. S. K. De as president of the 15th session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Bombay on November 5 last should be reverting to this theme. He called for removing or neutralising "the preponderantly Western bias" given to Indian education under the British regime. Describing the present condition of things, he said:

"It is well known that in our present-day educational set-up Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian are indeed recognised, but they do not hold their former place of honour, nor are they widely or earnestly studied. In his struggle for existence the modern man is forced to pay more attention to what is called useful knowledge; and if he is not exactly contemptuous he is certainly indifferent to the apparently fruitless learning of a bygone age, which, in his opinion, is unsuitable to modern ways of life.

"There is much to be said in favour of his view when we have regard to modern conditions of life: and what is happening in India is only an aspect of the worldwide depreciation of Classical studies."

The last lines of his, quoted above, appear to give his case away, witness to the divided mind of the Indian *intelligentsia*.

Two other leaders of thought amongst us Dr. Chandrasekhar Venkata Raman and Dr. Kanhayalal Munshi, have discussed in their Convocation speeches at the Rajasthan University (November 18) and the Hindu University (November 20) respectively the problem of culture in India faced with a crisis. "We have not yet achieved cultural and intellectual *Swaraj*," said the former. The latter declared:

"Like other modern countries, India was passing through a phase of urbanised and industrial civilisation in which a dangerous measure of regimentation of life had become inevitable. During the last fifty years the United States had risen to a world influence. Russia under Soviet Communism had developed a power, 'sinister in its capacity to create chaos'."

The remedy for this *malaise* was indicated by the former as follows:

"The body, mind and spirit are to work together which can convert even a desert into a garden as has been done in Palestine. We talk much of *Swaraj* but true *Swaraj* is of intellect and spirit. Today there is much indiscipline and Communist brays everywhere—symptoms of a disease in the body-politic of the country—which is

nothing but misdirection of energy. But if people work hard with a deep interest and clear heart and mind, countries and lives can be transformed altogether."

The problem can be solved "here with our own men and resources and not by depending on exporting intellect from here and on importing it from outside. . . . Unless we shed these two doctrines and have self-reliance India cannot progress." There is a modern note in these words that we neglect at our peril.

Kanhayalaji was more of a revivalist in his speech though he has criticized this spirit.

"Our Universities therefore must recapture the spirit of our eternal culture: not by short-sighted revivalism but by a living re-integration. We are looked upon as the hope of the future and command the respect of the world not because of our military strength which is little, nor our populous country which is a handicap, but because Ramakrishna, Dayananda, Vivekananda, Malaviya and Gandhiji have brought to the modern world a fresh vindication of our ancient truths."

And what are the marks and notes of this *Sanatana Dharma* (eternal culture) ?

"The social values fundamental to Indian culture, the patriarchal family, the sacredness of the marriage tie, the "Chaturvarnya" or four-fold order of society, gave them the invulnerability in the old world. The new woman had arisen and claimed freedom and equality and would share with man the life of the family in full partnership. But the stability of the family life, and also of society depended upon the oneness of man and wife in the life-long comradeship, confidence and interdependence."

The report of Kanhayalaji's address does not indicate any positive activity that he could suggest which can help us to re-integrate the old and the new. In contrast Dr. Chandrasekhar Raman's dependence on the modern men and women in India to re-align their own life-channels has something to recommend it. Civilized values are permanent; but their expressions in various patterns under different climates, physical and mental, take new forms. This newness is a challenge, and if there is any virtue in our ancient values, this will be proved during the coming years. Free India is just in the mid-stream of a world-wide crisis; we have yet to prove in our life and conduct the validity of our claims to leadership in thought and action.

### Trade Unions and Wages Policy

We draw the attention of the Labour Minister of the Government of India and our labour leaders to the following comment:

The *Yorkshire Post* writing on the Trades Union Congress discussion on wages says: "This is an important week for trade unions—and for the nation as a whole. The Trades Union Congress is on the point of defining its attitude on the prickly question of its wages policy."

"The Special Economic Committee of the T.U.C. which has been anxiously considering this

problem has asked unions not to press any wage claims until the T.U.C. General Council has made a full statement on the situation. It seems certain that when this statement comes it will take the form of an appeal to trade unionists throughout the country to suspend their impending demands for increased wages until the end of next year."

The newspaper adds: "We hope the urgent need for self-discipline will be recognised by the workers. This is no sectional or party matter. The nation's future is at stake. Unless a temporary halt can be put on wage claims, inflation may well get out of hand, and Britain may fail utterly in her fight for economic independence."

The increasing absenteeism and slowing down of production in our factories is a clear indication that wages have caught up the real increase in prices so far as a labour budget is concerned. Food, which accounts for the main item in a labourer's budget together with many other essentials, are being supplied, at many places, at a low subsidised cost beyond the reach of the general body of consumers. Time has come for India to follow the line suggested by the *Yorkshire Post*.

### Christian Missions in India

The *National Christian Council Review* of November, 1949, published an article on the crisis that has overtaken Christian thought and practice in India. The writer, Dr. G. W. Briggs, sometime on the staff of the Serampore College, has built up his story in the background of Christendom's disharmonies between precept and practice, between the ideal and the real. He has quoted extensively from the findings of a study of the religious "situation" in Britain entitled "Britain's Churches and Her Economic Life," drawn up under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. A few quotations will make clear the thesis:

"There are many within the churches who feel that the churches have lost the confidence of the people through a lack of understanding of and response to the need to deal politically with the problem of an industrialized society."

"It has become habitual in the Church to start with the doctrine of God and of Man, with the Sovereignty of God or the Lordship of Christ, with Christian theology or even Christian ethics, and to work back from one or all of these to the common life of men in the form of 'application.'"

"As wage-earners and non-owners, as employees and workers, it is not their Church, for it has held aloof from their efforts to escape from poverty, ignorance, ill health and injustice. . . . The relationship is marked, not by hostility, but by a sense of distance. . . ."

"The result has been that Christianity has become a highly specialized preoccupation of scholars, theologians and professional Christians. These only in minor degree are called upon to face problems of personal, social, and political relationships in their daily responsibilities. . . ."

In the United States also there has been an identical "feeling of frustration." As a recent statement acknowledges: "One great weakness in the churches

is their unawareness of what is going on in the world, and their lack of understanding of world affairs as Christians. This situation will continue as long as we have an inadequately informed leadership. Both within and without the churches there are men and women who are appalled at the ignorance of the world exhibited in the pulpit." And from American experience also has flowed the conviction that "economic status and economic relationships are of basic importance. . . . They are fundamental in shaping the quality of life." This statement of "faith" is a new phenomenon; it has gained in importance since Karl Marx's philosophy was given shape in Russia under Bolshevik leadership. It has been influencing thought in India also. But in the context of the article written by Dr. Briggs the crisis of Christian missions in our country had its beginning first in their alien character, and secondly in their identification with the External Authority that Britain represented. We have it on record that every Christian missionary was required to pledge that he would "do nothing to, or in diminution of, the lawfully constituted authority of the country." About its alien character, the following excerpt from the article under notice puts it beyond doubt:

"The Missionary Movement in India, because of the environment from which it comes, does not present a gospel relevant to the spiritual and temporal needs of the people it would serve."

The writer put his finger on the root-cause of this difficulty when he quoted the *Madras Guardian* (weekly) as it said: "We have ourselves been insisting that Indian Christians understand and appreciate Indian culture and adopt whatever is of value in it, so as to divest itself of the semblance of foreignness." Christian missionaries, the products of foreign environments, may have knowledge of Indian thought and life, but they have no "understanding" of its spirit, of the "more simple aspects of Hinduism found in village and *basti-city* life."

The present generation may not know that Indian Christian thought-leaders like Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya strove through life to rid their religion of this "foreignness." They failed because foreign missionaries dominated Christian life in India by control of the finances of the whole organization. But with the elimination of British authority, this financial control may not be as ascendant. And Indian Christians may come by their soul.

### *Colombo Conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers*

India has agreed to join the coming Colombo Conference of Commonwealth Ministers. Significance of the Indian Ocean Area is now receiving serious attention in London. Two comments reproduced below explain the problem that Commonwealth Foreign Ministers will have to face at the Colombo Conference.

"Early next year," writes the *Daily Herald*, "Mr. Bevin goes to Colombo for a conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers."

The *Herald* observes that Mr. Bevin has always been acutely aware of the world importance of the countries around the Indian Ocean. "Some of them," it adds, "are going through a difficult period of transition, from being parts of 'Empires' to being fully independent States."

"The economy of much of the area was shattered and dislocated during the war and by no means fully restored. And there looms to the north-east now the new vast and enigmatical power of Communist China. Nowhere are the problems of a whole region more difficult, or of more importance to the Commonwealth."

"There are immediate questions—recognition of the new regime in China, the possibility of a treaty with Japan. And there are longer-term questions of policy which call for frank discussion between the Commonwealth partners."

"It is high time for such a conference. And it is very fitting that it should be held in the capital of one of the new Asian member States of the Commonwealth."

The *Daily Herald* Diplomatic Correspondent, W. N. Ewer, discusses the questions facing the Colombo Conference, including China and a peace treaty with Japan, and says: "But now the U. S. Government has got to work on the subject. By the end of the year American ideas should be definite enough for new discussion to be useful."

"The actions of the Chinese Nationalist Government may compel some move to be made in China even before the Colombo Conference."

*Time and Tide* (October 22), welcoming the visit of Pandit Nehru to Washington, says: "He received a very warm welcome indeed. To many Americans, the Prime Minister of India appears as a sort of Asiatic George Washington. Official Washington has practical reasons for welcoming Nehru. Since the collapse of Nationalist China, American interest is shifting westward to the triangle of Burma-India and Pakistan-Ceylon, now regarded as an alternative bastion against the spread of Asiatic Communism. The U. S. mission to Tibet, recent promises of U. S. agricultural aid to Ceylon and finally Nehru's visit all point in this direction."

"This American interest in nations that were until recently Colonial dependencies of Britain need not have an adverse effect on Commonwealth interests. Quite the contrary. U. S. financial aid, which would serve to correct India's huge adverse dollar balance, would be most welcome to the sterling bloc and help relieve this country of a heavy burden."

"Nehru may come down with more forthrightness on the side of democratic nations and renounce his earlier ambition to preserve India in perpetual neutrality."

### *Solution of Indonesian Problem*

There is good news from the capital of Holland—the Dutch have agreed to transfer sovereign power to Indonesians by the 31st December, 1949. Though belated, this dawn of wisdom on the mind of Dutch imperialists is welcome. The Indonesian Republic, founded on August 17, 1945, two days after the formal surrender of Japan, has had to struggle for more than 4 years to reach her political ideal. We take occasion to congratulate President Soekarno on the successful termination of their labour, war-like and peaceful.

The details of the agreement are not available as we write these notes. And it is too early now to assess the gains and losses of the present agreement. All the same we cannot help regretting the loss of men and money caused by Dutch persistence in an immoral course. What they have gained by it, we do not know.

The following facts give point to the importance of Indonesia to Dutch economy. Peace in Indonesia is doubly gratifying therefore.

The Netherlands are just a small agricultural country of 12,700 square miles with 8 million people whereas, Indonesia is about 73,500 square miles with 70 million people. The capital investment in agricultural assets only in Republican area, that means in Java and Sumatra amounts to 520 million dollars of which about 75 per cent is Dutch, 25 per cent British, French and Belgian, and about 3 per cent American. Of the total private investment in all Indonesia approximately 50 per cent was Dutch. Some figures of pre-war trade also give a picture of the importance of Indonesia to the Netherlands. Imports during the period 1933 to 1940 were about 232 million dollars and exports about 500 million dollars. Indonesia still produce copra, pepper and oil and that means dollars and, like other countries, the Netherlands also need these dollars very badly for the reconstruction of their home economy. In view of this contingency the Dutch Government has but consulted its enlightened self-interest in making peace with Indonesian Republic.

### *Bevin on British Foreign Policy*

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Ernest Bevin, recently enunciated British foreign policy and said that "the policy we have followed is one which in the end, if pursued with patience and vigour, will save the world from a further terrible struggle."

Speaking on November 13 at East Woolwich, a new London constituency which he is to fight at the next General Election, Mr. Bevin also said: "I know things look black at times, but I have never lost faith yet that if the right method is adopted we shall win through."

"In Europe," the Foreign Secretary added, "we have tried to bring 10 nations together (in the Atlantic Treaty). It is going to take some time before the scheme is worked out to take its full responsibility, but the organisation is there."

Observing that there are about 600 million people in the sterling area, Mr. Bevin said: "Those 600 million people are in one great multilateral area, trading without difficulty with one another—600 million people who will never fight with one another. They are associated with something like another 300 million or 400 million people in Europe and the Western Hemisphere, who also will never fight one another."

"So that, through our Dominions, through our Commonwealth, through Africa, through the Middle East, through Western Union, and with the Atlantic Pact, we have succeeded in welding together nearly 60 per cent of the world's population on a thorough-going peace basis. That, I think, is a great triumph."

"The task now before us is to try and remain strong but never aggressive, because weakness may mean temptation."

"While remaining strong we must be ever ready and ever willing, notwithstanding the difference in system, to negotiate when there is a genuine desire to negotiate and a willingness to settle."

### *World Pacifist Conference*

The Conference that is proposed to be held at Santiniketan on and from December 1 to December 8 and at Wardha on and from December 23 to December 31, 1949 of the World Pacifist Conference has chosen well its places of meeting. Santiniketan was the seat and centre of Rabindranath's work; it shelters the *Visvabharati*, the nucleus of a World University; Wardha and its neighbourhood were chosen by Gandhiji as the fields of his experiment in constructive nationalism drawing inspiration from the ideal of a "One World" morality. The Poet had consciously worked for the hastening of the day which the Pacifist Conference represents. Writing from New York to a student of Santiniketan on December 11, 1920 he gave shape to the aspiration he bore in his heart for the place which for more than half his life of 80 years on earth he had made his "local habitation."

"Let the illusion of geographical barriers disappear from at least one place in India—let our Santiniketan be that place. For us there is but one country—the world. We have but one nation, that is Man. Our Santiniketan is near the summit where the sun daily rises; there I have invited the men of the land of the setting sun. They will one day accept that invitation. Widen your rooms so that you can truly welcome them; open your hearts; . . . Because I am trying from here to build that high-way to Santiniketan, that is why I am late in arriving; once the high-way is open for free traffic, the agony of my exile abroad will have been fulfilled."

Today the poet is no longer with us. His presence is not there to welcome this Conference but his spirit will preside over its deliberations. The religious man turned politician is also not with us. But Wardha is instinct with the inspiration of his life. The World Pacifist Conference will find in these two places the memory of that genius that has called into being this assembly of all the nations which have yet to realize that the World is One,

### Josephine Macleod

The November number of the *Prabuddha Bharata* ("Awakened India"), the English-language monthly organ of the Ramakrishna Mission, gives news of the death on October 14, 1949, of Josephine Macleod, friend and helper of Swami Vivekananda. She died in her 90th year full of love of the land which gave to the world Swami Vivekananda. In the literature that has grown round the life and times of that master mind, in letters of his, she was addressed as "Joe".

The obituary notice and article in this magazine speaks of her as "an important land-mark in the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Movement" which has ever laboured for the dignity of Indian culture, as the bringer to the West of the message of Vedanta which seeks to reconcile the spiritual and the material in the scheme of creation. The philosophy and the practice of the West had disrupted it, and aspiring souls in the new world found in Vivekananda a way to peace and goodwill amongst men.

This must have been the bond that had bound such diverse personalities as Josephine Macleod and Margaret Noble (Sister Nivedita) to the Master and all that he had stood for. This contact had helped to bind these two Western women to the cause of India's uplift. And they could dedicate themselves to it because, as Josephine Macleod has herself told the world, the Master had demanded of them as *guru-dakshina*—as payment to the preceptor—"Love India!" This became the light on their pilgrimage on earth.

### Surendra Kumar Basu

A type of an old Bengali has departed from this earth in the person of Surendra Kumar Basu. In his own days a leader of the Nadia Bar, Surendra Kumar had retired from practice some years back. He represented a generation that had regained its balance during the last quarter of the 19th century after the hectic days of "Young Bengal." A man of varied interests he tried to combine his chosen profession with giving concrete shape to the various forms of the Swadeshi spirit. A man singularly free from credal bias, befriending Muslims and Christians alike and helping them in their career, a man avoiding politics, the stress of the times had once chosen him as an instrument; he was the guiding spirit in the organization of a session of the Bengal Hindu Sabha over which Ramananda Chatterjea presided. The last days of his life were passed in building up a Girls' School at Krishnagar—the Hindu Kalyan Institution, and in gardening. A man of strong individuality, a sensitive soul withal, every good cause could claim his help and co-operation. He died in his 74th year, life's duties done. To his large family we tender our sympathy.

### Benoy Kumar Sarkar

A vibrant personality has vanished from our midst. Trained by Satish Chandra Mukherji, one of the heralds of the new Nationalism that had burst over India during the first decade of the present century, Benoy Kumar held fast to the inspiration of his youth and to the last day of his life on earth he remained a student and an interpreter of his country's values to the modern world. His teacher had given all those who had come in close touch with him knowledge of and insight into Indian culture and its various expressions. Benoy Kumar by study and travels over West and East had added to these. But his special contribution to this store was gathered in Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the United States. He thus became an internationalist, and loved to interpret his own people's life in the light of universal human experience. There is a fitness in the event of his place of death; he died in Washington where he had gone after a strenuous tour through the States speaking to appreciative collegians of his hopes and aspirations as these would take shape in his country free of alien control. To his contemporaries his death will be a poignant loss, because more was expected of him and it was also hoped that recognition of his sterling qualities and ripe experience, by the men who are in power here, would follow after his return from this tour. Few, if any, of his friends and admirers knew that his health was sapped by the strenuous work he had done, and so the news of his demise is all the more stunning in its suddenness. Benoy Kumar had spent all his life, from youth onwards, in service of his country and we can only express our sense of loss by saying that he deserved far more from his country and its nationals than he got. May his soul rest in peace!

### Ardeshir Dalal

The death of Ardeshir Dalal removes a notable figure from the industrial leadership of the country, of Bombay in particular. Beginning life as an administrative officer under Government, finance became his *forte* and he rose to be the Executive Councillor under Lord Linlithgow. Meanwhile, he had joined the Tatas as a Director in 1931, and was a tower of strength to them during the stresses and strains of the war years. One of the co-signatories of the "Bombay Plan" of economic reconstruction of India after the Second World War called forth in response to the challenge, so to say, of the activities of the National Planning Committee working under the chairmanship of Fundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Ardeshir Dalal did not live long to initiate measures for its implementations. Our country, caught in a financial crisis, needed the service of this Parsi financial expert. But it was decreed otherwise. To his family we tender our sympathy.

# THE COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN THE U. P.

By SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

I had an opportunity of getting a glimpse of the work hand of the Development Minister, Shri Keshava Deva done by the Cottage Industries Department of the Malaviya. United Provinces the other day when I attended the In his inaugural speech the Hon'ble Minister gave Cottage Industries Conference organized by the some indication of the possibilities of cottage industries



Old refugee ladies are spinning yarn

Government of United Provinces and saw the very instructive exhibition held along with the conference.

There is a general complaint in the Central Industries Department about the lack of information available at the Centre about the Industries of the Provinces. Although efforts have been made to collect statistics from Provinces yet they were not forthcoming. But to our relief and surprise we found that the U. P. Government has got statistics about the larger industries as also about the cottage industries. A booklet *Let Figures Tell*, compiled by its Industries Department, is replete with facts and figures about the industries in the Province. There are also comparative all-India figures in some of the industries.

There is a separate Directorate in the U. P. for U.P. is not self-sufficient but has to import about 8 lakh maunds of piece-goods. There is a large industry in woollen goods also, U. P. having large woollen mills. In the hand-loom industry, however, the U.P. has a very great place. About 60 crores of rupees worth of

in the U. P. There were 5.5 crores of people in the Province of which 4½ crores lived in the villages, while 2½ lakhs of people are engaged in the large industries—the tanneries, the cotton and woollen mills, and the oil mills. In the Cottage Industries 20 times this number of men find employment, producing articles worth 170 crores. "Thus the big role the cottage industries are playing and are going to play in the economy of our Province is evident and the sooner we realise clearly the better it is for us." It is the plan of the Government to put 4 million more men in the cottage industries in the course of the next three years.

## TEXTILE INDUSTRY

In the cotton textile section cotton spinning is practically wholly done by the mills. In this matter



Refugee ladies are doing tailoring and embroidery work



goods are produced in the hand-loom for silk, cotton and wool. This hand-weaving industry is passing through difficult times. Foreign silks are ousting the Benares silks and mill-woven textiles are throttling the



Ground material to be delivered to the potters

cottage loom products. The crushing competition of the mills in the weaving line was brought out by the Hon'ble Minister Malaviyaji in his inaugural speech. He registered a strong protest against the mills competing with cottage looms which depend upon the mills for their yarn supply. He would not allow any extension of mill looms but on the contrary would, if possible, replace the mill looms by hand-loom.

"No Government worth the name can ignore the interest of these millions of cottage workers engaged in cotton, silk, woollen and blanket making industry. Although we have tried to do something for them during the war days and after, it seems to me a mere patch-work. . . . Our policy seems to be based on the presumption that all cloth must ultimately be produced in the modern mills. . . . The yarn produced in a mill is not treated as a raw material for the hand-loom weaver. . . . A piece of markeen cloth 38 yards in length weighing about 10 pounds is sold by the mill for about Rs. 21 and the mill that produces the yarn from which the markeen is woven, sells the same weight of yarn in a bundle of 10 pounds at Rs. 21 to the handloom weaver.

"It will thus be seen that 10 lbs. of yarn converted into markeen cloth fetches the same price as 10 lbs. of yarn although it is used as a raw material by the hand-loom weaver. . . . It will be a great tragedy, sir, if we go on planning the expansion of mill industry and at the same time continue ignoring the fate of handloom weavers."

Although there is a difficulty in keeping the hand-loom going, the Hon'ble Minister-in-Charge was out for not only keeping the looms going but fixed a target for increasing hand-loom products so as to push up the production value to one hundred crores from the present-time 60 crores.

There would be difficulties but the Government

would face them and try to reach the goal. There is a good export trade in the handloom products and it was felt that the fixation of such a target may lead to provincial complications if more exports were planned for. The Hon'ble Minister, therefore, decided to dispose of the increased production by increasing home consumption. He would not be sorry if all the textile mills worked for producing yarn and left weaving to the cottages as far as possible.

#### KHADI PRODUCTION

The U. P. has been taking a leading role in the matter of production of Khadi for years past. At present the total production of Khadi in the Province is worth 27½ lakhs.

Khadi is much costlier than mill cloth. But Khadi should have its place in the national economy. The U. P. Government has theoretically accepted the message of Khadi.

"With the dawn of independence it was but natural that the Government should devote its attention to the main programme of the Father of the Nation. The Government, therefore, launched a comprehensive scheme for developing Khadi on the lines of Gandhian ideology. This scheme came into operation in 1947."

A Khadi Research and Demonstration Institute has been opened at Allahabad. Besides this, workers are being trained in spinning who are training rural spinners: Khadi weaving is also a subject where workers are receiving training for propagating this craft. Attention is being given to encourage production of Khadi.



Porcelain articles prepared by cottage industry

In the budget of 1947-48 there was a provision for Rs. 5 lakhs which was raised to Rs. 9 lakhs for the current year 1948-49. It is estimated that about 12 lakhs may be provided for in the next budget. Some funds are given to the existing organisation as loans for expanding work and grants also are given for training of workers and giving a bounty on production.



But these allotments cannot take Khadi work far enough. Government cannot possibly make a target for increasing Khadi in the same manner that it has done for handloom and finance it adequately by making Khadi cheaper through bounty. It would require very large amounts indeed and the Government cannot be expected to find such large sums from their usual sources of revenue.

#### LEVY ON COTTON MILLS

The way to expand Khadi by minimising the difference in price between mill cloth and Khadi requires the imposition of a levy on mill cloth. Once this fact is realised and work started on a levy basis then there is really a future for Khadi.



The tadi tappers now making gur of palmyra juice

It is a significant thing that the Hon'ble Minister has expressed his desire to move for the attainment of the aforesaid objective of the imposition of a levy on cotton mills.

#### Some figures about Khadi work in U. P.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. No. of villages covered by the scheme  | 1,500                                      |
| 2. No. of rural spinners trained or under training  | 15,000                                     |
| 3. No. of subsidised institutions working including Gandhi Ashram, its branches and District Development Associations | 52   |
| 4. Amount of loans and grants given to subsidised institutions during 1948-49   | 6,72,870                                   |
| 5. Khadi production through subsidised institutions (average per year)  | 22,00,000 sq. yds. valued at Rs. 21½ lakhs |
| 6. No. of master spinners, guides and local workers, trained  | 1,007                                      |
| 7. Charkhas distributed for training  | 15,139                                     |

#### SUGAR INDUSTRY

The U. P. produces more than half the sugar produced in the factories of India. The acreage under sugarcane in U. P. is about 60 per cent of the total acreage under sugar in India. There are 134 sugar factories in India of which 63 factories are located in U. P. The distribution of cane for factories and cottage industry in U. P. is as follows :

#### Utilisation of sugarcane for different purposes in U. P. :

For Sugar mills	17½ per cent
" Khandeswari	7½ "
" Seed and chewing	10 "
" Gur	65 "
Total	100

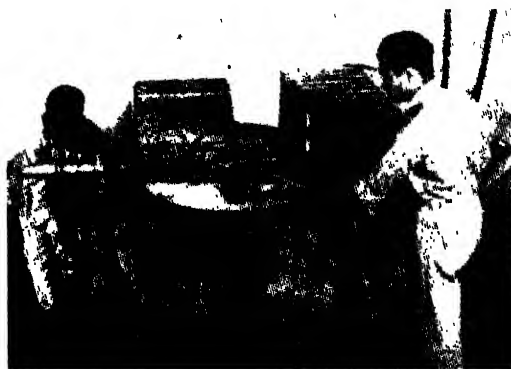
*Cottage industry :* 1. Utilising over 80 per cent of sugarcane the cottage production of gur is 6 crore maunds ; 2. Valued at Rs. 72 crores ; 3. Crushing kolhus—3 lakhs ; 4. Employing for 5 months—12 lakhs of men.

*Sugar mill industry :* 1. 63 sugar mills of U. P. utilise 17½ per cent of canes grown in U. P., producing refined sugar—1.6 crore mds ; 2. Refined sugar at Rs. 35 to Rs. 56 crores ; 3. Cane crushed in 63 mills ; 4. The mills employ for 5 months (Approx.)—0.75 lakh men ; 5. The factories also produce molasses worth—0.6 crore mds.

Although the importance of the cottage sugar or gur and Khandeswari takes such a large share of the total industry, yet up to only a few years back, it was by sufferance that the Kolhus existed. The mills were in the monopolists' position in the industry dictating terms and forcing the cultivators to part with their canes at the prices determined by the mills. In fact, such was the supremacy of the mills, that if anybody would dare to offend the mill industry by setting up a cottage Kolhu in the area where any mill operated then, his entire production of cane would be rejected by the mills. The consumer of 17½ per cent of cane dictated terms to 80 per cent cottage producers and users of cane. It is hoped that those days are gone or going to disappear for ever.

#### A NEWER EFFORT FOR DEVELOPING GUR INDUSTRY

The 3 lakhs of Kolhus which crush cane for the cottages are far from efficient. They utilise only 50



Hand-beater with trough

to 55 per cent of the juice where better cottage Kolhus can yield 65 to 75 per cent juice. 15 per cent more juice means 15 per cent more land wasted and 15 per cent less yield of the 72 per cent canes crushed. The U. P. Government is determined to replace the

old Kolhus by better ones and have fixed a target for accomplishing the improvement.

There is another very great room for improvement in the construction of the boiler and furnace for cottages. The U. P. Government has accepted a standard design of furnace and pans by which lighter coloured gur will be produced and at greatly reduced fuel consumption.



Trainees at work in basket-making

When these improvements are accomplished, the Government visualise that 8 to 10 crores of rupees are likely to be added to the income of the cane grower-crushers of the Province. This will mean an additional Rs. 70 per capita income for the 12 lakh men in the industry.

The U. P. Government has launched a propaganda drive for replacement of old Kolhus. In one of the posters the old Kolhu is described as "a thief". The old Kolhu is personified and is represented as being beaten out of the fields. The legend runs: "This thief steals 3 maunds of cane juice every day."\*\*\*

Demonstration parties are training the villagers in the area. 36 cane-growing districts have been divided in 353 circles. In 1949-50, the work will be extended to 8,000 villages of the Gur-producing districts. More than 400 growers have been trained and for 5,000 improved furnaces have been constructed in 1947-48 and in the current year another 10,000 furnaces are likely to be constructed. Improved Kolhus and pans worth 7 lakhs have been supplied to the Gur-producers.

#### BETTER GUR PROCESSING

Golden or light-coloured gur is produced by decolorising the juice by clarifying it with activated carbon. A carbon-manufacturing factory has been established at Etawah.

\* रस को

\*\* यह तान मन रस गोज़ जुगता है

Some statistics from Gur propaganda leaflet :

#### Gur prepared in various Provinces of India

U. P.	5½ crore mds.
Bengal	1½ "
Bihar-Orissa	80 lakh mds.
Punjab	10 " "
Bombay	65 " "
Madras	4½ " "
N.-W. F. P.	15 " "
C. P.	5 " "
Assam	9 " "

#### Per capita of Gur consumption

U. P.	36 seers
Punjab	13½ "
Bengal	10½ "
Bombay	9½ "
Bihar-Orissa	7 "
Madras	4½ "
Assam	4½ "

So much is being done for the development and improvement of Gur industry in U. P. Bengal comes next to U. P. in Gur production, having 1½ crore maunds of gur manufacture to its credit.

#### PALM GUR INDUSTRY

Palm Gur manufacture was known as a cottage industry in Madras and Bengal. The All-India Village Industries Association under the inspiration of Gandhiji planned for introducing this industry in all the Provinces of India. The Central Government has also taken up the work. The U. P. Government initiated the Palm Gur scheme in 1948. There is prohibition in U. P. and the displaced tappers will have this new occupation today. 116 persons have been trained in palm-tapping by the U. P. Government and in order that the best methods of tapping and Gur-making may be introduced tappers from Bengal and Madras have been employed.

The U. P. proposes to utilise all the existing palm trees, and it is hoped that one lakh men will find this new employment, besides many hundreds of potters and blacksmiths will find occupation in supplying the pots and knives, etc.

The total earning is expected to be Rs. 2.5 crores. The gur produced in this way, will be equivalent to the releasing of 25,000 acres of land from cane for food production. At the committee appointed by the Conference I suggested that fresh palm planting should be undertaken and all laner and vacant roads should be planted with Tal palm so that after a time it may not be necessary to keep so much land under sugarcane in U. P. Out of the 40 million acres of land under cultivation in U. P. sugarcane occupies 2.2 million acres, being nearly equal to the 2.6 million acres under mustard, one of the prominent cash crops of U. P. Any release of land from sugar by better juice extraction and by introduction of tal-gur will go to increase land under cereals in which we are so urgently in need.

Thick tal syrup is a delicious food. During the season, it is sold in open pots in Bengal as *nolen-gur*. At the request of Shri Gajanan, Tal-gur Develop-

ment officer of the A.I.V.I.A. and now of the Central Government, I canned a few dozen tins of this gur. After two years the contents were found to be as fresh and flavoured as at the time of canning. There is a possibility of the development of this industry as well.

from being ruined but the Department proposes to make them prosperous—(1) by introducing better *ghanis* in replacement of the old *ghanis*, (2) by arranging for co-operative stores for supplying seeds regularly and at a fair price, and (3) by grading the oil for better marketing.



Artisans at work in Pottery Tuitional class, Kithaur (Meerut)

#### MUSTARD OIL PRODUCTION

In U.P. rape and mustard are sown in 26 lakh acres. The production of seeds is 2.22 crore maunds valued approximately at 31½ crores. It is one of the major agricultural products of U.P. All this vast quantity of mustard seed is disposed of in three ways :

- (a) One part is exported raw principally to Bengal.
- (b) One part is crushed in oil mills and oil exported principally to Bengal.
- (c) One part is crushed in local *ghanis* and the oil consumed locally.

The large oil mills not only crush mustard seeds but also express oil from linseed, *mohua*, castor, *til* and groundnut also. The total production of mill-oil is 17½ lakh maunds. The oil mills for expressing all this oil employ less than 6,000 men.

On the cottage side there are one and a half lakh *ghanis* in all crushing 60 lakh maunds of seeds. The attention of the Cottage Industries Directorate has been focussed on this *ghani*-oil industry. In the opinion of the Cottage Industries Department :

"The mill-oil has begun to penetrate into the interior of the country as well, and the *Teli* is fast going out of his profession as he is no longer able to face their competition. Consequently he needs help."

The Department has probed into the matter. It has a programme of not only saving the village *Teli*

The replacement of the 1½ lakh *ghanis* in villages and the training of the villagers to the use of the new *ghani* is a great work and a very uphill work. The U. P. Government has chosen the Wardha *Ghani* as the approved type for introduction. This *ghani*, however, requires a very large diameter of the log for scooping the mortar. This is a handicap. I suggested to them that there is a type of a *ghani* in Bengal called *kopra ghani*, which is believed to be as efficient as the Wardha *ghani*, but which requires only 18 inches diameter log for the mortar. The Department has undertaken to investigate this point. The Harcourt Butler Technical Institute is trying to further improve the Wardha *ghani*.

During the 9 months of operation of the scheme, the Department has



Manufacture of knives at a tuitional class

trained 150 carpenters to make the improved *ghanis* and 750 *ghanis* have been sold. But of this number 500 *ghanis* have been sold to non-professionals who were keen on working with the new *ghanis*.

#### TANNING INDUSTRY

At Agra in the U.P. has been concentrated the factory tanning industry. There are some of the

biggest tanneries of India. These tanneries produce Rs. 75 crores worth of leather and fabricate leather in their own factories to the extent of another 10 crore rupees.



Training workers in the art of manufacturing knives

Side by side, within the Province, the cottage tanners are still plying their trade and eking out their miserable existence. The Departmental statistics show that these cottage tanneries produce leather to the value of 10 crores per annum and keep 80,000 men employed—a stupendous figure compared with their pigmy equipment and knowledge. But the miracle is there. They are existing—though miserably. Rs. ten crores worth of hand-fabricated leather articles are also produced keeping one lakh persons employed. But this is in the shoe and leather goods manufacture concentrated at Agra, etc., working mainly with factory-tanned leather. Any way, between cottage tanneries and cottage leather works 1,80,000 persons are employed in the U. P.

The U. P. Government wanted to better the condition of cottage tanneries from before the last war. Improved tanning knowledge and improved set of appliances and methods were directed towards the village. Several of the cottage tanning appliances were taken from the Cottage Tanning Institute, and one of the old students of this Institute devoted himself for the improvement work. He had been eminently successful in his enterprise. He died prematurely. The U. P. needs men of that type by

scores now. In the exhibition, the products of cottage tanneries have taken a very significant place, showing that the U. P. Handicrafts Department has struck root in the cottage tanning and leather handiwork line.

Today Rs. 75 crores worth of tanned leather is produced in giant tanneries and Rs. 10 crores in cottages. It is possible to reverse the figures. That, in my opinion, should be the target.

On account of the prevention of cow-slaughter in U. P., the tanneries are in want of enough hides to keep them going. They are uneasy. But this is only a temporary phase. If the cows are not slaughtered still they will die some time. It is only a time lag. The same number of dead hides will be coming to the tanneries in course of time. The task of the Government would be to so arrange things that by the time the animals saved from slaughter die their natural death in villages, the hides should be finding their way to the village tanneries.

The big tanners cannot live complacently any longer. The bigger tanneries shall have to face the competition from the Plastic products sooner or later. The tanneries may then devote themselves to other lines of work leaving natural dead hides to be tanned and finished by the cottagers with the U. P. Government standing as guardian to protect them from all competition from inside or outside.

#### THE PLASTIC COMPETITION IN TANNING INDUSTRY

The following is taken from *The Tanner*, August 1949, which quotes Mr. Hoover's speech from "Leather and Shoes":

"The leather industry hasn't shown progress proportional to national economic trends, and its products are relatively expensive in spite of improvements in technology. That's where the chemist steps in. He sees a challenge to make something to take the place of leather—to invade some of its markets with serviceable materials at lower, more stable prices. . . . A considerable share of this effort is aimed squarely at markets traditionally served by leather. . . .

"The trend to synthetic upper materials is less advanced than for soles, but the development men foresee the eventual solution of technical difficulties in this large field—flexible vinyls will have a place here, perhaps soon. . . .

"About five million pounds of vinyl resin went for handbags in 1948. . . . There simply wouldn't have been as many bags sold if the vinyls hadn't come along. . . . Patent leather bags have almost disappeared from the market. . . . A lot more plastic patent bags are sold than would have been possible for patent leather. . . . A lot of the products where leather and synthetics appear to be competing wouldn't be made and sold in such quantity if the new materials hadn't come into the picture. . . .

"Fifty million pounds of vinyl plastics were used for upholstery in 1949. . . . On the average, good vinyl upholstery material costs less than one half that paid for leather deep buffs and less than one-quarter of top grain leather. . . .

"The possibility of stabilizing material costs within a relatively narrow and reasonable low range should of itself be a big incentive for shoe and other leather goods manufacturers to encourage the development and use of synthetics. . . .

"The increasing competition between leather and synthetics is sure to stimulate the development of more economical processes and better products by both industries."

Not only leather but many other industries are sure to be adversely affected if plastics obtain the success they promise to achieve. But so far as leather is concerned, if manufacture and fabrication of finished leather is done in the cottages, there is little possibility of plastics taking the place of leather so far as shoes are concerned. For upholstery work, it may be difficult to drive it out of the place it has secured unless a taste for velvety feel for swede surface is popularised. In the matter of that soft smooth feel nothing can approach swede. And swede can be made from inferior hides, the grain sides of which are damaged.

## PLASTIC WORK IN U. P.

This brings us to the field of Plastic work. The U. P. is probably ahead of other Provinces in the matter of the realisation of the advent of plastics in the industrial world. In the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute scientists have been carrying on experiments in the preparation of synthetic resins from oils and waste materials.

In the Cottage Industries Exhibition was shown plastic-moulded articles made from molasses resin prepared at the H. B. T. Institute.

In 1939, India imported 50 lakhs worth of plastics which rose to 5 crores per annum in 1947. There is an onrush of these plastics in many forms now. In fact few are the fields which plastics have not invaded. There are certain difficulties in the large-scale manufacture of plastics at present in India. But the way in which this Technological Institute of U.P. (H.B.T.I.) has taken up the matter and the progress it has made is very inspiring.

## COTTAGE POTTERY INDUSTRY

There are 2½ lakh potters scattered throughout the Province. The total value of their earthen-ware amounts to 7½ crores of rupees. They are the usual potters following the time-old process and fulfilling their part in the village economy. There are other potters also.

	No. of men employed	Value of out-turn
1. Village pottery	2,50,000	7,50,00,000
2. Glazed pottery : Khurja, Chunar, Rampur and Bahadurgarh	300	2,25,000
3. Clay modelling. Toys Black pottery : Agra, Farrukhabad, Benares, Nizamabad	250	1,60,000
		<hr/> 7,53,85,000

The village potters are meeting the onslaught of aluminium ware and yet we find Rs. 7½ crores worth of village earthen-ware goods are made and catered for by the cottage potters. They also have to be looked after and organised if aluminium is not to make further replacements in this industry.



Handling of hides in lime pits

The attention, however, of the U. P. Government has been specially drawn to art-ware and semi-porcelain glazed pottery. The U. P. Industries Department pamphlet says :

"The Moghul court at Delhi introduced what is called *Persian Pottery* and some of the descendants of Delhi potters are at Khurja not very far from Delhi. They have been producing low-fired earthen-ware for decorative purposes or for cheap eating vessels used by Muslims. Government helped them with designs and marketing facilities through the handicrafts.

"In 1945, an attempt was made to improve the technique also. They needed to mix quartz, felspar, china clay, etc., to have good glazes and high temperature furnaces. All this was beyond the means of the individual cottage workers. The co-operative method of working has, therefore, been tried. The Department put up furnaces, mixers and ball mills for grinding glazes, etc. Prepared mixture for the body is issued to individuals on payment and they work at their homes. Similarly prepared glazes are supplied. Each potter has been assisted to have plaster moulds for slip-casting. Firing is done jointly in the big furnace and the individuals pay for the charge of firing. The process of manufacture has thus been revolutionised without disturbing the cottage structure of the industry."

In course of two years the production of these potters have doubled in value, bringing prosperity to them because of better and co-operative methods.

It is not possible to give an exhaustive list of the work done by the Cottage Industries Department. But these are illustrative of the spirit which actuates this Government Department to better the condition of the cottage workers, to organise them and market their products.



Khadi Research and Demonstration Institute, Allahabad

For tackling the problem of the East Bengal Refugees in West Bengal, I was thinking, amongst other things of establishing ceramic industry in camps and colonies of refugees by giving them ground material. Porcelain production is being introduced in an old mineral products manufacturing factory at Calcutta. I contacted them and asked them if they could supply ground material from their central place for the cottagers and arrange to get them fired and glazed in the village by undertaking to supervise the techniques of furnacing. They were agreeable and declared the scheme to be a feasible one. Now I am not engaged in the refugee rehabilitation work, but the problem was there. I was agreeably surprised to find that the U. P. Government has from 1945 taken up this very work and has brought the industry to a thriving condition.

#### THE CHIKAN EMBROIDERY INDUSTRY

Chikan Embroidery is a delicate fine art work. The system in which the industry has been working from old times runs on the lines of the worst kind of exploitation of Muslim women's work.

"Very low wages used to have been paid to the workers by the dealers through their agents. The agents used to get 6½ to 12½ per cent on the wages of the work executed through them, whereas the dealers earned profits from 100 per cent to 300 per cent on the prime cost.

"The industry was gradually on a fall for the last several decades due to workers getting very low wages. . . . The Government scheme was started at Lucknow in 1947-48. The whole work was taken up by the Handicrafts Department. In

1948-49, the Scheme provided work to 402 workers, produced goods worth Rs. 62,000 and distributed wages amounting to over Rs. 45,000. 53 new designs were introduced. The workers' income which was Rs. 10-12-6 per head per month prior to the introduction of the Scheme was raised to Rs. 50-12 per head per month during the year."

The chikan embroidery industry offers a great and promising scope for providing regular work on fair and reasonable wages to 2,000 lady cottage workers by planning a production of chikan goods worth about Rs. 20 lakhs to Rs. 25 lakhs and arranging its market in foreign countries where they are well in demand.

#### THE HANDLING OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN U. P.

These illustrative notes show how the U. P. Department has been dealing with the problem and how the Department hopes to open new avenues of employment for four millions of men from agriculture, etc., to cottage industries. Hand-paper making, hand-wool spinning

and weaving, manufacture of Kantha by improved methods, utilisation of alkali from Reh or alkaline soils and ultimately converting these desert-like patches into cultivable soil, the production of chemicals within the Province for which there is scope, through the Cottage Industries Department, are some of the lines which are being successfully tackled.

The H. B. Technical Institute has a great past behind it. At present the Institute is solving all the technical problems that the Cottage Industries Department have been bringing to it. The H. B. T. Institute is advancing from point to point in rendering technical aid to the cottage industries. A few illustrations will show how the Institute is keen on helping the cottage industries.

Liquid gold is a commercial product. It is used in decorative work. Firozabad glass bangles are ornamented At Firozabad liquid gold is used to the extent of Rs. 40 lakhs per annum. At Firozabad, Benares, Lucknow, etc., there are 25,000 men employed in fabricating glass bangles, making decorated glass bangles, glass beads, table lamps, etc. At Firozabad decorated bangles are produced worth Rs. 60 lakhs and of this amount liquid gold accounts for Rs. 40 lakhs.

The H. B. T. Institute has now been able to produce a colloidal resinate of gold for this purpose which matches the imported product. But the price of gold being high in India, it has not been possible to introduce this product into the market at once.

The H. B. T. Institute has evolved processes for making citric acid, glue, charcoal, brickbats, etc.,

## THE COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN THE U. P.

449

which will go to increase the field of cottage industries. It is further engaged in reviving the old essential oil and attar industry of U. P. which is slowly dying out.

### REFUGEES AND HANDICRAFTS

Like other Provinces the U. P. also has its refugee problem. Lakhs have come in and they need employment. The Directorate of Cottage Industries has undertaken to rehabilitate through cottage industries.

Twelve training-cum-production centres have been opened for the refugees. Men, women and children, all receive suitable training from these centres. So far 3,452 trainees and workers have been trained. The following are some of the industries showing number of men earning and the value of products :

Name of the craft	No. of persons trained	Wages paid in rupees	Value of the finished goods in rupees
Khadi	1,358	34,632	46,180
Tailoring	644	49,149	61,867
Embroidery and knitting	760	12,962	34,485
Smithy	23	4,215	18,289
Carpentry	24	5,374	12,221
Weaving	44	4,490	17,950
Durree	8	326	1,190
Dyeing and printing	19	572	2,371
Niwar	72	1,358	5,598
Miscellaneous	18	393	1,547
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,970</b>	<b>1,13,471</b>	<b>2,01,698</b>

The Government is placing orders for supply of requisites with these training-cum-production centres :

Sewing of shirts (Police Department)	77,000
Black-boards (Education Department)	8,000
Mallets	3,500
Steel trunks	500
Buckets	1,400
Gagras	400
Bells	400

Besides these activities, the Government is sanctioning loans and helping the setting-up of workshops for them. The Government has sanctioned loans through two channels—the Provincial channel and the Relief and Rehabilitation Department, Financial Administration. Altogether the industrial loans amount to 28 lakhs of rupees providing work for 54 thousand displaced persons. Agricultural implements, bank files, carbon papers, confectionery, card-board, cycle parts, cutlery, carpets, cradle-making, disinfectants, electrics, fabrication work, fruit preservation, hosiery, iron safe, ink making, lime industry, machinery parts, metal industry, medicines, musical instruments, polish, plaster of Paris, paints and varnishes, pencil, rubber industry, radio, sports goods, sanitary fittings, soap, etc., are some of the industrial lines started by the refugees.

### HANDICRAFTS TRAINING SCHOOL

The Handicraft Department has started the "Tuitional Class Scheme," where various handicrafts are taught so that novices may become artisans and then take up the industries of their choice under the protection of the Co-operative Department : Pottery, basket-making, leather-working, tanning, carpentry, smithy work, toy-making, etc. There are 24 Tuitional classes distributed throughout the Province.

The work that the U. P. has been able to put in for giving a better life to the people through the cottage industries fills one with hope for the future.





## SOME ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF WEST BENGAL

By PROFESSOR D. N. BANERJEE\*

I am not a politician ; nor do I belong to any political party. I shall deal with one or two matters as I feel about them. I understand that this Conference has been organized as a forum for the discussion of ways and means whereby it may be possible to help to bring about the economic development of our new Province of West Bengal as well as to solve some of the immediate problems with which the Province is faced, such as the problem of "educated unemployed," the problem of high prices of our necessities of life, the problem of rural education and sanitation, etc. Although a native of West Bengal, I am often made to feel that I am not in a Province of my own, and that I am in a strange land. There is so much of exploitation in various directions ! The more, therefore, Conferences like this are held in this Province, the more will the eyes of its people be opened to its real state of affairs, and that will ultimately be good for its people.

Within the short limit of time at my disposal, I shall now just touch on one or two matters. Let us take, for instance, the question of educated unemployed, often referred to as the middle class unemployment, in this Province. It is now a very serious problem. It has been largely aggravated by that most unwise decision—a capital blunder—on the part of our leaders, which is also otherwise greatly responsible for the sufferings and miseries of millions of human beings both in Bengal and in the Punjab, I mean the decision under which, so far as Bengal was concerned, Hindu Government servants in East Bengal were permitted "to opt out" for service in India at the time of the partition of the country. Thousands of such public servants came over to West Bengal almost pell-mell, leaving the Hindu public of East Bengal, often their own kith and kin, to their fate. I was at that time in East Bengal and I remember very well the reaction this flight of Hindu Government servants produced on the minds of the Hindu public of East Bengal. Now these Government servants opted out for service in India. They should have been mostly absorbed in the various services of the Government of India, and not allowed to crowd into the services of a small, but thickly populated province of West Bengal. This should have been done even if they opted out for West Bengal. If the Government of India could not absorb them all, it should have directed some other provinces of India—and particularly the neighbouring ones—to bear a share of the burden of absorption. The latter could not expect to enjoy the blessings of freedom without paying some price for it. The Ghosh Ministry, the Ministry of the day, should have fought with the Government of India on this point in the interest of the native population of West Bengal. It does not appear to have done so. As a result, we find that a sort of governing or master class has been virtually created in West Bengal. What I mean by this will be evident

to any one who scans the list of appointments to public offices in West Bengal, and particularly to its key administrative positions, since the 15th of August, 1947. Even now some senseless things are going on. For instance, we find in some official Notifications that, among "the indispensable qualifications of candidates" for recruitment to several public services under the Government of West Bengal, they must belong to one of the five classes mentioned therein. Of these classes the first one, namely, "candidates having a permanent domicile within the Province of West Bengal," is all right. But I hardly find any justification for the following four classes :

"(b) Candidates of Bengalee descent but not domiciled in West Bengal,

(c) Bengalee refugees from Pakistan who have *not yet* acquired domicile in West Bengal,

(d) Candidates of Bengalee descent who are *continuing to stay in Pakistan*, and

(e) Candidates coming from acceding States, non-acceding States or any tribal area or territory adjacent to India, or any friendly State."

These things must stop now. We must not forget that this Province is not *Bengal*, but only *West Bengal* with a very limited area and with very limited resources, and that its Government which is maintained by the tax-payers of West Bengal, is not a charitable organization for all. Indeed, the policy pursued by the Government of West Bengal in regard to the question of appointment to its public services since the 15th of August, 1947, has created a very difficult situation for the educated youths of West Bengal, and their discontent due to their unemployment is rising in volume and intensity every day. And I, therefore, sincerely hope that this Conference will warn the Government of West Bengal of the reaction of such a policy of appointments upon the minds of the educated youths of West Bengal, I mean the sons and daughters of the native population of the Province. I am also told that even appointments in private firms are being regulated and controlled through employment exchanges in favour of certain categories of persons, to the prejudice of the interests of the children of the soil. It will be regrettable if this information is correct. In this connexion I cannot help observing that the Government of West Bengal should constantly bear in mind that it exists primarily for the native population of West Bengal ; that they are its tax-payers and masters ; and that to them it is ultimately responsible for the conduct of the administration of the Province. And although these people of West Bengal are not, unlike some other people in their midst, very vocal and clamorous, and although with the exception of one or two papers they have no control over the organs of the daily Press in Calcutta, yet they are intelligent enough to judge of what the Government has actually done for them apart from its announced purposes. And the Govern-

ment should not forget this. It must, in particular, consider what it has so far actually done in the vitally important spheres of rural sanitation and education in this Province.

I should like to refer to another point in this connexion. As I have shown in detail, and with the help of documentary evidence, in an article published in the October (1949) number of *The Modern Review*, strictly speaking and apart from humanitarianism, West Bengal has no more responsibility for the East Bengal refugees within its borders than any other Province of India; that the partition of Bengal, if that point is raised in this connexion, was only a logical corollary to the partition of India, and the same principle of self-determination which had been invoked by the Muslims for the latter, had also been invoked by the Hindus concerned for the former; and that even if every Hindu in East Bengal voted against the partition of Bengal—and, as a matter of fact, many Hindus there had really opposed it—the partition would have been effected, as it was actually done, by the vote of the members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly representing the non-Muslim-majority districts alone. The solution of the problem of East Bengal refugees, as also of the refugees from West Pakistan, is, therefore, a *Central responsibility*, and it is the duty of the Congress High Command and the Government of India who are largely responsible for the partition of this country, duly to discharge it. So far as West Bengal is concerned, it has been, and will be, doing all that it can. But there is a limit to its capacity or resources. The Congress High Command and the Government of India should, therefore, devise ways and means for the rehabilitation of the refugees from East Bengal. It is not exactly West Bengal's responsibility.

In view of what I have said above about the acuteness of the problem of educated unemployed in West Bengal, largely caused by the "opting-out" decision referred to before, and in view of the various economic and political consequences of the present position, I would advise this Conference to urge upon the Government of West Bengal to see that for the next few years recruitment to its various services is practically restricted to the children of the soil, even on the basis of minimum qualifications, till at least 80 per cent of personnel of those services consist of persons who have been born and brought up in this Province. Although climatic conditions, malaria, and official neglect in the past have done immense harm to this Province, yet I refuse to believe that a Province which has produced in modern times such men as Raja Rammohun Roy, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Keshab Chandra Sen, Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Bhudeb Mukherjee, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, Romesh Chandra Dutt, Dwarka Nath Mitter, Rash Behari Ghosh, S. P. Sinha, Gooroo Das Banerjee, Asutosh Mukherjee, Aurobindo Ghosh,

Subhas Chandra Bose, Rajendra Lal Mitter and Rajendra Nath Mukherjee, to mention only a few amongst its great men, will ever be in dearth of suitable persons for manning our services. What is required is only opportunity and encouragement.

What I have said above may appear to some people as provincialism. But it is not really provincialism; it is a means of self-preservation to which every person or a group of persons has a right.

Secondly, this Conference should urge upon the Government of West Bengal that it must require every firm in West Bengal, whether industrial or mercantile, banking or insurance, to whomsoever it may belong, to appoint a substantial proportion of its employees, both in the higher and in the lower ranks, from amongst the native population of the Province. In the event of the refusal of a firm to comply with its request, the Government should withhold from it all facilities it may require for carrying on its operations. It is extremely regrettable to note here that there are firms, both industrial and mercantile, doing business in West Bengal, whose doors, so far as appointments are concerned, are practically closed against the children of the soil. If these firms persist in this policy, the people of West Bengal should cease to have any dealing with them.

Thirdly, this Conference should urge upon the Government of West Bengal to take early steps for the reclamation of marshy lands in different parts of West Bengal for the purpose of cultivation. There are extensive areas of such marshy lands in this Province and I am told that with the application of science to them and with the help of suitable irrigation works these areas can be reclaimed, and used for the cultivation of paddy and even jute. Here is a real field for investigation by foreign experts and the Government of West Bengal would do well if they brought such experts at an early date. The project of underground railways in and around Calcutta, however desirable, may, and should, wait for some time, but the reclamation of marshy lands should not. Our food problem may considerably be eased with such reclamation.

I may also suggest in this connexion that our cultivators may be offered inducements by the authorities concerned, to grow paddy on the lowlands on either side of the Railway lines throughout West Bengal. Thousands of acres of land may be brought under cultivation in this manner, and this may go a long way towards solving our food problem. And I need hardly point out to you that the question of the solution of our food problem should be given a top priority over everything else.

I have said nothing so far about the need of industrial development of this Province. I leave this matter to be dealt with by some experts at this Conference. I need hardly say that the prosperity of a country is closely bound up both with its industrial development and with the development of its agri-

culture. This alone can ensure a balanced economy in a country and with it a decent standard of life for its masses. However, I leave this matter to experts.

#### WEST BENGAL PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION

It seems to me to be highly desirable that there should be a properly constituted, perpetual body, to be known as the West Bengal People's Association, for the safeguarding of the rights and privileges of the people of West Bengal and for the promotion of their moral and material progress. This Association will have power to convene, from time to time, Conferences of this nature in different parts of West Bengal, and to carry on a campaign of education, particularly in rural areas, for the economic and political development of the people of this Province. It may even go so far as to set up candidates in some areas for election to Provincial and Central Legislatures. Its chief object will be the promotion of the welfare of the people of this Province, consistently, of course, with the interests of the country as a whole.

#### CONCLUSION

Before I conclude, I should like to say a word or two to our young men. I should like to tell them that the sort of life many of them have hitherto lived, will no longer do. They must be much more hardy, active,

vigorous, enterprising, daring, and persevering than they have so far been. Their "softness" must go. They have before them very hard days, and their struggle for life will be of a nature which will require all the strength of their character. Early marriage, proximity to mercantile and industrial firms with easy opportunities of securing some kind of low-paid job, home-sickness, indolence, a lack of seriousness in anything, and a false sense of prestige and self-respect have been some of the causes of ruin of many of our West Bengal youths. It is true that both nature and official neglect in the past have also partially contributed to this. But we have got to overcome these evils now. Our young men should consider it a sin to marry before they can be sure of maintaining a family in a decent manner by the exertion of their own efforts. They should also consider it a sin to live upon other people's income. In all these respects they have much to learn from the youths of East Bengal. If our youths do not change their ways of life and their outlook on it, they will lag behind in their race of life, and ultimately be reduced to the position of mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in their own Province.\*

\* West Bengal Economic Conference : Inaugural address delivered on 5th November, 1949, Ram Mohun Roy Library Hall, Calcutta.

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## GANDHIAN ECONOMY IN AMERICA

By PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

THE above caption may appear paradoxical at first sight, because the United States of America is primarily associated with large-scale and highly mechanised economy. But it is very significant to know that during my recent world tour I could obtain good literature on decentralised economy in America more than any other country in the East or in the West. I had also the opportunity of lecturing in a number of American Universities on the implications and desirability of the Gandhian type of decentralised cottage industrialisation. The economics of decentralisation was discussed with many eminent professors of economics in the United States. But I found to my great surprise that they readily accepted the need for the widest possible decentralisation of economic and political organisations without doubt and hesitation. To many a professor of economics in our own country, Gandhian economy appears medieval and unscientific even now. To many American professors of repute, decentralised industrialisation seems to be the only scientific solution of many ills that face the world today. Modern science has made it possible to provide the latest amenities of life including automobiles, radio, television, telephone, electricity and consumer goods in the remotest countryside. To an American mind, therefore, it is increasingly becoming clear that it is much more scientific to disperse and

decentralise our economic and political life into the open, healthy, calm and beautiful villages rather than to concentrate and centralise our economic and industrial organisations in congested and unhealthy cities of disproportionate dimensions. I do not mean to state that America is already following the Gandhian way of life ; in fact, the existing set-up is very different. But I can say without any hesitation that, in this atomic age, there are unmistakable trends of decentralisation in the United States more than in other countries of the West.

Decentralisation of economic and political power has become almost inevitable in the twentieth century from the following standpoints :

- (a) Growing unemployment owing to excessive mechanisation.
- (b) Increasing conflict between labour and capital in the form of a wave of strikes.
- (c) Vulnerability of big cities and factories to aerial bombardment.
- (d) Loss of civil liberties and democratic traditions in a highly industrialised and centralised State.
- (e) Deterioration in mental, moral and physical hygiene.

Let us deal with these points in some detail one by one.

As regards the menace and cause of unemployment, it is shocking to learn that about 5 million people are at present unemployed in the United States having a population of approximately 150 millions. Too much mechanisation and rapidly changing technology create different types of unemployment which result in a peculiar class of 'idlers' who, in course of time, prefer to live on 'doles.' This community of idlers gains importance in politics as well because they like to vote for a candidate who would promise higher allowances to them. Once unemployed for a fairly long period, they prefer to remain unemployed throughout the rest of their lives. This curious sociological phenomenon leads to further mechanisation, in industry and, in turn, further rise in the population of "dole-eaters." I had a chance to see quite a good number of such idlers lying in the New York streets heavily drunk after ten o'clock at night. It was a most pathetic sight, indeed! Enlightened Americans are, therefore, keenly feeling that they should cry halt to excessive mechanisation and make serious attempts to disperse their industry in open-air, healthy, co-operative factories throughout the beautiful countryside. If America has to decentralise in order to secure full employment for its 150 million population, is it really difficult for us to understand that India will have to organise a decentralised industrial economy on a very wide scale in order to provide employment to her 350 million half-clad and half-fed people?

Ever-increasing industrial strikes are a source of constant headache to capitalists and statesmen throughout the world. America is no exception; in fact, she has to face this problem in greater complexity than other countries of Europe and Asia. It is from this standpoint that American industrialists are seriously planning to decentralise and distribute their large-scale establishments into numerous small-scale units stretching through the countryside. The Ford Motor Company have already plunged into this bold experiment and, I think, with considerable success. So far as I know, these decentralised units are yet not organised on a co-operative basis; they are part and parcel of the centrally organised capitalist plan. Still the industrialists find it much easier to deal with the distributed smaller establishments with lesser number of workmen. I had the opportunity of discussing this problem with several professors of economics in America. The Director of the National Council of Economic Research in New York also analysed the cause of strikes. All of them agreed that the only lasting solution of the phenomenon of strikes was large-scale decentralisation of big industry into co-operative enterprises where the workers themselves become the owners of industries. There appears to be hardly any short-cut to this stupendous problem facing modern industrialisation. It has to be increasingly realised that the

best way to stem the tide of Communism is not by building up a huge military or atomic force but by removing the root cause of industrial conflict through the organisation of industrial co-operatives.

The vulnerability of giant cities and factories in the case of atomic warfare is very easy to understand. In fact, the centralisation of armament factories and other essential industries in Germany and Japan proved to be the weakest points during the last war. On the other hand, the decentralised Indusco movement in China served as the surest line of defence against the aggressive designs of Nippon. When I was in the United States a few months back, there was an under-current of nervousness in the political life of America owing to the fear of atom bombs. Now that news has appeared about the explosion of an atom bomb in the U.S.S.R., I am sure many American capitalists must have been deeply perturbed over the event. One of the main points that has been universally stressed by industrial planners, therefore, is that America must disperse her huge industrial establishments without further delay. It is painful to visualise the fate of a giant city like New York in the event of bombardment by the enemy. The numerous sky-scrapers including the Empire State building with its 102 stories would soon crumble into heaps of debris burying beneath millions of helpless men, women and children. The latest fashion among the rich class in America is, consequently, to build nice little cottages in the countryside where they could seek shelter in the case of war. In his brilliant pamphlet entitled *I Quit Monster Business*, which is a strong plea for independent, decentralised enterprise in America, Mr. T. K. Quinn who served during the last War as the Director-General of the War Production Drive in Washington, observes:

"Physical concentration of our production plants in a relatively few geographical areas is one of the conditions which in this day of atomic bombs gives us so much cause for concern. We would be much less vulnerable if industry were physically decentralised. . . ." (p. 33).

This tendency towards decentralisation of large factories is discernible also in the United Kingdom and other Continental countries.

It is now agreed on all hands that large-scale and highly mechanised industrial organisation leads necessarily to a centralised state which, in turn, tends towards either Fascism or Communism. In other words, political democracy is impossible without economic democracy which is another name for decentralised economy. Prof. Aldous Huxley remarks in his *Science, Liberty and Peace*:

"So long as the results of pure science are applied for the purpose of making our system of mass-producing and mass-distributing industry more expensively elaborate, and more highly specialized, there can be nothing but ever greater centralization of power in ever fewer hands. And the corollary of this centralization of economic and

political power is the progressive loss by the masses of their civil liberties, their personal independence and their opportunities for self-government." (pp. 25-26).

"Democratic institutions," continues Prof. Huxley, "are likely to work best at times and in places where at least a good part of the citizens have access to enough land and possess sufficient tools and professional skill to be able to provide for their subsistence without recourse to financially potent private capitalists or to the government." (p. 15).

Decentralization is not desirable merely from the standpoints of economic or political expediency and convenience. It is essential from the point of view of moral and mental well-being of individuals in society. Mr. Thomas Hewes, in his remarkable book entitled *Decentralize for Liberty* makes the following significant observation :

"But decentralization is not an end in itself, it is not a mere physical thing. The end products are free people, free men and women, self-reliant and independent men and women in quantity, strong communities and regions, a more flexible and more powerful nation, a defence in depth in peace and in war."—(Publishers : E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, p. 33).

This was precisely the viewpoint of Mahatma Gandhi. He did not advocate decentralization only for raising the standard of living of the masses ; he insisted on decentralised economy for elevating their "standard of life." Non-violence and a higher standard of moral values was the basis of Gandhian economic concepts.

It is extremely interesting to know that America's great President Jefferson was also a strong believer in decentralization. His aim, in the words of Prof. John Dewey, was to 'make the wards little republics, with a warden at the head of each, for all those concerns which being under their eye, they could better manage than the larger republics of the country or State.' But President Jefferson's plan was not accepted by the people of America, just as we do not seem to accept Mahatma Gandhi's Plan of decentralisation. So much the worse for America and India !

I had the privilege of discussing the economics of decentralisation with Prof. Joseph Schumpeter, Head of the Economic Department, Harvard University. He lent his full support to *The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development* a copy of which I presented to him. In the course of a long letter, Prof. Schumpeter observes :

"I have been greatly impressed by it (*The Gandhian Plan*), and wish to tell you at once what it was that roused my sympathy and admiration. As you know, plans are now being turned out by the dozen for quick industrialization of all the countries under the sun. Technically, with adequate external help, such processes of industrialization are, of course, possible. But they take no account whatever of all that quick industrialization is bound to destroy. They may produce torrents of commodities but they threaten national civilizations. They entirely neglect that a maximum

of output is not what we live for. Now the Mahatma's Plan as expounded by you is singularly free from this weakness. It presents a solution for the economic problems of India without injury to her cultural and spiritual values."

It is entirely wrong to think that decentralised economy is always technologically inefficient as compared with large-scale and centralized organization. Dealing with this point, Prof. Schumpeter continues :

"To a considerable extent the benefits of modern technology are, in fact, available for small units of production and beyond that co-operative organization affords the means of introducing types of machinery that do not lend themselves to small-scale use. Thus it seems possible to secure much if not everything that is being secured in fully capitalized countries without turning the people of India into capitalist barbarians. So far as I can see, therefore, your book preaches perfectly sound economics."

In this connection, let me make it quite clear that the use of electricity within certain limitations is not hostile to decentralised economy. There can be no harm in employing nice, small, efficient machines worked by electricity in the cottage and small-scale factories in the countryside. It would be very wrong on our part to make a fetish of technological inefficiency or crudeness in advocating the Gandhian type of decentralized industrial pattern. Prof. Aldous Huxley, in the course of a "Note on Gandhi" recently published in the "Gandhi Memorial Peace Number" of *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* has clarified this aspect of decentralized economy in a lucid manner :

"Too much mechanical efficiency is the enemy of liberty because it leads to regimentation and the loss of spontaneity. Too little efficiency is also the enemy of liberty, because it results in chronic poverty and anarchy. Between the two extremes there is a happy mean, a point at which we can enjoy the most important advantages of modern technology at a social and psychological price which is not excessive." (pp. 187-8).

An account of the trends of decentralization in the United States of America would remain incomplete without mentioning the splendid work of Prof. Ralph Borsodi who, with his wife, now unfortunately dead, has been carrying on practical experiments in decentralized economy during the last thirty years. Twenty-eight years ago Prof. Borsodi and his family moved from the New York City to a small plot in the nearby country to find "a better way to a fuller life." I had the opportunity of meeting the Professor in his country-house in New Jersey. He showed me his publications on the subject of decentralization and gave an account of his School of Living which is a research centre of great worth. Prof. Borsodi has devised several home machines which I had an occasion to examine. He is the leader of a small but by no means insignificant group of "Decentralists" in America. Among his books, the well-known are *The Distribution Age*, *This Ugly Civilization* and *Flight from the City*. But the latest publication, entitled *Education for Living* deserves our careful study. It

runs into four parts and deals with the educational, cultural and moral aspects of decentralization. Prof. Borsodi was in touch with Gandhiji for many years and has the greatest admiration for his ideas. In fact, one of the deepest ambitions of Prof. Borsodi is to be able to come to India even in his old age and carry on several experiments in decentralized economy in accordance with Gandhiji's principles.

Dr. Arthur Morgan, who was a member of the Universities Commission in India, is another important figure in America who has been a firm believer in the decentralized way of life for many years. As a former President of the well-known T.V.A., he is in possession of the highest scientific knowledge of the latest technology. Still he is of the definite opinion that small-scale and dispersed economy is much better than large-scale and highly complicated mechanization that obtains in America and Europe today. He has been carrying on experiments in his Community Centre in Yellow Springs, Ohio, for several years. His considered view was that the educational system in India must have a "rural bias" in consonance with Gandhiji's ideals. But it is extremely sad to know that a renowned American engineer like Dr. Morgan had to tell us Indians that Gandhian principles of decentralization were more scientific than the so-called scientific and centralized life of the West. And the tragedy does not end here. Do we know that Dr. Morgan's view found very little support from his Indian colleagues on the Universities Commission? This is a fact which was confessed by the Doctor during his visit to Sevagram.

The latest tendency towards decentralization in America is in the sphere of distribution of consumer-goods. The multi-storeyed Departmental Stores in the United States are being systematically decentralized

into the countryside for various reasons. Firstly, the consumers find it highly inconvenient to come to the big cities and go back to their villages after making purchases in these Stores. Secondly, there is tremendous congestion in the Suburban Transport, besides considerable waste of time involved in the transactions. The Departmental Stores also find their establishment and overhead expenses mounting up day by day in their cities. The scare of the atom bomb is partly responsible for this trend in decentralized distribution.

Prof. Albert Einstein whom I had the honour to meet during my tour in the United States, also expressed his views in favour of decentralization. "I believe," observed the Professor, "that decentralization would be the future pattern of society." "There is always a danger of tyranny by a centralized government; the large centralized cities are simply horrible," remarked Professor Einstein. Almost all the other intellectuals including Mrs. Pearl Buck, Louis Fischer and Dr. Holmes whom I met in New York held similar opinions. They felt very sad when they read in papers and magazines that India was, more or less, following the Western pattern of industrialisation. To them the Gandhian type of economy was the most scientific and practical proposition which should be given a fair trial in Gandhi's own country India. America has realised the futility of centralization and mechanized giant factories. She is actively thinking in the direction of decentralised existence. But we in India seem to have learnt nothing from the great Prophet whom we always call the 'Father of our Nation.' "A Prophet is not respected in his own land," is an old adage, but it sounds to be a very sad irony of fate. Shall we allow the same irony to perpetrate itself in Gandhi's great land as well?

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## COMMUNIST CHINA AND RUSSIA

By V. SUBRAMANIAM, M.A.

THE future diplomatic relationship between Red China and the Soviet has been the subject of wide discussion. The Western powers entertained hopes of a neutral China, hopes which were buttressed by the Russian Ambassador's hasty evacuation of Red-occupied Shanghai, and by the recent predictions of infallible Dew Pearson. But Mao's recent pronouncement on the impossibility of neutrality and of his leanings to Moscow has shattered all such fond hopes. Is Mao's policy a result of his communist doctrines, or is it dictated by the eternal factors of Chinese history and geography? To find an answer to this intriguing question we must turn the pages of recent Chinese history.

Tsarist Russia was the last western power to come into contact with the breaking of the celestial Empire. Before her, Britain, France and Germany had obtained extra-territorial rights in various parts of China, where

they had their own garrisons. They were waiting for the final break-up of the celestial Empire to share it among themselves. By their doings in China, they earned the fierce hatred of the Chinese people which often burst out in futile rebellions like the Boxer revolt.

For long Russia was separated from the Chinese Empire by the vast stretches of Central Asia and only late in the 19th century, did she launch upon her Central Asian conquests, which extended her frontiers to the Pacific in the east. Russia obtained from the withering Chinese Empire some railway concessions in Manchuria and North China. But by then, Westernised Japan had set her foot in Manchuria, and quickly came into conflict with Tsarist Russia. The result of the conflict was a surprising lesson to the Western nations. Russia was beaten hip and thigh by Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, and retired altogether from China.



By this time, the whole of China as well as Russia was fermenting with new ideas, and a revolution broke out in each of these countries almost simultaneously. The Soviets, who came to power in Russia in 1918, had ostentatiously shed all imperialism, and they recognised their Asiatic possessions as Republics with rights, as the Russians enjoyed. In their zeal to promote similar revolutions in nearby countries, they sent M. N. Roy and Borodin to China, which was already in the throes of a nationalist revolution, led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Had events gone on the same route and rate, the Chinese revolution might have taken a course similar to the Russian revolution and both countries even become unified.

But events, however, took a different course in both countries. The Chinese revolutionaries found that they could not forthwith launch upon a revolutionary experiment in the face of Western nations' vigilance, and Japanese rapacity, and cried halt to it, to form a strong national government. Simultaneously, in Russia also, the Stalinists, who came to power after Lenin, turned away from all ideas of a world revolution, even exiled its proponent Trotsky, and were settling down to build up a strong Soviet State in isolation. For a long time thereafter, China and Russia did not meet on any common ground.

While Russia as a State was growing stronger and stronger after the revolution, China was growing weaker and weaker, due both to Japanese aggression on one side and civil war on the other side. In the kaleidoscopic changes of territory from hand to hand in China, Russia evinced little apparent interest till the end of World War II, her only interest being in outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, which bordered her Asiatic republics. The end of World War II saw the lightning conquest and liberation of Manchuria by the Soviet army, and the elimination of Japan from the Chinese stage. The real conflict in China between the forces of decadent nationalism and rising communism, was fought out direct, thereafter. The comparatively ill-equipped armies of the communists have scored decisive victories over the retreating nationalists of Chiang, and in spite of the promise of Western help to him now, bid fair to occupy the whole of China.

Without any reference to theoretical affiliations, the communists of China have more historical and geographical reasons to lean towards Russia. By accident, more than by design, Russia was not associated with any imperialist or economic aggression in the past in China like Britain, France or Japan. Moreover, Russia's part in the Chinese revolution was on the whole helpful. These two factors alone, combined with the ingrained hatred of Westerners in the Chinese mind, are enough to make the Chinese communists look with sympathy towards Russia and Asiatic power. Of course, America throughout has not been associated with any exploitation, but her helping Chiang's corrupt regime and her present alignment with the Western powers, who once burgled China, are partly responsible for the Chinese imperfect sympathy towards her.

But there are other factors in Chinese history and geography, which dictate an independent if not a neutral policy for China. First and foremost is the Chinese nationalist pride, all the stronger for its being so subtle. The Chinese Emperor who wrote to George III to "tremble and obey" is still alive in the breast of Mao Tse-tung, as he has been in Chiang's heart. China when it is really consolidated will be a rival rather than a rank follower of Russia, in Asia; and Stalin is not quite unaware of it. The poor help which the communist armies received from Russia might perhaps have been due to Stalin's game of waiting and seeing, a game not calculated to induce confidence in the Chinese Reds. Whatever Mao's personal predilections may be, he will have to bow down before the Chinese desire for independence from foreign intervention.

The comparison of China with Eastern Europe has been made by many political critics, but the differences are far more evident to the student of history. Eastern Europe has always looked to Russia in the past centuries for liberation from the Turkish yoke, and with her Pan-Slavist ideas is attached to Russia on historical and geographical grounds more than on ideological grounds; and the rebellious attitude of Tito is equally due to national pride, ingrained in the representatives of the Obrenovitch and Kara Georgevitch tradition who liberated themselves without outside help. In the case of China, no such historical bonds are present, but on the other hand, a strong nationalist pride, fierce and exclusive at times, characterises the history of both the Russian and the Chinese Empires. The Chinese communists may throw in their lot with Russia for the present, but it cannot be a permanent union.

It is not however possible to guess much from the reconstruction policy of Mao Tse-tung, which does not follow a strictly communist line at present. Not only is private property in land permitted, as a concession to a fierce individualism of the Chinese peasant, but small capitalists are allowed to build up industries and workshops. Many pessimists predict that this is only a passing phase, wherein the goat is fattened before it is led to the slaughter-house, and point to the recent history of Eastern-European countries, where small capitalists had been allowed to rebuild the shattered economy before they were sent to their ultimate doom. In China, however, such liquidation would tax Mao's none too plentiful resources, for it was rather Chiang's corroding corruption that routed his armies rather than Mao's strength.

It is too early to infer from Mao's pronouncement that a Moscow-Shanghai axis is in the offing. The Western diplomats, who see a ghost in every red patch of the earth, are too prone to take any leaning to Moscow as a permanent alignment. A year ago, an innocent statement of Thakin Nu in favour of Russia created a flutter in the Western diplomatic dovecotes. If anything will drive Mao and his peasant army permanently Moscow-wards, it is the present attitude of Western powers in trying to bolster up the falling Chiang, out of panic and pique.



## THE DEITIES OF THE PACIFIC WORLD

By PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.,  
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THE insular continent of Oceania in the Pacific presents many cultural factors to the modern world, which in no way can be called insignificant. The growing tendency of many modern archaeologists and anthropologists to unravel the unknown history of the Oceanians is a welcome attempt, as it will surely open a new chapter in the history of world civilisation and human progress.

The cults of the Oceanians form the most interesting feature of the pre-historic culture of the Pacific World, which is rich in mythology and sensitive art. The latter cannot in any way be described as consisting totally of fetish iconography of the archaic world. Now, before entering into the details of the Pacific cults, perhaps, it is better to make an attempt at finding out the real origin and source of the Cult-worship in Oceania.

On various grounds scholars believe that once there existed a mighty civilisation in the Pacific in the dim pre-historic past. This archaic civilisation might have some connections with the existing peculiar cults of the Pacific World. These Oceanic cults were, possibly, later on changed or modified by the Asian cults (spread by the Hindu or Buddhist sailors and missionaries) of Greater India, China and Japan and *vice versa*. Possibly, that is the reason why we find occasional Hindu-Buddhistic cult-remembrances in the ancestor, spirit and nature worship of the Pacific. Now, we will discuss about some of the most interesting and important divinities of this region. They are as follows :

(1) *Tangaroa* : This god is widely worshipped in the different islands of the Greater Oceania, which comprises the Pacific region from Hawaii in the North to Tasmania in the South and from Malayasia in the West to the Easter Island in the East. He is known as a sea-god in New Zealand, as a creator in Samoa and, sometimes, as a diabolic spirit in the Hawaiian group.<sup>1</sup> In the Society and in the Marquesas Islands, Tanaora or Tangaroa has been deemed as an omnipotent world-soul, from the limbs of whom everything of the Cosmos has got its birth. Thus, one text of the Society group runs as follows :

"He existed. Taaroa was his name.  
In the immensity  
There was no earth, there was no sky,  
There was no sea, there was no man.

Taaroa calls, but nothing answers.  
Existing alone, he became the universe.  
Taaroa is the root, the rocks (foundation).  
Taaroa is the sands.  
It is thus that he is named.  
Taaroa is the light.  
Taaroa is within.  
Taaroa is the germ.  
Taaroa is the support.  
Taaroa is enduring.  
Taaroa is wise.  
He erected the land of Hawaii,  
Hawaii, the great and sacred,  
As a body or shell for 'Taaroa.'"



An ancestral image of the Nias Island  
near Sumatra

The poem sounds very much like the Rigvedic account of the creation of the world and castes, as it occurs in the Tenth Mandala. Here also a world-soul (*Purusha*) has been imagined, whose different limbs have given rise to the different human castes, which is existing in India from the very ancient days.

2. Moerenhout : *Voyages aux Iles du Grand Océan*, Vol. 1, pp. 419-23. Paris, 1837.

Fornander : *An Account of the Polynesian Race : Its Origins and Migrations*, Vol. 1, pp. 221-23. London, 1880.

Roland B. Dixon : *Ibid*, pp. 11-12.

1. Roland B. Dixon : *The Mythology of All Races*, Vol. IX, p. 128. He, further, sees a similarity between the Melanesian legendary name Tagaro and the Polynesian Tangaroa.

Curiously enough, the god omniscient Tangaroa has been represented, in a similar attitude of creating the gods, by a wooden figure in a temple of the Rurutu Island of the Austral group. Here, the god has been described as a marine divinity and called as Tangaroa Upao Vahu. The body of the god has been realistically shown as producing numerous gods and men. Strangely, this image may serve to a great extent as an iconographic representation of the *Purusha-Sukta* hymn of the Rigveda, which mythically tells of the creation of humanity. Many peculiar stories have been connected with this Oceanic deity, a great number of which are ably treated in the monumental book on the Pacific-mythologies<sup>4</sup> by Roland B. Dixon. One of these legends current in the South Island tells of the conflict between Rangi, the descendant of Te-ao (light), and sea-god Tangaroa. As Rangi took to the wife of Tangaroa, the latter became greatly enraged and speared one thigh of the former.



Tangaroa, the god omniscient, in creating attitude

(2) *Maui*: The exploits of Maui, a god of the Pacific World, is also very interesting. The god is very widely worshipped and adored in the numerous islands of the Pacific, particularly, in Polynesia and in Hawaii. His great adventures have been extensively recounted by the tribes and peoples of Greater Oceania.

Among his many exploits these three are most popular to the Oceanians, namely, the baiting up of the land as a fish from the bottom of the sea, the snaring

up of the Sun and the quest of fire. The story of the snaring up of the Sun is very strange and interesting. As Maui one day found out that the Sun set down very quickly after rising he told his brothers, "Let's tie up the Sun, that he may not go away so fast, so that man may have time to provide food for himself." Then, according to his plan, his brothers together with him journeyed up to the place where the Sun rises. Now,

"The Sun came up like glazing fire and when his head and shoulders had entered the noose Maui encouraged his brothers to action by saying 'Now pull.' They did so and the Sun drew his limbs together with a twitch. Maui rushed at him with his weapon and scarce had the Sun time to call before Maui was belabouring him, and continued to do so for some time. When they let him go he went away crippled, and in the anguish of his pain he uttered another of his names, "Tama-nui-a-te-ra" (great child of the Sun), and said, 'Why I am so beaten by you man! I will have my revenge on you for having dared to beat the great child of the Sun.' He departed on his way, but was unable to travel so fast as before."

(3) *Wurruna*: The conception of Wurruna, a celestial god, is largely prevalent in the different parts of Southern and Eastern Australia (New South-Wales, Victoria, etc.). There are very romantic stories regarding him. His love with some beautiful maidens and his final flight to the sky are interesting themes, which are still recounted by the original inhabitants of the Australian continent. According to one legend of South Australia,<sup>5</sup> Wurruna (here named as Wyungare) has become a star in the firmament in order to avoid the increasing wrath of a person called Nepelle, whose wives he loved and married. But, is there any connection between Varuna, the Vedic God of the firmament and this Australian Wurruna? The true answer may be found in future after sufficient researches in this field of Indo-Oceanian mythologies. We have reasons to believe that from very ancient times the mariners of ancient India well-versed in the Vedic lore had been sailing in the Pacific Ocean thus diffusing Hindu culture in the islands and continents of the Pacific world. If Indian culture could penetrate up to Bali and Lombok, it could be possible that it also might have established a footing in the island-continent of Australia which is geographically so adjacent to them.<sup>6</sup>

(4) *Hine-nui-te-po*: The idea of Hine-nui-te-po is an important feature in the myths and legends of the under-world. She is the goddess of night and of the under-world, i.e., the Hindu *Patala*. According to a Polynesian story, when the world was first created,

4. J. White: *The Ancient History of Maui, His Mythology and Traditions*, Vol. II, p. 99. Wellington, 1886-89.

5. White: *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 79, 81.

6. Here, it is interesting to note that some scholars believe that the name Borneo, a big island, near Australia, has been derived from "Varunadvipa" ("the island of Varuna") of the ancient Hindu literature of India.

there lived a man called Tane. He moulded a woman out of play and married her after infusing life in the mould. In due time she gave birth to a daughter whom Tane gave the name Hine-i-tau-ira. Being led by passion Tane committed a crime by taking her, also, as his wife. At this, the girl went to the underworld and became the great goddess of night (Hine-nai-te-po). In this connection it is also very interesting to note that, according to another Polynesian story the goddess destroyed Maui, the great hero of Oceania, when the latter tried to vanquish her.

(5) *Rongo*: He is a peculiar deity of the Cook Islands. According to a legend of the island-group:

"Three sons of Rongo are said to be the ancestors of all the peoples of Mangaia, though we are not told of the divine origin of their wives."

Among many other cosmogonic myths this legend of god Rongo is very interesting. A wooden deity covered by 'tapa' or 'bark-cloth' was found in the island of Rorotonga and it has been, now, preserved in the Peabody Museum of Cambridge in Massachusetts (U.S.A.). Dixon thinks that this divinity is no other than Rongo and his three sons. Is there any connection between the Hindu cosmogonic idea of Trinity (Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara) and this mythology of the triad progeny of Papuan Rongo? Of course, this sort of suggestions should not be over-stretched.

(6) *Taria-Nui*: 'Taria-nui' means 'big-ears.' He is the god of the fishermen in the Rorotonga Island of the Cook group. The fishermen of the Cook Islands believe that he is the guardian of fishes and only by his help fish can be baited or netted. A wooden figure of him has been found in the Rorotonga Island. He is represented with a posture of catching fish with a basket. His eyes are staring and mouth open wide.

(7) *Pakoti*: According to a Maori legend of New Zealand\* Tane, 'the first man of the world,' married his ancestress, Pakoti by name, at his mother's request. This name Pakoti very closely resembles in sound with Prakriti (Pakiti in *Prakrit*), the primeval Sakti or consort of Purusha, the eternal man. According to a school of Hindu Philosophy, Purusha and Prakriti represent the dual nature of the universe—the one static (Purusha) and the other dynamic (Prakriti). Such an idea was partly manifested in the Taoist idea of "Yin" and the "Yang," which were also the original dual powers of the universe.<sup>7</sup>

(8) *The Ancestral Spirits of the Nias Island (near Sumatra)*: Ancestor-worship is widely prevalent in the Nias Island as it is also prevalent in many other countries of the world. The wooden figures which are made for this sort of worship in that small island are strikingly similar to the Indian ancestral images (the

*Brisakasthas*). The latter are also propitiated in honour of the dead ancestors. These weird figures of the Nias and India may form the subject of serious anthropological or archaeological researches. The Nias images may certainly have some connections with the pre-historic stone figures of Sumatra and Polynesia.<sup>10</sup>

(9) *The Pre-Historic Images of the Easter Island*: The huge pre-historic images of the Easter Island in the extreme east of Polynesia are of great importance. These images (sometimes 30 ft. high) are made of monolithic volcanic rock and are peculiarly represented without hands. Some scholars are convinced that these



Kuila Moku, the goddess of medicine

figures were not cut out by the aborigines in recent times. They think that they were chiselled in the pre-historic age by the civilized Oceanians (the Austriacs). As the images are staring to the sea Dixon thinks that they were intended to represent the ancestors whose bones were buried beneath the sea. In this connection we should note that the God Jagannatha (the 'Lord of the World'), who is devotedly worshipped in Orissa and in other parts of East India, is also armless, and in that respect very much alike to the Easter-images. Like the latter, Jagannatha is also usually represented by the upper half of his figure. The real origin of the Indian deity is perhaps unknown and scholars are almost certain about his non-Hindu character. There are some possibilities that the cult of Jagannatha was of very old origin and it was later on re-oriented by the Hindu-Buddhist reli-

7. Dixon: *Ibid*, p. 26.

8. Shortland: *Maori Religion and Mythology*, with translations of tradition, p. 20. London, 1882.

9. E. T. C. Werner: *Myths and Legends of China*, Ch. III.

10. Van Der Hoop: *Prehistoric Megaliths and Remains of South Sumatra*.

gious institutions. According to Pargiter, the Angas, the Vangas, the Kalingas, the Pundras and the Suhmas originally came to India from the Sea. The philological researches of present-day scholars have partly established the Austric origin of the early Kalingas. We may here mention that in the Philippines there is a tribe called 'Kalinga.' In view of the above facts the origin of the Jagannatha cult may reasonably be sought in some remote part of Oceania, wherefrom has also sprung the strange cult of the Easter-images. It is very curious to note that the ancient *Shan Hai Ching* or "Hill and River Classics" of China relates that "in the mountains of the Sun and the Moon, which are in the centre of the Great Waste, are the people who had no arms, but whose legs instead grow out of their shoulders," etc.<sup>11</sup>



Taria-nui, the guardian of the fishes

(10) *The Family of Kai-Tangata*: The family of Kai-Tangata ("man-eater") is best known in the Maori, Hawaiian and Tahitian mythologies. According to a Maori legend of New Zealand, Kai-Tangata was forcibly married by Whaitari, the cannibal goddess of Thunder. This union caused the birth of Hema. The latter begot Tawhaki and was afterwards carried away by his enemies to the upper-world. His wife (the mother of Tawhaki) was also taken away by others and killed. Now, Tawhaki made quests to find out his parents. According to some versions of the Maori tale, he was successful in rescuing his parents, who again came to life. Tawhaki married a celestial woman and the issue was a son named Wahieroa. The latter,

when he grew up, married and his wife gave birth to a brave son named Rata. Before Rata was born, Wahieroa had been killed by a cruel giant named Makutu in a distant land. Now, when the posthumous son grew up as a young man he heard from his mother how his father had been slaughtered by the giant Makutu. Immediately, like his great ancestor Tawhaki, he went in search of the remains of his father's dead body. In course of his journey he found out demon Makutu and after killing him he returned home with the remaining bones of his father's dead body.

The above is the main account of the cycle of Tawhaki legend. The genealogy of Kai-Tangata may be given as follows: Kai-Tangata, Hema, Tawhaki, Wahieroa, Rata.

The most interesting feature of this Maori mythology is the quest of Tawhaki for his dead parents in the upper heaven. This story sounds something like the story of Tane and his daughter Hine-nui-tepo (formerly known as Hine-i-tau-ira). Of course in the latter story the living descended to the under-world for the deceased.<sup>12</sup> Such stories were not unknown in early India. The episode of the Indian *Kathopanisad* speaks of the boy Nachiketa meeting Yama, the king of the dead, to acquire supreme knowledge of the mystery of Life and Death. The early Bengali ballads also speak of the pious maiden Behula who met Siva in the heaven and succeeded in making her dead husband Lakkhindar again alive.<sup>13</sup>

(11) *Eugpamalok Manobo*: He is highly revered and worshipped by the Bagobos of the Mindanao Island of the Philippines. He is deemed to be the creator of the Universe. Fay Cooper Cole has summed up his worship as follows:

"He is held in great respect and is invited to all important ceremonies, yet the people do not expect favours from him. He seems quite out of place in this society, which places such stress on killing and bloodshed, for he refuses all bloody sacrifices."<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps, Eugpamalok Manobo is the only Pacific deity whose idea is associated with non-violence and love. His Indian origin is possibly limited by this and also by the name "Manobo," which may be a corruption of Sanskrit *Manava* or Bengali *Manab*, both meaning "man." In this connection, also, it is interesting to note that still there is a tribe called "Manobo" in the large Luzon Island of the Philippines.<sup>15</sup> Lastly, we should always be aware of the immense Sanskrit influence on the Philippino languages,<sup>16</sup> particularly, in the dialects of the Tagalogs and the Tinguians. This

12. Cf. the Greek legend about Orpheus, the musician.

13. Dr. D. C. Sen: *The History of the Bengali Language and Literature*.

14. *The Peoples of Malaya*, p. 191.

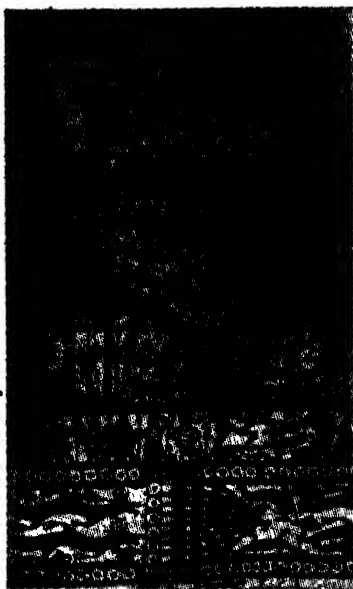
15. F. C. Cole: *Ibid*, Appendix I.

16. Dr. Tavera: *El Sanscrito en la Lengua Tagalog*, Paris, 1887.

Dr. K. D. Nag: *India and the Pacific World*, Ch. V.

11. E. T. C. Weyner: *Ibid*, Ch. XVI, p. 328.

may be accounted for by the great maritime traffic which once existed between India and the Pacific world from very ancient times.



The spirit-world. A mythological drawing from Borneo

(12) *Lumawig* : He is the innovator-god of the Bantoc Igorats. Cole relates his cult with the cult of ancestor-worship. According to a legend of the Bantoc Igorats, Lumawig was a member of their tribe and after teaching his people many new techniques and knowledge during his life-time, he has become a sacred spirit in the firmament. His so-called dilapidated house is still shown to the visitors to convince them of his relation with the Bantoc Igorats. The blessing of the god is also asked by them for the welfare of the crops.

From some of the above considerations it may not be out of place to presume that Lumawig was really a pre-historic man of great personality and inventive capacity, who was later on deified by his fellow-countrymen out of gratitude.

(13) *Kadaklan and Kabonian* : Kadaklan is the god of the sky and thunder among the Tinguians. His dog is *Kimat* which means the 'lightning.' Sometimes he has been identified with another popular god called Kabonian. The latter is, also, indirectly the god of prosperity. His great popularity among the Tinguians has been very nicely described by Cole in the following lines :

"For him the people have such real affection that he occupies in this society a place much like that of Christ in a Christian Community."<sup>17</sup>

(14) *Kuila Moku* : She is the goddess of medicine and cure in Hawaii. She is worshipped by the 'Shamans' or 'Kahunas.' The weird nature of the goddess may be discerned from an image of hers, now kept in the Peabody Museum, Massachusetts. The priestly designation "Shaman" is interesting as it is similar in sound with the Buddhist *Sramana* (priest).<sup>18</sup> The general likeness of the names may indicate an expansion of the Buddhist Mahayanism in the Pacific from India via China or Sumatra across the waters of Japan, Celebes or Palew.

(15) *Batara Guru* : He is a creator-deity of the Battaks in Sumatra. According to an old legend of the Indonesian island, Batara Guru (Sans, Bhattara Guru) first created the world and then created man and woman by his super-natural power out of clay.<sup>19</sup>

(16) *Phi* : The worship of Phi, a type of guardian spirits, is a strange feature in Siam, where the people attach much reverence and faith to these spirits in spite of their strict adherence to Buddhism. The cult of Phi is marked by its somewhat peculiar similarity with the cults of "Bau Ju", "Nat" and "Dharmathakur" among the Talaiings, the Burmese and the Bengalis respectively. For the worship of Phi, tiny one-roomed houses are generally built supported on short poles, where small and crude terracotta idols are kept, particularly for the due propitiation of the deity. These



Theme unknown. A mythological scene (wood-carving). New Zealand

*Devasthanas*, i.e., the abodes of the gods (as the Siamese call them), may be generally seen before the front-doors of many Thai houses. In Vishnulok, the present writer has marked such a Devasthana of very big size by the side of the ancient and dilapidated palace of King Ramesuen (Ramesvara) the Great, the hero-king of Siam, who stemmed the tide of the Burmese invasion in the 15th century. Such shrines may also be seen in Bangkok and many other places of Siam.

This is a brief survey of the religion and superstitious aspects of the Malayo-Polynesian culture.

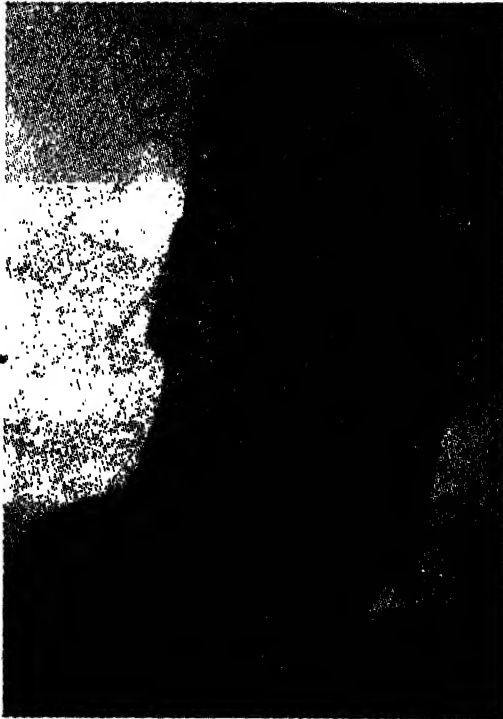
18. The *Shamanas* were also the old priests of Japan. Dr. Nag suggests that this Shamanism might have been spread in Japan from the Ural-Altaic lands of Northern Asia. *Ibid*, p. 206.

19. FleYTE : "An Unpublished Batak Creation Legend," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XXVI, pp. 103-13.

Dixon : *Ibid*, Part III, Ch. I.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 160.

We become amazed at the strange similarities between the Indian and the Oceanic mythologies. It would not be quite accurate to attribute this strange similarity entirely to the bold and cultured mariners of ancient



A pre-historic image of the Easter Island

India who used to sail in the unknown regions of the Pacific and in the Indian Oceans for trade and commerce in the past. On the other hand, it appears that the pre-historic Oceanians first came into contact with the early Indo-Aryan culture on the shores of the Korean Seas. A stream of early Aryan civilisation also might have flowed to these shores from the heart of Central Asia and Siberia, simultaneously, with the Indo-Aryan approach in the Cis-Hindukush region. This may be the possible explanation of the close affinity of the culture and civilisation of the early Indo-Aryans and the Austro-Oceanians. We are

further tempted to postulate this unity between the two great peoples, the Aryans and the Austrics, who might have met each other in the dawn of human civilisation on the Western shores of the Japanese Sea, which might have resulted in the formation of one bedrock of culture perhaps later on strengthened by the ancient Indo-Aryan and Austronesian sailors. The fragments of the Polynesian Vedas discovered by Craighill Handy<sup>20</sup> might be the result of this pre-historic union, if it really happened.

After a brief study of the Oceanian mythology and religion we become a bit doubtful about the originality of the early Aryan myth-makers of the Vedic India. Some of the Hindu gods (like Wurruna, Manobo, etc.) who may be traced in the Oceanic pantheon seem to be more archaic in nature than their Indian prototypes. It may be partially accounted for by the primitive nature of the culture of the early peoples of the Oceanic world. But it should also be borne in mind that the pre-historic tribes who first instituted the worship of the gods possibly belonged to a civilisation of a high degree. Otherwise, some of their very magnificent conceptions could not have originated. The ideas of Tangaroa, Mawii, Wurruna and Eugpamalok are not so insignificant as to be compared with the "Ju-Ju" cult of Africa and of similar other cults in Hungary and Wales in Europe. Their original conceptions are really sublime, humane and aesthetic and cannot be stamped as cannibalistic from a surface-study. Cruel and savage stories are also not rare in the ancient mythologies of Greece, Egypt and India. Even, some of the stories of the Iliad and the Mahabharata are masterpieces of heartless human dealings from a modern and unsympathetic view-point. So it seems that the Oceanic stories, whose national and cultural backgrounds are yet partially unknown, are worthy of getting greater attention from our present-day scholars, particularly, of Japan and Bengal. A real study of the Pacific culture can bring to light their real heritage of the Oceanic culture in the Sub-Boreal, Boreal or the Atlantic epoch.<sup>21</sup>

20. *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, 84 : 1927, pp. 312-20.

Nag : *Ibid*, Appendix.

21. There are some pre-historic age-divisions based on geological and climatic studies. Such divisions run as follows, in order : Pre-Boreal, Boreal, Atlantic, Sub-Boreal and Sub-Atlantic. *Vide*, Gordon Childe's *Progress and Archaeology*, Ch. 1.



## U. S. LEADERS STUDY PUBLIC OPINION THROUGH FREE PRESS AND RADIO

TREMENDOUS as is the news coverage of events, national and international, by the free press and radio of the United States, the reaction of the American public to the events themselves finds equally extensive expression through these channels.



Some 225 American newspapers are received and sorted daily by the Press Intelligence Division of the United States Government

Opinion of the people of the United States on the major public issues affecting their daily lives is watched closely by top-ranking executives of the nation—the President, key members of his staff, heads of Government departments and agencies, and Congress. In editorial comment, in the stories and columns of special writers in newspapers, and in the broadcasts of news analysts, the nation's leaders find a representative cross-section of what American people are thinking—and saying.

An efficient analysis for the United States Government of press and radio comment on public issues is the concern of one particular Federal unit, the Division of Press Intelligence. It was established in 1933 as a centralized agency to keep officials currently posted on public reaction to important questions.

The duties of the Press Intelligence Division are performed in a completely objective manner. Reflection of public opinion, favorable and unfavorable, is routed to political leaders just as it is reported by the daily press and radio throughout the United States. An official thus may find one editorial praising his policies highly, and immediately following, another which typifies a completely opposite reaction.

The Press Intelligence Division was formed also because it constitutes a more economical means of channelling public information to officials than could be maintained by the separate information divisions of the various Government departments.

### MORE THAN 200 DAILY NEWSPAPERS MONITORED

From more than 200 daily newspapers from the four corners of the United States, and through the daily monitoring of radio broadcasts by 40 nationally known news commentators, the Division winnows the principal stories, editorials, and columns on subjects prominent in the news of the day. A complete list of Government subscribers, with their particular requirements on coverage, guides the distribution of the daily news mass of clippings and digests.

Congressmen may receive clippings from papers of their home states which serve to keep them currently informed on the state of mind of their constituents on important legislative matters. Government agencies, such as the Office of Price Administration, which are alert to public opinion, are daily



Clippings room of the Press Intelligence Division, where clippings from American newspapers are sorted according to their code numbers.

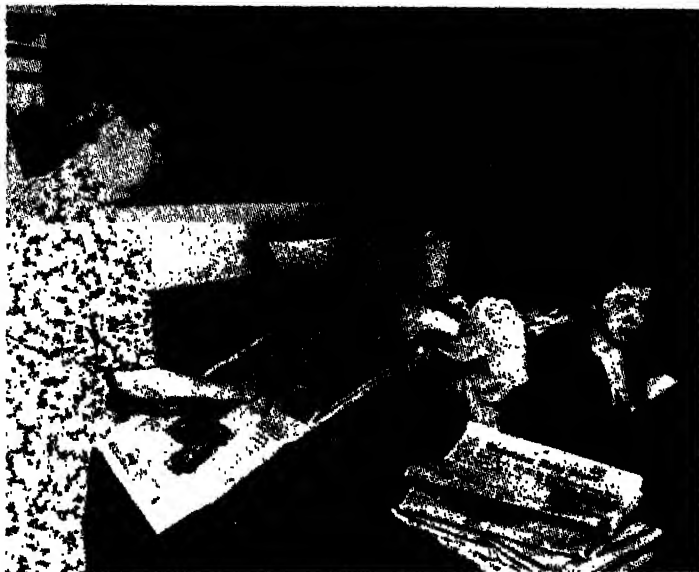
informed on the reaction of the people to policies and programs which they seek to institute for the good of the nation.



The White House, the executive staff of the President, and the Department of State are furnished full coverage on international news, on matters pertaining to the foreign policy of the United States,

metropolitan eastern dailies of New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, selected because of their tremendous circulation, are read first.

Columns appearing in these papers are marked with code numbers, denoting the departments or officials to which they are to be sent. The papers then go to a clipping room. This represents a miniature post office, with hundreds of cubby-holes or boxes into which the clippings are sorted according to their code numbers. They are next identified with the name and date of the paper from which they were clipped, and sent by messengers to the White House, to Congress and to the various departments of the Government.



Analysts of the Press Intelligence Division review the press of the United States and mark columns with code numbers denoting Government departments to which they are to be sent

on the progress of United Nations conferences, as well as on important home issues. When domestic problems become acute, such as the recent labor situation, the White House is given special service on press and radio comment.

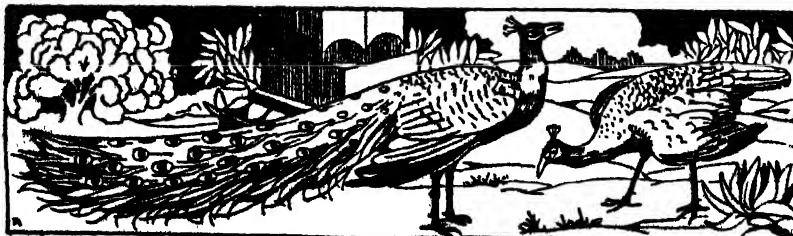
#### HOW THE WORK IS DONE

In the early dawn hours, when the daily morning newspapers are rolling from the presses throughout the United States, the Division of Press Intelligence begins its work of passing on to the nation's leaders what the radio and press have said during the previous day concerning public issue. After the papers are received and sorted, they are sent to a reading room where a staff of specially trained analysts, some of whom are experienced journalists, thoroughly scan them. Papers published in Washington, and the

otherwise, as papers are received and specified stories appear.

From the 225 newspapers received by the Press Intelligence Division each day, more than 70,000 clippings are assembled weekly. Publications are classified as "big city" dailies; key papers, outstanding because of their coverage of a community or section of the country, rather than of a city; smaller representative papers of the South of the United States, the Midwest and the Far West, and Negro publications.

In this manner the free press and radio of America present to the highest ranking officials of the nation representative thought of a great portion of the population, as a guide post in the consideration of policies that must serve the needs of 140 million people.—USIS.



# DEAF AND DUMB EDUCATION

By NRIPENDRA MOHUN MAJUMDER

The majority of the people of our country are not aware that the deaf-mute boys and girls can become perfect human beings through proper education and training. Even the educated community refuses to believe that by training these unfortunate people can be made to talk like others and reply intelligently to any and

deaf and dumb. No improvement can be expected if the public and the government do not look into the matter very earnestly.

The deaf-mutes are compelled to live an unfortunate life due mainly to their lack of linguistic knowledge. They have got no idea about particular concepts or languages. But if we can train them to know certain languages and to talk, they can definitely improve themselves. The educated and trained deaf-mutes may not in every respect be equal to others, yet they are no longer a burden to society. If opportunity comes, they too can well perform many works for the good of the society. In this connection, it may be mentioned that several deaf and dumb schools, viz., at Chittagong Rajshahi, Suri, Shambazar (Calcutta), Cuttack and Benares, have been founded by some educated deaf and dumb young men. These institutions are giving ample facilities to the younger generation of their brethren. Moreover, many trained deaf-mutes are independently



Infant Section of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School

every question. It is due to the indifference of the public and the government that the progress of deaf-mute education in our country has not been satisfactory. Even the Ministry of Education seems to be more or less callous on this particular issue.

As a result of untiring endeavour for about sixty years, only 40 deaf and dumb schools have been established throughout India. It is a matter of regret that the number of students accommodated in those schools are quite insufficient (only 1,200) as compared with the vast number of deaf-mutes in this country. According to the Census of 1931, about 23,00,000 deaf and dumb men and women are living in India. All but ten or twelve of these forty institutions for the deaf-mutes are institutions in name only: for due to lack of finance and trained teachers, no substantial improvement could be achieved. There is a definite and scientific method of teaching the deaf-mutes; so every teacher has got to undergo proper training in this line. The teachers who are not specially trained are not at all fit to take up responsibilities in this matter.

It is extremely necessary for the teachers to learn the method of teaching deaf-mutes in the most scientific manner. On the contrary, education through untrained men will result in disaster, and no good can be expected therefrom. It is also necessary to reform the training schools for the teachers of the



The Hon'ble Dr. Kailasnath Katju inspecting the method of teaching the deaf and dumb students

carrying on various trades and commercial enterprises, and various responsible duties are being discharged by them successfully. It is evident that normal boys and girls get their experiences in the most natural way on account of helpful environments. But one who has no power of hearing and cannot learn anything through proper training will not only be a burden to the

family and the society but may also be compelled to indulge in vices, viz., theft, etc. This very dangerous tendency should immediately draw the attention of teachers and statesmen who should be carefully attentive to the education of these unfortunates.



The Hon'ble Dr. Kailasnath Katju, Governor of West Bengal, with two deaf and dumb students of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School



A student of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School writing on board the answer of a question put to him by Chakravarty Sri Rajagopalachari

In Western countries, education for the deaf and dumb is compulsory and innumerable schools have been established for this purpose. A considerable amount of money is spent by the government and the people there for the development of this special type of education.

In our country, we find only some insignificant references about the deaf-mutes in the Sargent Report of the Central Education Advisory Board. It has been opined there that due to lack of data nothing more could be written. It is, however, not known to the



The pioneers who introduced deaf and dumb education in Benares in 1945

writer how far they endeavoured to collect information in this respect. It is my conviction that they could easily have got many useful information if the Committee attempted earnestly. As a reply to the above remark in the Sargent Report the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India drafted another plan. They also informed the Central and Provincial Governments to discuss the matter with them. But it is a matter of great regret that no favourable reply has been received as yet.

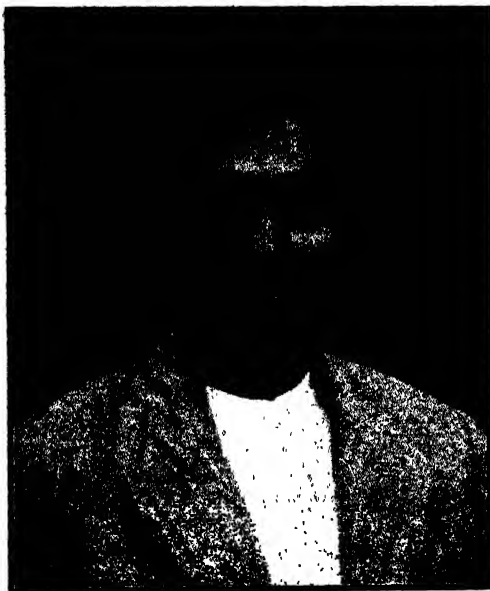


A tailoring shop conducted by a deaf tailor, Dhirendranath Gupta

On behalf of the Convention another report was forwarded to the Ministry of Education, Bengal, and the then Director of Public Instruction, Shri A. K. Chanda, discussed this matter with the Secretary of the Convention, Shri Nripendra Mohun Majumder (the writer), and many other distinguished gentlemen such as Principal A. C. Chatterjee of the Calcutta

Deaf and Dumb School, Mrs. B. M. Sen, Shri Amalesh Chandra Sen and others. It is to be regretted that no definite planning is yet out from the Bengal Secretariat. The present Ministry also has not published anything in this regard.

when an appropriate educational plan should be prepared in consultation with the educationists who are connected with deaf and dumb education in this country. The handful of workers who are still keeping this particular system of education alive are at all



The late Bholanath Ghatak, founder of the Deaf and Dumb Schools at Chittagong and Rajshahi



Makhanlal Majumdar, founder of the Shambazar Deaf and Dumb School

times prepared to co-operate with the government. We are happy to find the co-operative spirit of the U. P.



The deaf-mute artist, Bepin Behari Chowdhury, founder of the Cuttack Deaf and Dumb School



Debendranath Bhoumick, one of the founders of the Birbhum Deaf and Dumb School

The country is now free and independent. People should be properly trained in order that they may be really free citizens ; and this deaf-mute section of our people should never be neglected. The time has come

Government who have prepared a plan for the improvement of the Province's deaf and dumb education in consultation with Shri Sailendra Nath Banerji, General Secretary of the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India and Shri Nirmal

Chandra Chaturvedi, Secretary of the Lucknow Deaf and Dumb School. In that province, the Lucknow School and the Allahabad School are the two good institutions for the deaf and dumb. Moreover, it has been arranged that further five or six schools will be founded. With a view to implement that plan, the Government has established a College in Lucknow—the Training College for the Teachers of the Deaf, and in this the Lucknow University has fully co-operated. Meanwhile, a professor from the University has been sent to Manchester for training in Deaf-Mute Educational System. He will subsequently be the

Principal of the College. To run the College during this interim period efficiently the U. P. Government has temporarily appointed Shri Sailendra Nath Banerji, M.A. of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School, as the Principal. The College has been functioning since January last.

It is expected that with the example of U. P. before them the people and the Governments of all other Provinces of India will be more attentive to the education of these unfortunate deaf and dumb boys and girls.

—:O:—

## CHARLES LAMB

By K. B. RAO, B.A.

CHARLES LAMB belonged to the great age of the Romantic revival. He was born on 10th February 1775 at Inner Temple. He died on 27th December, 1834. Though Lamb is a very delightful and humorous writer, never gloomy, his life, however, was more sad than happy. All his life, he worked as a clerk in the India House. It is no wonder that Lamb, one of the most lively and spirited prose-writers, could never really take to the drudgery of clerkship. Then, there was the great domestic tragedy. His sister Mary in a fit of insanity killed her mother.

"Charles undertook to make himself responsible for Mary during the remainder of her life; and this he faithfully carried out until his own death nearly 40 years later. During the periods when her mind was unclouded, which sometimes lasted as long as a year, they were close companions. Being a woman of great intelligence, she entered fully into his literary work and recreations, and collaborated with him in their *Tales from Shakespeare*, which they wrote to introduce the great dramatist to young readers."

Lamb remained a bachelor till his death. He was not successful in his love affair also. This fine man who had so much to complain in life never allowed his personal tragedy to influence his life as a writer. But still, as Pater points out, one can perceive an undercurrent of tragedy, beneath the gay and sparkling surface of Lamb's humour.

Lamb is one of those writers who take their readers into their complete confidence. He is perhaps the most personal of writers in English. This intimate quality is very characteristic of Lamb. He has none of the austere aloofness of Arnold. When we read his works, we always get a clear impression of the man himself.

I think Lamb as a man has as much claim to our admiration as Lamb the writer. He is the most lovable and charming of English writers. One of the finest traits of his personality is his stoicism—his restraint

regarding the sadder aspects of his life. This quality is essentially a classical one. Lamb, the Romantic; has this great classical quality. In one of his letters, Lamb writes thus, "Sharper the pain, greater the evidence of life." How much this quiet man must have suffered to write that great line! "Charles Lamb knew the meaning of suffering; and this enriched his humour and gave it a tender sympathy which so often finds its expression in the laughter that is close to tears." Yet, he never seeks any publicity for his private sorrows. What a glaring contrast to Byron who is never tired of telling the world how sad he is! Now, here is the picture of the man, a very attractive charming man, looking at things in his own peculiar Lambian way, smiling at life, though in his heart there was sadness enough to make him a grand tragic hero.

Another happy thing in his life is his friendship. Lamb was an ideal friend. He knew how to acquire friendship and more than that, to preserve what he had acquired. His letters record many instances in which Lamb patches up quarrels and re-establishes his friendships. Lamb's relationship with his sister is one of the finest and remarkable examples of fraternal love. Lamb gave up marrying because of his sister. Augustus Muir says:

"Among Lamb's friends were some of the most famous poets of the day: Wordsworth and Coleridge and Southey. William Hazlitt, that great essayist and critic, was another man who enjoyed Lamb's hospitality; so also did Leigh Hunt and the artist Haydon. Lamb himself has often been referred to as the "gentle Elia," but his friends have attested to the way in which his words could bite when his indignation was aroused over some piece of unfairness or cruelty.

"He was, above all, a companionable man—indeed some people criticised him by saying that he was too companionable and welcomed profligates into his house. Thomas de Quincey took up this challenge: the truth, he said, was that Lamb was always ready to stretch out a helping hand to

anyone, and if a man had suffered injustice or persecution, then without further question he was welcomed at Lamb's fireside."

Let us now turn to his works. The great romantic age is so rich in its poetical achievements, that people often forget that it is also the age of great prose-writers. How many great names there are!

As his letters show, Lamb seems to have had a great ambition to become a poet. Especially the Lamb-Coleridge letters throw considerable light on this point. But Coleridge who was quite unkind, in a sense, criticised Lamb's modest attempts at poetry so severely that poor Lamb did suffer a great deal—not so much because he could not write good poetry but chiefly because of Coleridge's rather unfriendly attitude. However, fortunately for English prose, Lamb began to be less serious about poetry.

For most boys and girls, Lamb means the Lamb of the *Tales from Shakespeare*. For an average reader, Lamb is chiefly known by his essays and his letters. I shall give a list of his works in chronological order. His earliest work is *Rosamund Gray*, an attempt at novel writing. Then there are *Tales from Shakespeare*, *Adventures of Ulysses*, *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets*, *Poetry for Children*, *The First Essays of Elia*, *The Last Essays of Elia*.

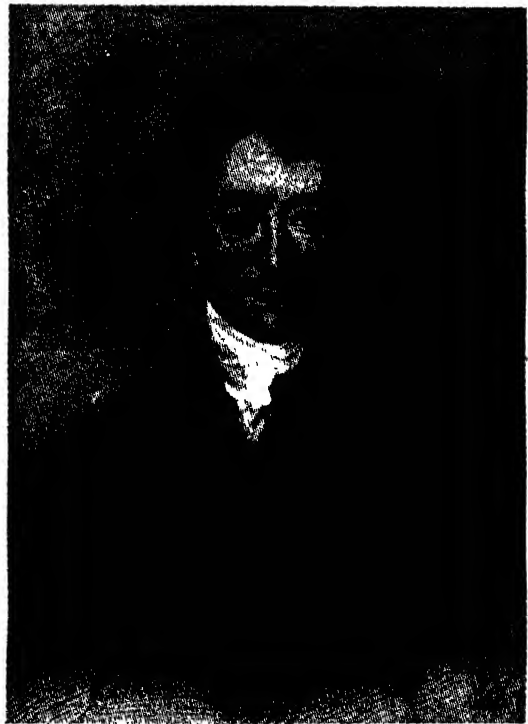
In English Literature, Lamb's fame chiefly rests on his Essays and Letters. In a sense they complement each other. Lamb in his Essays is strikingly like Lamb in his Letters. This fact is quite important, because it deals a strong blow to the charge of insincerity some people have brought against Lamb. They seem to think that Lamb's playful views in his Essays are the result of an artificial, insincere attempt at writing them, not because he feels in that way but because he thinks he can amuse his readers. This is a very serious mistake of judgment and Lamb's letters show that playfulness was something natural to Lamb. It was an essential part of his personality.

From a literary point of view, the letters and the essays show the same qualities. Now, what are these qualities? Firstly, they show a great interest in the most ordinary things of life, trifles which most people may consider unfit as subjects of literature. Lamb is full of these trivial, delightful, little details. This concern of Lamb with ordinary details of everyday life is not superficial. It is the result of a deeper tendency, which is Lamb's intense love of life, love for even the most trivial things of life. This is essentially a mundane attitude. It may be described as realism. Lamb is a realist in the sense that he takes from life the material for his art. He does not create it from his imagination.

A good example of unrealistic and purely imaginative material is Coleridge's *Kubla Khan*. Lamb is not certainly lacking in imagination. Lamb does exercise his imagination but that is only on common-place, realistic details of life. So with Lamb imagination is merely an agent of transmutation. On the contrary, with Coleridge imagination is everything. In this

respect, Lamb is unromantic. This also accounts for his great love for Hogarth, the realistic painter.

Then, you may ask, "Is Lamb not romantic?" I say, yes. He is a romantic. Lamb's romanticism has three aspects. Firstly, Lamb as an individualist is a romantic. Lamb's criticism is romantic criticism, because it is intensely personal and impressionistic. Secondly, Lamb is a romantic, because he loves antiquity. Old things, old habits, old books—all that belong to the past—have a great fascination for Lamb. This nostalgia for something that is gone, something far away and belonging to the past is essentially a romantic impulse and Lamb has a great deal of it. Thirdly, Lamb's attitude towards childhood, his fine powers to evoke the tender, imaginative beauty of childhood, the poetry of childhood, also makes Lamb a romantic.



Charles Lamb

Now, let me make a brief study of his Essays. The first thing that we notice is the great range of themes Lamb touches. Old buildings, whist, music, witches, relations, gallantry, grace before meat, etc.—what variety! Secondly, there is Lamb's great gift of humour. Lamb's humour is subtle and refined. It is not for coarser palates. Lamb's humour very often consists in his style. Lamb is one of the very few writers who can play with language and make a self-conscious use of it. Let me quote two examples:

"Mistake me not, reader;—nor imagine that I am by nature destitute of those exterior twin appendages, hanging ornaments, and (architec-



turally speaking) handsome volutes to the human capital."

This pleasure in choice, delightful words for their own sake is characteristic of Lamb. How interesting and extraordinary become a pair of ears, when Lamb describes them!

Here is another example. Lamb is describing the acting of a contemporary actor. Lamb admires greatly his acting the part of Andrew Agucheeuk, the most consistently and unmixedly stupid character in Shakespeare.

"You could see the first dawn of an idea stealing slowly over his countenance, climbing up by little and little, with a painful process, till it cleared up at last to the fulness of a twilight conception, its highest meridian."

We get a great deal of humour arising out of Lamb's peculiar attitude towards things. The essay on 'Beggars' or the essay on 'Grace Before Meat' is a good example of this. We have also examples of Lamb's more obvious and more high-spirited humour. 'A Dissertation upon Roast Pig' or 'All Fool's Day' is a good example of this.

The last and the most characteristic quality is their personal nature. Lamb fills his essays with his innumerable likes and dislikes. For example, we learn from his *Essays* that Lamb liked the Quakers, disliked music which he called 'measured malice,' disliked the Scotch and so on. Lamb's love of childhood enables us to have some passages of remarkable beauty. I, here, quote a passage which incidentally registers Lamb's view on childhood. He is writing about the imaginary fear of a child:

—:O:—

## SIKKIM

By PRITHISINH CHAUHAN

SIKKIM is a protected State in the Eastern Himalayas adjoining Tibet, Nepal and Bhutan. It has an area of 2818 sq. miles of dense forests with rich flora and orchidaceae, growing rice and Indian corn in the clearances; it has a population of 109 808 with an annual revenue of four lakhs of rupees. Its capital Gangtok is 7000 ft. above sea-level with a cool bracing climate. The State is ruled by H. H. Maharaja Sir Trashi Namgyal K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. of Tibetan descent.

Quite recently the State has come into prominence due to the conflict between the State Congress and the Ruler, with the result that the Government of India were constrained to take over the administration for an indefinite period. Since the time Sikkim became a British Dependency, it has been open to traders and travellers from India. The British predominance in Sikkim is described in the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890:

"It is admitted that the British Government whose Protectorate over the Sikkim State is hereby recognized has direct and exclusive control over the administration and foreign relations of the State; and except through and with the permission of the British Government, neither the Ruler of the State, nor any of its Officers shall have official relations of any kind, formal or informal with any other country."

"That the kind of fear here treated of is purely spiritual—that is strong in proportion as it is objectless upon earth—that it predominates in the period of sinless infancy—are difficulties, the solution of which might afford some probable insight into our antemundane condition, and a peep at least into the shadow-land of pre-existence."

This is not only fine prose but also a fine piece of metaphysical speculation which is not very characteristic of Lamb.

Lamb's love of mankind is very intense. As a result of this we get some delightful, living, warm sketches from Lamb. 'The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple' or some characters in 'The South-Sea House' bear testimony to Lamb's gift for painting very lively and warm pictures of people.

Historically, Lamb gave a great impetus to the development of English essay, by bringing about a very vigorous revival of self-revealing, personal essays. His place in English criticism is also considerable. His criticism on Webster is one of the finest specimens of romantic criticism we have.

To sum up, Lamb is bound to be a puzzling paradox to those critics who are fond of labelling writers as romantics, classicists, realists, etc. Lamb shows triumphantly that art cannot be divided into water-tight compartments. He is as much a romantic as a classicist. What message has Lamb for us, moderners? It is fashionable now-a-days to discover messages in old writers. Lamb's message is the message of individualism. This message is all the more important in an age like ours, which is characterised by state-control, mass manufacture and standardisation.

Since then the administration of Sikkim remained under the British tutelage for about thirty years, during which period essential reforms were introduced. Unrestricted immigration from Nepal was encouraged resulting in large areas of land being cultivated. Today the Nepalese constitute more than 60 per cent. of Sikkim's population, but having practically no voice in its administration.

In 1918, the administration of the State was handed over to the present Maharaja, who was then a young man of 25. Since then, Sikkim has functioned like any other Indian State under the British Paramountcy. Three Englishmen successively were appointed to advise the Maharaja, and the last of them vacated the exalted office in 1927. H. H. Maharaja is of an exceedingly pious and peaceful nature, and although in the prime of his life, he has allowed the Maharajkumar to take over an added interest in the administration, who is still young and quite inexperienced, with the result that the power has been concentrated in the hands of a handful of landlords, who have since ruled and exploited Sikkim mercilessly, thus losing the confidence of the ryots who have a reason for being thoroughly discontented; since all these years, they have been subjected to utmost inhuman ill-treatment,



reminiscent of the days prior to the French Revolution. The following description of Sikkim under the landlords will illustrate the point.

The 'Kazis' who are the leading landlords belong to the old nobility, and could be compared to the Barons of those feudal days, when England was ruled by King Arthur. It has now become a custom with the Kazis to oppress the ryots and expect the utmost subservience from them. Another class of landlords known as the 'Thikadars' are the strong supporters of the Kazis. Numerous ryots specially in the rural areas have been deprived of their ancestral lands and are today eking out a miserable existence with no other alternative than to serve as slaves and till the land for those Kazis and Thikadars, who ousted them from their own lands. The landlords themselves do not pay any taxes, but compel their cultivators to pay it for them, whom they have already reduced to the state of serfs.

The landlords in Sikkim are moreover invested with magisterial powers in both civil and criminal matters, and are also empowered to register the sale or the transfer of the properties. Since there are no effective checks to his prerogatives, it has become a custom with the landlord here, to abuse his powers for personal gain and aggrandizement so that half of the fine imposed by the landlord is claimed by him from the State as part of the 'spoil'. The landlords are invested with the different classes of legal powers, given to them according to their qualifications, merits and influence. Since Sikkim has mostly absentee landlords, their powers are exercised on their behalf by ignorant and greedy stooges, who have no moral or human scruples. The slightest delay in the payment of taxes, a matter of common occurrence, is a sufficient excuse, which prompts a landlord to confiscate the property.

Ryots have been forced to do various forms of work. About twenty years back, the State announced that according to an International Convention, forced labour would be abolished, which was never implemented. The landlords have been always multiplying their ill-gotten estates, where they compel their ryots to work and live as slaves. Some of the landlords holding Government posts are required to live in the capital Gangtok, about two or three days' journey from their estates, which means their ryots have to pay them a routine visit to serve as menials and do odd bits of jobs, for which no wages are paid. Forced labour is often demanded falsely on behalf of the State, for carrying loads across mountainous passes over 15,000 ft. into the Tibetan territory, which means an absence of more than a week from home. During the War, huge packages were transported overland into China via Tibet, and the wages offered for these were quite attractive. The corrupt Kazis were quick to reap a harvest, and demanding forced labour on behalf of the State, they had the packages belonging to a private firm, transported at the prescribed State rate, while they themselves received enormous sums from the company concerned, thus depriving the poor ryots of their legitimate dues, earned by the sweat of their brow.

The day at last dawned when India attained Independence, and being inspired by Nehru's public utterances that "a free India will beacon to the suppressed nations of Asia towards freedom", the down-trodden and the dumb-driven masses of that little picturesque country, Sikkim, which in its scenic beauty is certainly unrivalled, looked to India for guidance. To say that Independent India produced ripples of freedom in the stagnant pool of slave Asia, would be no exaggeration, since the people of Sikkim became so enthusiastic that during the latter half of 1946, several deputations of ryots waited on the corrupt administrators to protest against the institution of slave labour and numerous acts of oppression committed by individual landlords and demanded certain reforms in their payment of taxes. But all this was curiously construed as a communal rising, and things were so manipulated that against all canons of justice and equity the ryots were mercilessly suppressed and gagged.

Since 1946, the Sikkimese have started agitating for the abolition of landlordism and the introduction of reforms long over-due. The ryots of Sikkim, Lepchas, Bhutias and Gorkhas, form the rural population and since time immemorial they have been living in complete amity. With the advent of Independence in India, the Sikkimese were inspired by the All-India Gorkha League which has its headquarters in Kalimpong (Dist. Darjeeling). In December, 1947 a political organization of the Sikkimese was at last formed known as the Sikkim State Congress. A Committee to meet the Maharaja were elected and they waited on him with the following demand:

- (1) Abolition of landlordism.
- (2) Installation of an interim Government.
- (3) Accession of Sikkim into the Indian Union.

The activities of the State Congress under Trashit Shring and Chandra Das Rai gathered a lot of momentum and within a short period of a couple of months, landlordism was well on its way to voluntary liquidation. This was too much for the administrators of Sikkim and they encouraged a couple of their stooges to form a Sikkim National Party, which has been functioning as the King's Party. This party is not run by a President or a Secretary, but by three Joint Secretaries.

Sikkim is now demanding accession into India, as it is wholly dependent on India economically. Today, the words of H. H. Risley who compiled the *Sikkim Gazetteer*, are recalled with awe and affection, and how true it is that

"Sikkim cannot stand by itself, and if we withdraw our support, it must ultimately fall either to Tibet or Nepal. It would be idle to deny the truth of this statement which holds as true now as when it was made about sixty years ago. Now the population factor has completely changed so as to constitute in itself a menace to Sikkim if divorced from its union with India. In view of the changed political situation and changing times, a political treaty alone might not provide sufficient safeguard to the security of Sikkim as a separate independent entity. Sikkim, a strategic bottleneck of the Himalayas of the highest importance, must remain an integral part of India to the advantage and benefit of both."

# ROBERT LYND PASSES AWAY

## Greatest English Essayist of Modern Times

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"I do not hold up Joubert as a very astonishing and powerful genius, but rather as a delightful and edifying genius . . . . He is the most prepossessing and convincing of witnesses to the good of loving light. Because he sincerely loved light, and did not prefer to it any little private darkness of his own, he found light. . . . And because he was full of light, he was also full of happiness. . . . His life was as charming as his thoughts. For certainly it is natural that the love of light, which is already in some measure the possession of light, should irradiate and beatify the whole life of him who has it."—Matthew Arnold on Joubert: *Essays in Criticism*.

The news of Mr. Robert Lynd's demise on October 6 has come as a great shock to all genuine lovers of English literature. That he died at the ripe old age of 70, and not in his early twenties or thirties or forties, does not minimise the sense of our loss to even the slightest extent. The mere matter of years is not a vital consideration. Nor did any of his innumerable admirers ever think of him as old or aging. Mr. Lynd seemed to us the very incarnation of eternal youth. Neither in his views, nor in his expression of them, did he show any visible signs of ossification. There are writers who "die from the neck up," as the saying is, with increasing years. It is as though, in this nerve-racking business of "moving with the times," as it is currently called, they found out their inadequacy rather early in the proceedings and threw up the sponge accordingly. And, to be fair to them, it must be acknowledged that "moving with the times" in these hectic days when the half-a-dozen or so of existing "cold wars" may develop any moment into regular "shooting wars," when the East-West tension, steadily mounting, may suddenly, as it were, take the bit between its teeth and gallop to its tragic culmination, is not as easy, as feasible, as it may sound at first sight.

### "SWEETNESS AND LIGHT"

But Mr. Robert Lynd did not, apparently, feel the strain of this striving to keep pace with the "Time-spirit" in the same degree as some others. So there was no risk of his "dying from the neck up" that I have referred to above. He was one of those who could always be trusted to keep his head even in a maelstrom. The passage from Matthew Arnold that I have appended as a sort of motto for this article fits him almost as much as it was intended to fit Joubert, the renowned French author on whom Arnold was writing. Arnold, as we all know, was excessively fond of that phrase of his "sweetness and light," and repeated it well-nigh to distraction. But that is a way that loving parents the world over have, and we need not make much of it. The point that concerns us now is that, like Joubert, Mr. Lynd was a votary in the shine of these twin-goddesses, namely, "sweetness and light." His "even-balan'd soul," to quote Arnold again, "business could not make dull, nor passion wild"; and he saw life "steadily and saw it whole," like that Greek dramatist, "Singer of sweet Colonus, and its child," to whom the English poet sang his celebrated lines.

### HIS IRISH EXTRACTION

Lynd's mental and emotional poise, indeed, were eminently characteristic of him: all the more so when we remember that he was Irish and, on that ground alone, could well have been excused some effervescence of soul. Strangely enough, barring, of course, his innate Radicalism and the exceptional beauty of his English prose style, his Irishness rarely came to the surface. There was no trace of any strident parochialism in his intellectual make-up. Sometimes, indeed, it almost looked as though he fought shy of the fact of his being Irish. Irish writers do generally contrive to let it be known far and wide that they are Irish first and everything else afterwards: Irish writers from George Bernard Shaw downwards. Nor is there anything inherently wrong in this highly amiable trait: we are made thus, and nature must have its way. Lynd, however, was an exception: he kept his Irishness to himself as much as he could.

But he was Irish nonetheless; and one learned to love him all the more for that. The contribution of Irishmen and Irishwomen to English literature is not a matter to be lightly brushed aside. All other things being equal, the Irish have a flair for English prose and poetry—more particularly for English prose—that the Englishman himself rarely has. Most literary critics agree on this point; and, as though to buttress it, we have Lynd's own fine example. In this he is in the best Irish tradition: the tradition of Steele, Goldsmith, Swift, Burke, Sheridan, Wilde, Yeats, Moore, Shaw. Else, listen to what the late C. E. Montague, himself Irish as the sea is salt, has to say on the subject in his memorable *Dramatic Values*:

"In some ways the best English spoken is spoken in rural Ireland now; the Wicklow peasant's toothsome, idiomatic use of short words is nearer to the English tongue's clean youth than anything you hear in England—even in Northamptonshire—today; and in Synge's plays the English of Elizabeth comes back to us from Ireland as fresh as the Elizabethan settlers left it there. Moment by moment as you hear his "Shadow of the Glen," your ear is caught by some such turn of speech as modern English gives you mere smudged copies of."

### EMINENT IN BOTH GENRE

Lynd was both an essayist and a literary critic and attained an enviable eminence in the two genre of essay-writing and literary criticism. But it is safe to say that for everyone who knows him as



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru greets President Harry Truman as he arrives at the Indian Embassy in Washington for a reception on October 14. At left is Mrs. Truman



Russian Foreign Minister, Andrei Vyshinsky (left) exchanges a cheery handshake with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a reception in honour of Nehru at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City on 15th October



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the audience from the platform set up in front of the City Hall in the City of New York, during the official reception given to him on 17th October



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (standing in the marked car) was cheered by thousands of New Yorkers as he drove to the City Hall for an official reception on 17th October

a literary critic nearly ten know him only as an essayist. One reason undoubtedly is that whereas he ceased to dabble in sustained literary criticism several years ago he continued to turn out essays every week till almost the last moment of his strenuous life. Another reason is that for some time past the essay has taken a back place in English literature, more gifted persons flocking to the well-trodden fields of literary criticism and biography than to the essay proper. When Lynd began essay-writing there were others also in the line; and by the time he was in his middle-period some younger men (foremost among them being none other than the now famous J. B. Priestley himself, his intimate friend and fervent admirer) were also tempted, encouraged by the master's illustrious example, to try their hands at this by no means despicable branch of literature. But later on these literary "fellow-travellers," if I may venture to call them so, left essay-writing severely alone and thereby enabled Lynd to reign in lone splendour in this delectable form of entertainment.

#### PRIESTLEY AND LYND

Having mentioned the name of Priestley, whom also I admire, I should like to go on record as saying that he was to the old *Saturday Review* what Lynd, throughout his literary career, had been to the *New Statesman*. This was in the twenties, and the *Saturday* was edited by Mr. Gerald Barry, later the editor-founder of the (now defunct) *Week-end Review*, and, until lately, the editor of the *News Chronicle*. Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, and to be young was very heaven. In those days I was an assiduous reader of the English weeklies, and I used to compare and contrast the efforts of both these literary giants, Lynd and Priestley. Priestley, of course, was the younger writer of the two; but, nothing daunted, he ran a neck-to-neck race with his senior and, at whites, even succeeded in far outstripping him. I do not say (this is in any disparagement of Lynd, whom I have always worshipped "this side idolatry.") But Priestley, when he decided to take up literature as his life's career, decided also to reach the topmost rung of the ladder, and that, too, within the shortest possible time; and it is only fair to admit that he has touched nothing that he has not adorned. Starting as a literary critic, with his universally acclaimed *The English Comic Characters and Figures in Modern English Literature* he flirted with novel-writing with his *Adam in Moonshine* and *Benighted*, and then went all out to tackle the essay-form, making his debut, so to speak, in the columns of the old *Saturday* under a genial editorship. His books of essays, *Open House*, and *Apes and Men*, and *The Balcony*, are every whit as good as the best collections of Lynd himself.

But Priestley, having won laurels in this field also, abandoned it for the novel and the drama (with occasional experiments in autobiography), with the result that the only serious rival that Lynd has ever had in the essay-form left him in entire possession of

this "realm of gold," in the beautiful phrase of Keats. And thus I come back to Lynd.

#### JOURNALIST FIRST AND AUTHOR AFTERWARDS

Lynd, besides being the "middle-writer" of the *New Statesman*, ever since that famous journal's inception in 1913 under the general inspiration of the Webbs and with the late Mr. Clifford Sharp as its first editor, had been the Literary Editor, first of the *Daily News*, and then of its successor, the *News Chronicle*. In addition, he used to contribute, fairly frequently, to Squire's *London Mercury* (alas, no more!) and to other periodicals as well. It will be seen that in this sense he had never been a professional author, an author *sui generis*, an author "to the manner born." It was journalism (that stern mistress) that claimed him all along; and it was only by sheer accident that he blossomed forth into an author also. As a Literary Editor he must have helped many a lame dog over many a stile: there must be quite a number of people the world over who, but for his initial word of encouragement, would not have been either journalists or authors today. Lynd was a literary man to his finger-tips; and, during the last two or three decades, exerted a considerable influence over the writers of the day, an influence that cannot be fully assessed at the moment because of his nearness to us.

#### LYND AS CRITIC

I have written that Lynd was both a literary critic and an essayist and that he attained an enviable eminence in both the *genre* of literary criticism and essay-writing. I have written also that he is more widely known as an essayist than as a literary critic. As one who has read not only his essays but his not less important criticism as well I feel it is my duty to devote a few lines to the latter in order to forestall, as far as within me lies, any hasty appraisal of him as only an essayist by the rank and file of obituarists. He has written two books, *The Art of Letters* and *Books and Authors*, both gems, "of purest ray serene," in their own chosen field. A diligent perusal of these will not fail to convince the reader that what he did not know of English literature is simply not worth knowing. He is as erudite on Samuel Pepys and Horace Walpole as on Norman Douglas (the author of that classic, *South Wind*) and H. M. Tomlinson (of *The Sea and the Jungle* fame), in certain circles known as the English Conrad. I am, by nature, "allergic to" writers of *Diaries* and *Note-Books*, and, anyway, until I read Lynd on the subject I had not thought it possible that anyone could make Pepys, "that Puritan north-north-west," even moderately interesting. But Lynd has the rare gift, possessed only by the elect, of investing even the dullest theme with the interest that never was on sea or land. Thus it happens that both Pepys and Edward Young and T. S. Eliot of our own day, to mention a living and honoured writer—come, refreshingly alive and vivid from his page. Lynd, indeed, could never be dull even

if he "tried with both his hands," as Humpty-Dumpty would have put it: if anyone doubts my word I suggest that he read his essay on "The Cult of Dullness," which is worth its weight in gold—or in uranium, as, I suppose, we should learn to say now.

"There is a league of dullness constantly making war on wit and beauty," he says. "Its malice is not deliberate: it is scarcely intelligent enough to be deliberate. It is founded not on reason, but on the instinct of self-defence." He ends in this wise:

"But, alas, intolerance and dullness are immortal, and we shall always have a war between them, on the one hand, and the Keatses and the Molières on the other. And the Keatses and the Molières will go on writing, and it may be that they would not be so firmly rooted if it were not for the fierce wind that so constantly assails them. All may be for the best. Without dullness to contend against, beauty and wit might succumb to Capua."—*Books and Authors*.

#### FIRST PRINCIPLES

Plato, in his last dialogue, "The Laws," makes Cleinias, the Cretan, exclaim to his Athenian companion (these two, with Megillus, the Lacedaemonian, it will be remembered, were on a pilgrimage to the cave and shrine of Zeus in Crete): "O Athenian stranger, inhabitant of Attica I will not call you, for you seem to deserve rather the name of Athene herself, because you go back to first principles." In his literary criticism Lynd always goes back to first principles, which is another way of saying that he furnishes his literary skyscrapers with the most enduring of foundations. We shall do well to remember that, in this domain as in others, many are called but few chosen; and that, just as everyone who says "Lord, Lord!" is not assured of a place in heaven, so also everyone who dabbles in literary criticism is not a literary critic, properly so called. About Lynd's position, however, there can be no dispute: he is among the elect and sits at his ease in Zion. One of his principles, as we have already seen, is that he enjoins us to shun dullness as one shuns the plague: he has no use for the merely pompous. The late Mr. Augustine Birrell says somewhere that no one is obliged to read another's books, and, by the same token, we may lay it down that a literary critic who is merely erudite, and is lacking in the saving salt of humour and gusto, is not destined to become an Immortal.

#### EMPHASIS ON APPRECIATION, NOT DEPRECIATION

Lynd has one infallible recipe for really worthwhile criticism: or, rather, he has two recipes. One is that one must take a perceptible delight in it, coming to it, that is, not from what I may call an oppressive sense of duty, but from an inner urge that cannot be mistaken: in other words, one must write it *con amore*. His second recipe is that, as far as possible, one must take care to write only on those authors who appeal to one in some way or other: one must not come to bury Caesar but to praise him. What he suggests is that no one should write on an

author with whom, for one reason or another, he does not happen to find himself in sympathy. Destructive criticism is the easiest thing on earth, and anybody can perpetrate it. Indeed, it is quite possible, on this hypothesis, to write a damaging estimate even of Shakespeare that shall show him to be no better than an amateur in literature. This, however, is not to suggest that criticism should flow in one uninterrupted stream of applause: it would, obviously, be to err at the opposite extreme. No author, not even the greatest that ever was, is immaculate. Homer himself has been said to nod—occasionally. Taking the example of Shakespeare again, an excellent article could be written proving what a woefully inadequate craftsman he was. There never, perhaps, was a more careless and haphazard writer. Everyone remembers the famous retort of Ben Jonson when someone was praising Shakespeare for not blotting out a single line of his manuscript: "Would to God he had blotted out a thousand!" The art of writing is full of perils, and whose essays to practise it must first cultivate a thick epidermis, an impenetrable carapace. To write is, *ipso facto*, to court detraction.

All this, however, does not invalidate my argument. Some sympathy is demanded of him who sets out to appraise the works of an author. Moreover, if one examines critical writings closely, one will find that the best criticisms have, invariably, been laudatory. That is why Walter Pater, as Lynd has noted, called his book of criticisms, *Appreciations*. That is why the late G. K. Chesterton's book on Dickens is the best book that has yet been written about that celebrated novelist.

#### LYND ON ELIOT

Lynd's approach to Mr. T. S. Eliot, for instance is illuminating. It points a moral and adorns a tale: the moral and the tale being both his own. It is evident that Mr. Eliot, for certain obvious reasons, queers our critic's pitch. Mr. Eliot is pompous, and Mr. Eliot is pretentious; and, as I have already indicated, Lynd is allergic to these traits in a critic. Here is what he has to say on the matter:

"The good critic communicates his delight in genius. His memorable sentences are the mirrors of memorable works of art."

He continues:

"His (Eliot's) failure at present is partly a failure of generosity. If a critic is lacking in generous responsiveness it is in vain for him to write about the poets. The critic has duties as a destroyer, but chiefly in the same sense as a gold-washer. His aim is the discovery of gold. Mr. Eliot is less of a discoverer in this kind than any critic of distinction who is now writing. . . . Let Mr. Eliot for the next ten years take as his patron saint the woman in the New Testament who found the piece of silver, instead of Johannes Agricola in joyless meditation. He will find her not only better company, but a wise counsellor. He may even find his sentences infected with her cheerful excitement, for want of which as yet they can break neither into a phrase nor into a smile."



## BEAUTIFUL CRITICISM

This wanted saying very much, and it has now been said. As a piece of beautiful criticism, is not the following passage on Shelley a veritable masterpiece, "the Pillars of Hercules of mortal achievement," in the phrase that the late Mr. Maurice Baring immortalised while writing on Sarah Bernhardt?

"For Shelley has not failed. He is one of those who have brought down to earth the creative spirit of freedom. And that spirit has never ceased to brood, with however disappointing results, over the chaos of Europe until our time. His greatest service to freedom is, perhaps, that he made it seem, not a policy, but a part of Nature. He made it desirable as the spring, lovely as a cloud in a blue sky, gay as a lark, glad as a wave, golden as a star, mighty as a wind. Other poets speak of freedom, and invite the birds on to the platform. Shelley spoke of freedom and himself became a bird in the air, a wave of the sea. He did not humiliate beauty into a lesson. He scattered beauty among men not as a homily but as a spirit—

"Singing hymns unbidden, till the world is wrought  
To sympathy with hopes and fears it heeded not."  
—*The Art of Letters*.

This, I feel, best describes Lynd himself. Like his own hero Lynd also "did not humiliate beauty into a lesson. He scattered beauty among men not as a homily but as a spirit."

## LYND AS ESSAYIST

Now I come to Lynd, the essayist. The path of the essayist is not, let me suggest, exactly strewn with roses. In his case the difficulty is not a dearth, but a plethora, of subjects. His terms of reference do not hedge his fancy in by finicking restrictions of this or that nature: they are wide as the overhanging canopy itself. He may, metaphorically speaking, roam the heavens above, the earth below, and the waters underneath the earth; and if still he cannot hit upon a theme, or, hitting upon it, cannot "expand" it to the "measure of his intention," the fault, certainly, lies in himself, not in his stars. Imaginatively, he may range, at his sweet will, not only from China to Peru and from Khorassan to Kidderminster, but he may, with equal freedom, tackle, while so doing, matters as diverse as a lady's commerce with her looking-glass and a man's intercourse with his Maker. He may elect either to be learned or to be light: to be ponderous or to be merely playful. It is touch and go whether he chooses to be "sober, steadfast, and demure" and to keep his "wonted state,"

"With even step, and musing gait,

And looks commercing with the skies,"  
or else to drench his essay through and through with a merciless shower of

"Quips, and cranks, and wanton wiles,

Nods, and becks, and wreathed smiles,"  
and generally to give full rein to the spirit of delight.

## LYND'S CONFESSION

The fact is that essayists, like others, have their lean periods, their fallow times; and it is then that

their inherent worth comes out. One cannot always be at the top of one's form. Take Lynd, for instance. As "Y.Y." he had been contributing an essay every week to the *New Statesman* since *auld lang syne*: which, being interpreted, means, since the year 1913, when that famous weekly first saw the light of day. He had himself modestly estimated that up to April, 1934, he must have written about 1,600,000 words by way of "middles" to that paper; and safeguarded himself by saying: "If this be imputed to me as a crime my excuse must be that my poverty, and not my will, consented."

Well, what does Lynd do? He has, if we are to believe him, a rooted habit of procrastination. He has a job to do, but is averse from doing it, and so willy-nilly postpones it till the last avoidable moment; and, what is more, has an excuse ever ready—connecting the delay with the mislaying of his fountain-pen, or the dropping of a bottle of ink on to the sheets on which he had been writing, or the kitten's lapping up all the milk in the cupboard, or the falling asleep of the man in the moon. These are my own fancies, but it would appear that "Y.Y." is really ingenious in his apologies. He confesses:

"From an early age, I wanted to write, but I always hated—and still hate—beginning to write . . . I am like a man who wants to go somewhere in his motor car, and whose engine needs cranking up, and who would gladly avoid the effort of cranking up the engine. Hence, even if I had a week in which to write an article, I should find it difficult to begin writing till the last hours of the last day of the week. Expected to deliver my article by the first post on Thursday morning, I still found myself late on Wednesday night doing my utmost to dodge the necessity of work. How often have I succeeded so well that I have had to set the alarm clock for six and to go down and compel myself to tackle the detested task on a wintry Thursday morning!"—See his Essay, "A Thousand and one 'Middles'" in the *New Statesman* of April 14, 1934.

## BEING IN A FIX

The point is that, his temperament being such, he finds himself now and then in a fix: on what should he write? If nothing better offers, and the last minute has arrived, he takes up a dictionary and fills up three columns with what comes in handy; and yet contrives that the resulting attempt shall be both readable and reasonable. Therein lies the secret of your master-essayist. I have written above that an essayist suffers, not from a dearth, but from a plethora, of subjects. It is illustrated most aptly in the example I have chosen. Lynd would have had his work cut out for him if he had a subject of limited scope to handle: he would not, then, have had to run after it himself and be in a perpetual state of suspense about it. The essayist's job is really not so easy as it looks. Having a veritable universe of themes to select from, he is ever on the horns of a dilemma; and probably ends up by selecting the least suitable. On the other hand, it is comparatively



simple if you have to dissertate on the economic condition of the Neanderthal man, or the fashion in ladies' hats in the eighteenth century, or the decline and fall of the Moghul Empire. You have to mug up your subject, that is all, and to take care not to botch it too conspicuously in telling the world what Mr. A or Mrs. B has already told it in a more authoritative, and, withal, a more convincing, style. But an essayist has both to choose his subject and to illuminate it from unexpected angles. His is a pioneer's work; and, like it, the more praiseworthy.

#### AN EXAMPLE

Below I am giving as fine an example as I can set my hands upon of Lynd's style as well as of his peculiar art of essay-writing. The essay is entitled, "In Praise of Temperance," and occurs in his book *The Gold Fish*. Here is the passage:

"Excess, it seems to me, may justly be praised if we do not praise it to excess. In a lukewarm

world it is the enemy of lukewarmness. It is a protest against virtues that sail among the shallows of caution and timidity and never venture among the perils of the high seas. St. Paul might not have been so good a Christian if he had not previously been an excessive persecutor of Christians. All genius, whether religious or artistic, is a kind of excess. The man of genius is intoxicated with some vision or purpose in a world of mainly sober men and women. Even so, I doubt if it is wise to preach a gospel of excess. Not one in a million men who get intoxicated is a man of genius, and the excesses of intoxicated men without genius are matter for some of the darkest pages of history. The minor revolutionists, the one-idea'd assassins, the street-corner persecutors, have for the most part been men who have imbibed some half-truth to excess. The truth is, the Road to Excess leads to the Palace of Wisdom only if a man is born wise."

My readers can now understand what a tremendous loss English literature has sustained by his demise.

—:O:—

## HOW TO HAVE BETTER SIGHT WITHOUT GLASSES

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE use of spectacles is so rapidly increasing nowadays among our countrymen, particularly the younger generation, that an eye-specialist was constrained to remark that we are becoming a four-eyed nation day by day. The wear of glasses has penetrated so much even into the distant villages that a reputed doctor of medicine observes that, of persons over twenty-one living under civilized conditions nine out of every ten have imperfect sight and as the age advances until at forty it is almost impossible to find a person free from visual defects. The common use of glasses has given rise to a billion-rupee industry in our country.

According to the Italian Encyclopaedia, Salvino Armati was the inventor of glasses for the eyes. Armati's inventions have no doubt brought some blessings to a section of mankind but there is no denying the fact that curses too have shadowed them. Glasses once used are hard to be discarded. It is no exaggeration to say that glasses are almost a necessity of the civilised life like delicacies and dress. Ophthalmologists of various countries have practically found out no remedy for the defective vision except the palliatives called glasses. These crutches are no cure for the defective sight. They give at their best only temporary relief. They are as good to the eyes as the sticks are to the lame. The more the glasses are used the weaker become the eye muscles through disuse. Even with glasses it is not possible to have normal sight; for all lenses contract the field of vision to a greater or lesser degree. Colour is seen less intensely through the glasses. Through concave lenses all objects look much smaller to the myopes while convex glasses make every thing look larger to the farsighted.

Of all the remedies suggested by the eye-specialists all the world over so far those of Doctor Bates have attained unique success and celebrity. Dr. W. H.

Bates, M.D., was the eye surgeon at the New York Eye Infirmary and professor at the Post-Graduate Medical School and Hospital of the same city. As a reputed eye-specialist of U.S.A. he had to examine about thirty thousand pairs of eyes every year. He himself suffered from a high degree of defective sight and wore several pairs of glasses for near and distant vision. His devoted labour of love extending for about thirty years was soon crowned with epochal success. He found out methods by which not only he cured his seriously defective eyes but those of thousands of other sufferers. By scientific experiments he has exploded the current view of the eye-specialists that short sight, long sight and other errors of refraction are incurable. He has demonstrated that refractive errors are not organic diseases but functional defects and are quite curable without glasses. All this is recorded in his epoch-making book *The Cure of Imperfect Sight by Treatment without Glasses*. The discoveries of Dr. Bates have been popular not only in the United States of America but also in England, Germany and other countries of the European continent as also in India. Dr. R. S. Agarwal, eye specialist of Delhi, treats eye-defects by the Bates method.

Aldous Huxley perhaps the greatest English writer of our times tells in his *Art of Seeing* the wonderful story how he has relieved his bespectacled eyes of the glasses which he had been using since boyhood. At sixteen Aldous had a violent attack of Keratitis punctata which made him almost blind for eighteen months. During this period of near-blindness he had to depend on Braille for his reading and a guide for his walking. Afterwards he was left with one eye just capable of light perception and the other with enough sight to permit of his detecting the two-hundred-foot letter on the Suellen Chart at ten feet.

Eminent ophthalmologists were consulted and they said that his defective sight was mainly due to the presence of opacities in the cornea complicated by hyperopia and astigmatism. For the first few years his doctors advised him to do his reading with the help of a strong hand-magnifying glass. Later on he was promoted to powerful spectacles with which he was able to recognise the seventy-foot line at ten feet and to read tolerably well. But at the same time he had to keep his better pupil dilated with atrophine so that he might see round a particularly heavy patch of opacity at the centre of the cornea.

Things went on in this way for upwards of twenty-five years until 1939 when Aldous' sight threatened complete failure. He found reading and writing increasingly difficult in spite of the greatly strengthened glasses. It was at this critical juncture that he heard of the Bates method of improving defective sight without glasses and happened to contact Mrs. Margaret D. Corbett, a conspicuously successful disciple of Dr. Bates. Within a couple of months Aldous was enabled to read without glasses by the skilful treatment of Mrs. Corbett. The opacity in the Cornea which remained unchanged for more than twenty-five years began to clear up sufficiently to permit the worse eye which for years could do no more than distinguish light from darkness to recognise the ten-foot line on the chart at one foot. To his great joy the improvement of his defective sight was about twice as good as it had been when he wore spectacles.

Harry Benjamin is another Englishman who was saved from imminent blindness by the Bates method. He was born short-sighted. When he went to school at the age of four it was discovered that his sight was defective. He was taken to Westminster Ophthalmic Hospital and it was disclosed upon examination that he had extreme myopia. He was ordered spectacles of minus ten dioptries. So at the age of five he began to wear glasses. Every two or three years he had to have his spectacles changed for a stronger pair; until at the age of fifteen he was wearing glasses of minus fourteen dioptries. At the age of seventeen he developed suddenly a haemorrhage in his left eye. He was advised to keep away from work to rest his eyes and given to wear glasses of minus 18 dioptries. At the age of 26 the eye-specialist furnished his eyes with glasses of minus 21 dioptries strongest possible. At the age of 28 he faced the danger of total blindness. At this crisis the book of Dr. Bates came to his hand by chance and he had it read to him by his brother. He resigned his lucrative Government service, went to his country home and discarded the glasses after using them for 23 years. He took to self-treatment of his blindish eyes through Bates method and his sight began to improve in a few days. In a few weeks he could actually read some words without glasses. By the end of three weeks he was able to read very slowly and painfully his first book without glasses. It took him more than two years of patient treatment

to regain perfect sight. Harry Benjamin tells this interesting story in his *Better Sight without Glasses*. The book was so warmly welcomed by sufferers from defective sight that fifty-four thousand copies of it were sold out in the course of a decade.

Ophthalmologists unanimously observe that strain is the root-cause of the defective sight. To remove this strain blinking and palming are the simplest methods. When eyes are under strain blinking is stopped and the eyes stare. If we observe normal eyes, for instance, the eyes of a child, we will find that they partly close and open almost once a second. This is called blinking. When the chin is raised a little and the eye-lids are lowered that is the normal and natural position of the eyes. When the lids are raised the optic muscles are tired and strained. Eyes with defective vision do not blink rightly and regularly. Twinkling eyes maintain normal vision. The defective eyes should regain the lost habit of constant blinking by a conscious practice. Blinking is one of the best methods of securing relaxation which improves the vision at once. Blinking should not be mistaken for winking that is jerky. Winking is without effort while blinking is spontaneous. During reading and writing in particular blinking should be practised.

The next best method of removing strain and attaining relaxation is palming. It is a discovery made by Dr. Bates. Lay the palm of one hand along the side of the nose so that the fingers are high on the forehead, and hollow of the palm is closed over the orbit of the eye. The eye should not be pressed at all but left free to blink though the lashes may touch. Now, without dislodging that hand, lay the other hand along the other side of the nose; the fingers will cross on the forehead. The heel of the hand will rest on the cheekbones. There will be slight suction under the palm. Rest your elbows on a pillow pressed on your lap or on a table if you are seated on a chair. Sit relaxing so that the neck is not bent forward but on a line with the spine. When the eyes are tired they are naturally closed for rest. But a little light passes into the eyes even through the closed lids. If the closed eyes are covered with palms, all light is shut out. There will be flashes of light in the eyes even then. To get rid of them as well as their cause—the strain, think of black objects—black hair, black board, black coat, black cow, etc. Black is the absence of all the seven colours. The images of deepest black things rest the retina. In the morning after bed, at noon before a nap and at night before sleep palming should be done for about an hour daily. Palming relaxes the eyes and the mind. Mental strain causes eye-strain. As soon as the former is removed the latter also goes away. Mrs. Corbett mentioned above rightly observes that the vision is nine-tenths mental and one-tenth physical.

By the practice of blinking and palming youths below 30 can cure refractive errors up to minus or plus three dioptries in the course of a few weeks. The other day a college student who wore glass of - 3 for several

years came to me for instructions after perusing my Bengali book on better sight without glasses. He was taught how to blink and palm. He went on with the practice before an eye-testing chart in my presence and within half an hour his sight became normal to his astonishment. Sunning among other methods is very important. "Sun is three-fold in its value," writes Mrs. Corbett who cured the nearly blind eyes of Aldous Huxley in her *How to Improve Your Eyes* (p. 33) :

"It relaxes the muscles. It stimulates the retina, even blindish dimming eyes have greater vision after sunning. It medicates the eye—sun being the best kind of medicine for granulated or itching lids and inflammation of the lids and eye-balls."

Rightly the Hindu seer said that Sun is the god who presides over the eyes, built for light. Eyes that enjoy plenty of light are strong but in eyes that are starved for light vision fails. It is so with fish, birds, beasts and men. The sparrow catches his dinner in the sunbeam. Trout living in shallow water near the surface have excellent vision and leap into the light for the fly; but fish in the ocean depths where no sun can penetrate are blind. So are fish in underground rivers.

A miner in Arizona, South America, picked up a tubful of these blind fish which could not see to escape his hands. He put them in the gold-fish pool in his estate where the hot Arizona sun shone down on the waters. Weeks later he took some friends to see those curiosities in the gold-fish pool. The blind fish regained their vision and were so observant and quick-moving that the visitors could not get within the pool's width of them. The little burros taken to the depths of coal mines lose their vision. But when they are allowed a vacation frolic in the sunny fields they too get back their eyesight. The case is the same with the human eyes. Among coal miners eye-disease and blindness are very prevalent. This is true also of shipping clerks who travel in subways and toil in sub-basements. Sea captains and sailors have excellent vision though they are subjected to constant glare and brilliant light from both the heavens and the waters. Even desert men and primitive natives have better sight without glasses.

Face the rising or setting sun with your eyes closed and your head moving gently from side to side. Go on doing this for about 5 minutes while counting numbers up to 300 and then turn your back to the sun and palm. Continue this practice for a week or more once in the morning and again in the evening. Begin with closed lids and then open your eyes and blink rapidly at the sun. First look to the four sides of the sun—left, right, up and down, while blinking and moving your head from side to side so that sunlight may fall on all parts of the eyes. After a minute or two or three close the lids and go as before and then open the eyes again. Practise for five minutes and then palm. There will be little spots or after-images of the sun following these blinkings. This is normal. Do not be alarmed but cover the eyes with palms and rest for a moment. Then dip your closed eyes into the sun again. Repeated practice of this sun-drill will strengthen the eyes and improve

the vision beyond your expectation day by day. Sun treatment can cure not only functional defects but organic diseases of the eyes, such as conjunctivitis, iritis, choroiditis, etc. In wintry months from October to March sun treatment may be taken several times a day.

"Sun-baths," observes Mrs. Corbett, "should be given these eyes as regularly as meals are taken."

Nutritionists have proved that deficiency of Vitamin A and B<sub>2</sub> in foods are also responsible for the deterioration of visual normalcy. E. V. McColum, an American nutritionist, says :

"In back of the eye there is a substance called visual purple. This pigment plays an important part in the sharpness and keenness of your sight, especially in the ability of your eyes to adapt themselves from bright light to darkness. The visual purple is constantly being destroyed by the light which enters the eye. One of the important materials from which the body builds this visual purple is Vitamin A. This means, of course, that failure to get enough Vitamin A in your diet slows down the regeneration of this substance that helps us to see in dim light. Anyone who habitually neglects eating Vitamin A food will sooner or later pay the price with poor sight especially in semi-darkness and blackouts."

If your eyes are over-sensitive to the glare of lights, you have a mild case of night-blindness. If, beside that, your eyes blur easily and if you constantly have the desire to rub them it is a sure sign of Vitamin A deficiency. Dr. Herald Jeghars of U.S.A. made most striking experiments on fifty students with defective eyesight. He found that a large group of students were not getting sufficient Vitamin A. As soon as these students were given larger doses of Vitamin A their vision became quickly normal. Dr. Jeghars believes that a daily intake of Vitamin A should be between 3000 and 6000 units a day. Each Haliverol capsule contains 5000 international units of Vitamin A. Fish-liver oils, egg yolks, cream, cheese, etc., are rich in this Vitamin. Vitamin B<sub>2</sub> is also very important for health of the eyes. In experiments upon rats, chickens and monkeys the complete absence of this vitamin could actually produce cataracts and hardened eyeballs. The addition of Vitamin B<sub>2</sub> to the diet does not repair the diet already done but it can and does arrest any progress of the disease. As Indian diet is poor in Vitamin B<sub>2</sub> cataracts appear even in children in our country. This vitamin being soluble in water every time water from cooked vegetable is poured off Vitamin B<sub>2</sub> is thrown away. Beflevin tablets contain Vitamin B<sub>2</sub>. Brewers' yeast, milk, eggs, turnip greens are rich in this vitamin. Benjamin Gayelord Hauser treats this subject in detail in his *Better Eyes without Glasses*.

Those who have short or long sight should try the Bates method outlined above in their leisure hours. If one practises one week regularly, one is sure to have better sight without glasses. If you have used glasses, you will take a little longer time to have improvement of vision. But any way, better sight without glasses is guaranteed to all who practise the Bates method.

## SAROJINI NAIDU

By PROF. DIWAN CHAND SHARMA, M.A.

I was an under-graduate at Lahore when first Sarojini Naidu swam into my ken. I must admit that my first reaction to her was one of bewilderment. The denizens of Lilliput were not more surprised at the sight of Gulliver than I was on meeting, listening to and hearing about this highly gifted woman. The lady herself was not difficult to understand for, for the sake of simplification, one could label her as a poet and an orator, but the context in which she lived, moved and had her being was not easy to assimilate. Her very name was a puzzle for me for it represented marriage between Bengal and Madras. To-day the whole world has become one and nobody bothers about marriage between East Punjab and Greenland, but in those days our geographical horizons were not so vast and global. To us even provincial district boundaries seemed insuperable and we lived at Lahore like the students at the Universities in Europe during the Middle Ages divided into so many nations in terms of the districts from which we hailed. So my limited imagination, as the imagination of other countless under-graduates, could not easily comprehend this matrimonial affair. Nor did my curiosity abate when I learnt that she, a Brahmin girl, had married a non-Brahmin. During the last thirty years or so the rigours of caste have very much relaxed and Free India to-day is marching along a road when the caste system which has been the bane of our society and country is bound to disappear, but in those days caste was a spectre which stalked the streets of every village and town in India and made free commerce among castes, more or less, an adventure of the spirit. So her defiance of the tyranny of the caste was something which raised her in my estimation without diminishing my sense of bewilderment. Yet another shock was in store for me. I soon learnt that she was staying with a Muslim professor of the Government College, Lahore. That Muslim professor from Delhi, after some years, became one of my colleagues in the University of the Punjab and I came to love and respect him as I have done very few other persons. If I were asked to-day to give a pen-picture of a gentleman, I would take him as my model. But these are the reflections forced by what I have seen during the last thirty years. As an under-graduate it was not very easy for me to understand how a Muslim, however noble, could act as a host to a Hindu, especially to a Brahmin lady. It should be remembered that those were the days when social fraternization between the Hindus and the Muslims was a rare phenomenon and when political estrangement between these two communities was almost unheard of. The history of the last thirty years was a movement in the opposite direction. The social barriers between the Hindus and the Muslims began gradually to disappear but a political wall began to take shape slowly till it became, more or less, an iron wall. But in those days such free social intercourse between Hindus and Muslims was not so easy. It is no wonder that I, with my limited social sympathies at that time, felt not a little

mystified. Again, being a diligent reader of the *Tribune* of Lahore which was for many years the source of my political education as well as my social intelligence, I could not help marvelling at the way in which this lady had taken Lahore by storm. Lahore came afterwards to specialise in social entertainment, but even in those days, if I remember it aright, it was trying to discover its social self. I read every day in that paper accounts of the parties and dinners given in honour of this lady. It was not the number that staggered me so much as their character. One day I would read about the inmates of a hostel entertaining her and the next day I would read about her appearance at one college or another. Politicians and journalists, poets and artists, students and teachers, Hindus and Muslims vied with one another in honouring this daughter of India and she seemed to be at home everywhere and at all kinds of gatherings. I was also present at a reception given in her honour by the inmates of a hostel and the spirit of friendliness for the young that she radiated warmed every youthful heart. Towards the close of the function she was requested to recite one of her poems and she did so. I do not remember which poem she recited; nor do I think that we understood the poem but there was such magic in her personality and voice that we all felt thrilled. I must say that the Indian youths of those days looked upon her more as a poet than as a patriot or a leader. She seemed to them to incarnate in her person the spirit and essence of poetry. One small incident connected with this party I cannot forget. In the course of her preliminary remarks before the recital of her poems she referred to her host as Bhayya (Brother). There was a world of affection conveyed by this simple and homely word and the way she uttered it and the feeling that she conveyed through it have left their permanent mark on my mind and memory. Since then I have never heard this word spoken without recalling the undertones that it conveyed to me at that time. Nor can I forget the electric effect that her speech produced on the audience and me. Her presence, her copious diction and her noble sentiments combined to carry us all off our feet. It was a rare experience, the kind of experience which the contemplation of a masterpiece of art or the study of a great book produces on one's mind. To-day I do not remember the subject of her speech, but I still have a memory of the uplifting effect her speech produced on all of us. We clapped wildly and continuously as she sat down after finishing her speech. I am sure the roof and walls of Bradlaugh Hall in Lahore have not very often witnessed such maniacal applause. After the lecture we tried to congregate round her in order to get a nearer view of this goddess of the inspired word and great was my surprise to find her laughing uproariously at something funny which she or somebody else had said. Even the face of Mian Fazl-i-Husain who, I think, was presiding over her lecture and who was one of the most serious-minded persons one could

think of, had relaxed into a smile. But this struck me as something incongruous. It was something human, delightfully human, which I did not like to associate with this piece of divinity. Nor could my sense of propriety, as it was at that time, reconcile me to the fact that a woman, however enlightened, should mix with and talk to men on such terms of friendliness.

These were my unstudied and perhaps naive reactions to this poet in the college days of my youth. Little did I realize at that time that she had the future of India in the hollow of her hand and that she was a pioneer in many respects. She represented the true Indian spirit at its best. In fact, she, by her words, thoughts and acts, had laid the foundations of a brighter and better India. Had she not tried to level down inter-provincial barriers and cut at its very roots what we call these days provincialism? Had she not, by her own act, exposed the myth of the superiority of one caste over another? Had she not shown that Hindus and Muslims could be the best of friends and that the salvation of India lay in Hindu-Muslim unity? Had she not proved that, given opportunities, Indian womanhood could rise to as great heights as the men of India? Had she not demonstrated that it was quite possible for a woman to be a good wife and a good mother without ceasing to be a public worker? Had she not borne witness to the fact that in order to be great one need not cease to be human in the most delightful sense of the word? Was she not a living embodiment of sex equality, a goal towards which the world has been moving all these years?

## II

Some years passed and I began to work as a teacher in one of the colleges at Lahore. One morning I was delighted to read the announcement of a lecture by Sarojini Naidu in the hall of the Forman Christian College on the Mall on the subject of Poetry. Nothing could have been more welcome to me, a teacher of literature, than this lecture and so I attended it that evening. It is not possible for me to-day to recall what she said about poetry, but I vividly remember even now that her lecture was pitched in the same key as Shelley's *Defence of Poetry*. She had the same high conception of the vocation of a poet as Shelley and the singer of songs was no idle person in her view but one who stood for human amelioration and betterment and who gave people joy, a sense of beauty and a vision of national and human destiny. She did not, however, conceive a poet to be a person who lived apart and away from his fellow-men but she thought him to be one who mixed freely with them and shared their joys and sorrows. But more valuable than her argument was the recital that she gave of some of her poems. It is not given to every poet to infuse the breath of life into their poems when they recite them, but she could do so. She must have recited more than half a dozen of her poems, but the two, one about the palanquin-bearers and the other "Radha" and the "Milk-Maids" still linger in

my memory. The way she intoned the words and imparted a sense of the rhythm of these poems has even till now been unforgettable. Since then my feeling has been that it is in the rendering of such homely and familiar scenes that she has been supreme. It was, no wonder that Edmund Gosse, in a moment of insight, said to her that she should cease to be an echo of Swinburne or Tennyson or Shelley or Keats but should become an authentic voice of what she had felt and heard and seen as an Indian. It is true that so far as her poems were concerned, their garb remained outlandish but no one can deny that through them she revealed a few aspects of the manifold soul of India. Of the splendour of her lyrical impulse no lover of poetry could plead ignorance, but none could explain adequately why this impulse dried up so soon. But we are thankful to the gods for what she gave us. The memorable phrases that she embedded in her poems are enough to prove her title.

## III

A few years afterwards I happened to have a glimpse of another aspect of her rich personality. The Punjab was passing through one of its periodic fits of internal dissensions and its public life was at a standstill. The other provinces of India were going ahead in the struggle for India's freedom, but the Punjab was lagging behind. In the first place, the Punjab was the cock-pit of communal forces and communal passions were running so high. To drown this communal chorus and to make the voice of nationalism heard above its din was the first problem. There was another and a more serious problem and it was to ask the congressmen to close up their ranks. There were so many differences among them, differences based upon their approach to the problems that confronted them and those arising from personal rivalries and group-factions. The Punjab was, truly speaking, in a bad way. To galvanise the life of the Punjab it was proposed to hold a provincial conference at Gujranwala under the presidency of Sarojini Naidu. Though I did not subscribe to any political creed at that time, I went to Gujranwala to attend that conference in order to listen to and see Sarojini Devi in action. Her presidential address was a clarion call to unity and an inspiring summons to go ahead with national work. Whatever it was, nobody could deny that she was a dynamic personality and she was the best antidote against stand-stillism or inactivity. Wherever she went, things began to hum. Her patriotic ardour was infectious and I have never been able to resist the impression that she took to Gandhian politics because these provided for her an outlet for her patriotic fervour. But essentially she was a patriot and not a politician, though she obtained the highest honours in the political field as well. She rose to be the President of the Indian National Congress and ended her life as Her Excellency, the Governor of the United Provinces of India. She was, for many years, one of the most honoured members of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress.

But wherever she was, she played the role of an inspirer and a reconciler. None viewed her inspirational qualities better than the youth and the women of India. Without her, the awakening amongst them would not have been so great. When the intimate history of the Congress comes to be written, it will become patent what a cementing force she was. As she was sent to the Punjab, several times on her healing missions, so did she go to other provinces and other countries on similar missions. In the political field she will, therefore, be remembered as an inspirer and a healer.

## IV

A few years ago, the Oxford University Press asked me to do a short biography of her and then I read a considerable number of her speeches and books and also some of the things which had been said or written about her. It was then that I tried to form a complete image of her personality. One thing had been patent to me, all these days and it was the greatness and richness of her personality and this impression was reinforced again by several things I could not, however, resist the impression that the three greatest influences in her life had been those of her father and Edmund Gosse and Mahatma Gandhi. If her parents gave her rich endowment, and opportunities for developing them, it was Edmund Gosse who gave a direction to her poetic gift. But more than any of these, it was Mahatma Gandhi who made her dedicate her immense vitality, and her many gifts to the service of the nation and of humanity. It is true she could not follow his austere way of life completely, but it is equally true that she was never found wanting when the call to suffering or sacrifice was given by that great man. All the same, she

led the full life, full in the strength of her domestic affections, full in the variety of her contacts, full in the abundance of her offerings at the altar of her motherland.

## V

The last time I saw her was at a social function given in her honour by Shri G. C. Chatterjee at Lahore. She had just come out of jail after her imprisonment in connection with the 1942 movement and was in rather poor health. If I remember it aright, she was on her way to Karachi. She was also at Lahore in order to infuse courage into the hearts of the national workers after that movement. I do not know what she did in that connection, though I remember what a young man said to me after her visit. This young man was full of hope and felt that great things were to come. But a small incident connected with this function can never be forgotten by me. Before the party broke up, the members formed themselves into small groups and began to talk to each other. Somehow I was talking to a gentleman who, compared with me, was a mountain and a giant. Since she was not particularly strong, she continued to sit on the sofa, surrounded by some persons. But her eagle eyes could not be blind to this contrast. She pointed to us two talking to each other and laughed heartily. Therefore Shri Chatterjee came up to me and said that Mrs. Naidu was very much amused by the physical disparity between us two. This, however, showed to me what an understanding woman she was. Sympathy and a sense of humour were natural to her. She understood the tragedy as well as the comedy of this life. She was the mistress of laughter and tears. In spite of her greatness, she was human, very very human.

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# ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN INDIAN SCHOOLS

BY PRINCIPAL K. L. SHRIMALI, Ph.D.

ONE of the important tasks which confront both the teaching profession and the administration today is to define the scope and nature of academic freedom. In the past when India was under British domination, teachers were subject to various controls and restrictions. They incurred the displeasure of the authorities and suffered all kinds of penalties if they held views or expressed opinions or formed associations not favoured by the Government. There was no freedom in education. Teachers did not enjoy even the elementary rights of citizenship.

Having obtained our freedom and accepted democracy as our form of Government, it is imperative for us that we restore freedom in education, i.e., freedom of teaching and learning on the part of instructors and students. This is vitally connected with democracy, the right foundations of which can be laid only through freedom of mind and freedom of expression.

We are living in a period of crisis. In such a period the intellectual and moral foundations of society are endangered because people's faith in practices based on habit and custom is loosened. Both the reaction-

aries, who want to defend the old order, and the radicals, who desire to effect far-reaching social changes, are apt to resort to violence and force. We are witnessing both these tendencies in our society today. In order that people may not lose faith in the democratic method which works through reason and persuasion as opposed to that of force and coercion, it is essential for the orderly progress of society that like other citizens teachers should be free to analyse the causes which lead to social conflict and to suggest remedies thereof. It is only in an atmosphere of freedom that habits of intelligent action are developed.

"Every force that operates to limit the freedom of education is a premium put upon ultimate recourse to violence to effect needed change. Every force that tends to liberate educational processes is a premium placed upon intelligent and orderly methods of directing to a more just, equitable and humane end the social changes that are going on any way."

What are then the rights of teachers which must be defended by the teaching profession and protected



by the community if the democratic nature of our educational institutions is to be maintained? In the first place, it must be recognised that it is the privilege of the teacher to discuss controversial issues and to present his own point of view before pupils in the class room. This right is based on the nature of the democratic society and the needs of pupils. In democracy, citizens find solutions of their common problems through discussion and deliberation. In our present-day society there are a number of unsolved problems in social, economic and political fields about which there is no consensus of opinion. It is the right as well the duty of the teaching profession to discuss with older students fully and freely vital social issues so that pupils may become aware of these problems and also learn to resolve them in a democratic manner. In teaching these social issues, therefore, teachers are really performing a duty which is an integral part of educational activity. And this right of our teachers has its moral basis in the very fundamentals of the democratic ideal.<sup>2</sup>

There are various social, religious, political and economic groups which seek to control and limit the freedom of teachers. These groups have their vested interests and, for the furtherance of their selfish ends, they exert pressure on teachers and create conditions which make it impossible for them to discharge their duties conscientiously. They would allow freedom to teachers in all other matters except those which touch the vital interests of their own groups. As soon as a teacher begins to question the set religious dogmas, social practices, economic ideas or political theories, he gets into difficulty and incurs the displeasure of the authorities. This "freedom within limits" is meaningless and is merely an evasion of the question. If education aims to develop critical thinking among pupils, and to prepare them for adjustment to rapidly changing social conditions and to give them the urge to create a better social order, teachers must have full freedom to express their views. They must be protected by the community against all kinds of pressures and should be allowed to do their academic work in an atmosphere of complete freedom. This does not, however, mean that teachers have no limiting responsibilities. As members of the teaching profession in a democratic society they have their loyalties, duties and disciplines as they have their rights and privileges and freedoms. But both rights and duties, freedoms and disciplines are related to the nature and needs of the democratic society and can not be regarded as absolute.

The next question, about which there is no clear thinking in our country is concerned with the teacher's place as a citizen of the community. There is a view prevalent among certain circles that a teacher should be devoted only to a life of scholarship and should have nothing to do with civic problems and politics. The sanctity of the teaching profession, they think, is polluted as soon as the teacher enters into the arena of politics.

This view does injustice to the right of the teacher as a citizen. As a citizen a teacher must have all the rights of citizenship, such as freedom of speech, press, and association and the right actively to support movements which they believe to be in democratic interest. A teacher must be free in his personal capacity, to ally himself with the political party of his choice and to advocate its principles publicly. He should be subjected to no more restrictions and controls than are imposed on other citizens of a democratic society. Teachers are, as a rule, or at least should be the best educated and the most intelligent of citizens. There is no reason why they should not assume leadership in public affairs and guide the thinking of the community in social, economic and political matters instead of being mere puppets in the hands of people who are probably less educated and less intelligent than themselves.

This right of teachers to align themselves with political groups brings us to the question of their association with the Communist Party which aims at establishing some form of totalitarianism. Should a democratic society allow its teachers to become members or to associate actively with the programme of a group whose political ideology and methods are at variance with its own ends and procedures? This is a question which is being hotly debated in the Western democracies and which we in India who are adopting a democratic constitution will have to answer very soon.

It is argued on one side that it is contrary to democratic education to impose any punitive measures on citizens who have a different political philosophy than our own. Membership of the Communist Party or a fascist organisation does not *ipso facto* prevent a teacher from being for instance a good teacher of singing, music, dancing, architecture or mathematics. If we allow only those to teach who agree with the current politics of an administration, education will become static, and change and evolution, which are necessary for progress, will become impossible.

"Democracy must hazard failure upon its willingness to test its strength by exposing itself in the 'market place' to any and all isms or contrary philosophies. It is far healthier that students believe in democracy after such a test than after being artificially quarantined from other ideologies."<sup>3</sup>

The argument of the other side runs as follows. The Communist Party eventually aims to overthrow the government by force and violence. Its members employ secret and conspiratorial methods as opposed to open discussion and constitutional means for achieving their ends. Democracy tolerates difference of opinion and belief but it will be suicidal to tolerate ideas which threaten democracy itself. Referring to Communists, Prof. T. V. Smith of Syracuse University writes :

"Tolerance must reach its limit in dealing with intolerant faith if it is not to meet its Waterloo in dealing with violent action. Unless liberalism is committed to a masochistic joy in its own demise,

2. Archibald W. Anderson : "Protecting the Right to Teach Social Issues" in *Progressive Education*, October, 1946, pages 35-36.

3. Frank E. Karlson : "As a Layman Looks at Academic Freedom" in *School and Society*, Vol. 69, No. 1729, April, 1946, pages 243-244.



it owes no tolerance to such intolerant citizens (or aliens). We may, however, owe to ourselves as touching them what we do not owe to them. That noblesse oblige is the glory of democracy. Out of respect for our institutions and devotion to the power that tradition has, we tolerate intolerance out of duty not to them but to ourselves. Now our tolerance for the Communists among us rests upon this foundation. It conditions sufferance of them upon its compatibility with our dignity. This means that the larger duty we owe to ourselves and our institutions stops when our sufferance of them becomes a genuine threat to our security. Owing no duty to them our duty to ourselves terminates with the termination of the expediency of our tolerating them."

There is some element of truth in both these points of view and yet they fail directly to answer the question whether a teacher who is a Communist should be dismissed or debarred from the teaching profession even though the Communist Party is recognised as legal. Is there anything inherently wrong or immoral which goes against the general rules of conduct of the teaching profession in becoming a member of the party? Is it impossible for a person to join the Communist Party and still retain in the realm of the mind the independence required for carrying on a disinterested search of truth? Our judgment whether we should admit Communists to the teaching profession or allow them to continue therein well depend on our answering these questions.

It must be admitted that the Communist Party is a disciplined group and the individual member is required to subordinate his ideas to the dictates of the party line and render complete obedience to the corporate party authority. He must further submit himself to whatever course of conduct is thought best by his superiors in the party hierarchy."

Teachers in a democratic society on the other hand are required to retain their independence of thought and judgment in the pursuit of truth so that they may develop the critical faculty in their pupils. They will place loyalty to truth above their allegiance to any political party.

It will thus appear that a teacher cannot discharge his duties conscientiously if he becomes a member of the Communist Party. If the society disqualifies such a person from the profession it is not because he holds personal beliefs or associates with a group having a different political ideology but because his membership will interfere with his duties as a teacher in a democratic society.

It is only on such moral grounds that this question can be settled.

"To pronounce a member of this party as unfit to teach is not to find him guilty by the principle of association. Membership in the Communist Party is a definite act—an act that repudiates both the canons of scholarship and the kind of conduct that

is basic in the work of a teacher in a democracy."

In taking this stand, the society is only asking the teacher to maintain intellectual integrity and those moral standards, such as honesty and truthfulness, which have been commonly accepted as the moral values of this profession. If his loyalty to the profession is in conflict with the loyalty to his political party, he must sacrifice one of them and the society cannot allow him to exploit his educational position of public trust for the realization of political objectives. In this way the teachers' freedom is by no means restricted. The principle of academic freedom is not absolute but must function within a democratic frame of society.

This test will apply to all political organisations, whether they belong to a rightist group, such as the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh or a leftist group, such as the Communist Party which demand of the teacher complete surrender of his individual judgment and which insist on the subordination of all other interests to those of the party. This position will make education servile to politics and is contrary to the principle of academic freedom.

At this point we must sound a note of warning. Removal or non-admission of teachers who are associated with the Communist Party is only a negative approach and will not solve the problem. The challenge of Communism must be met by more positive measures. Society must create those conditions in which the human personality will grow to full stature; it must establish an order wherein there will be no suppression of freedom of inquiry and expression and where individuals or groups will not be allowed to advance their narrow private interests by exploiting others. Without in any way minimising the dangers of subversive organisations to the newly established democracy in India, it must be emphatically stated that the real danger to the democratic spirit comes from those vested interests which are seeking to suppress civil liberties in order to maintain undemocratic social and economic conditions. Democracy, therefore, must carry on a powerful offensive against all undemocratic forces and tendencies in our society. It can save itself not by mere slogans and propaganda but by positive action.

Teachers must realise that the question of their academic freedom is thus involved with the bigger question of social and economic freedom. The groups or individuals who seek to deny the latter also attack the former. In order to safeguard their intellectual freedom, therefore, they must carry on the fight on two fronts. On the one hand, they have to organise their profession so that their tenure of service and their legitimate rights may be protected. They must at the same time keep before the public mind the social, political and economic issues with which the question of academic freedom is inextricably involved. Then only will they be able to create an awareness of this fundamental problem of intellectual freedom which is the true foundation of democracy.

4. T. V. Smith : "Democratic Compromise and the Higher Learning at Seattle" in *School and Society*, Vol. 69, No. 1783, February 26, 1949, pages 139-40.

5. Sydney and Beatrice Webb : "Soviet Communism" in *A New Civilization*, page 269.

6. John L. Childs : "Communists and the Right to Teach" in *Nation*, February 26, 1949.

## PACIFISM IN IMPASSE

By PROF. SUNIL KUMAR BOSE, M.A.

In this mad interlude between a past war and a prospective one, it is reassuring to see that there are men who still pin their faith doggedly upon peace. Indeed, it requires a great courage of conviction to throw oneself unconditionally on the side of peace in the balance and still more to assert doing so, in the face of the mass-scale whipping-up of war-hysteria by interested persons and the almost military perfection of their propaganda machinery. Yet it is the truth to say that men want peace, men, that is to say, the common people, the intellectuals, the workers, the vast bulk of the population of the world, who want to get home, play with their children and be happy. It is good, therefore, that pacifists all over the world have bestirred themselves to hitch once more their wagon to the star of peace. But unfortunately the political supermen, at the helm of the states are hardly amenable to such facile idealism. Priestly characterises them as "psychological misfits" in whose minds does war begin. Hence the curious paradox of war-tiredness existing side by side with war-mania in the society of today. That is why in the midst of hectic war preparations and heyday of armament, in the midst of the deafening jingle of audacious gold, the voice of peace reasserts itself, with what prospect no one knows. Only the other day, a Peace Conference wanted to meet the American dollar-imperialism with the legitimate challenge of human ethics. It was successful at least in making the granite civilisation suffer a temporary nerve-shake. In Paris, a Conference of intellectuals decided unequivocally in favour of no war. In India a Pacifist Conference is in the offing and is scheduled to be held towards the end of this year. Peace is the general demand but special desideratum.

The fundamental principle of pacifism is the recognition of unity of mankind. To deny this is to reduce human society to stagnant pools which become hot-beds for war-motives. To resuscitate these cabined and confined strips of society, making them flow into the great ocean of humanity as a whole, constitutes the first hurdle of history. The next point the pacifists insist on recognising is the dignity of human individual. Here Pacifism is a challenge to Fascism which is totalitarian, clamps down restrictions on individuals and is a great menace to ordinary human values. Neither is Communism pacifistic in this sense, for although peace is its end, its means are washed in blood, and while it denounces certain types of war, it looks up to war after all to usher in the New Order, even as a midwife helps the child into the world.

Pacifism pins its faith upon permanent peace. Its grounds are humanitarian, cosmopolitan and religious. A restoration of human values is its first assumption. George

Lansbury, the famous English pacifist, insists that socialism should be considered as the invariable pre-requisite for permanent peace, for the problem of peace is no less economic than political. Among the pacifists themselves there are classes, at least two of them being broadly marked out. The absolute pacifists eschew war under any circumstances. They are represented by Conscientious Objectors, the War-Resisters' International and others. But there is another section among the pacifists which does not eliminate war absolutely but believes that war can be eliminated through world-organisation, fellowship and rule of law. Pacifism has so far failed to arrest war. That is no reason, however, why pacifism should be doomed to have become a dead letter for good. This at least is certain that past failure has not been able to damp pacifist enthusiasm for future success. Pacifism was a prelude to the First World War, and an interlude between the First and the Second World Wars. On the eve of the First World War, Bertrand Russell, a stubborn pacifist then, tasted the bitter grapes of the Government's wrath by opposing war-effort and challenging the doctrine of narrow nationalism which was their sanction and support. Russell's approach was partly reminiscent of Gandhiji's and he even went so far as to visualise the picture of a passive-resisting England meeting the pride and prejudice of a victorious Germany with an unmelting morale. On the eve of the Second World War, Pacifism received a greater incentive in view of the far greater catastrophe looming in the horizon and the far larger area of human society involved in its bloody theatre of destruction. The nineteen thirties witnessed great movements on the peace front which reached the peak between 1931 and 1936 and it continued until the fatal blow of Hitler fell upon Europe and dashed all the efforts like a house of cards. There were societies for peace in England, France and America. In 1938 Peace Pledge Union in England had a membership of over one lakh. The Women's Co-operative Guild having a membership of about 83 thousand adopted a policy of peace. The pacifist programme was varied ranging from Ambulance Service and Relief to the ready to Non-co-operation and Conscientious Objection to military recruitment. The National Petition was launched in 1938 by various organisations, pacifist and non-pacifist. Lansbury took a leading part in the matter and met Hitler, Mussolini and Foreign Ministers of different countries to check the chariot of war from going into action. The War Resisters' International made great headway linking together and affiliating various organisations all over Europe and America. Pacifist Youth Movement was started among the students to harness the native and inherent peace-

mindfulness to the achievement of the great ideal. As parts of the pacifist programme, no-tax campaign was started just as men and women in America refused the other day to contribute in the form of taxes to the arsenal for war. Peace-weeks and poster-parades were organised and peace-news papers circulated. Letters were written to men and women in different countries appealing to their moral values and trying to evoke human response. Ten thousand letters were written to people in Germany alone. The Church played a great part in this movement. The Society of Friends contributed greatly to the spread of pacifist ideas. The Christian Pacifist Society in London and the Fellowship of Reconciliation Movement were handmaidens to the Goddess of Peace.

Ineffective as all these were in mellowing down the rude currents of history, the spirit of pacifism nevertheless strained at the leash against desperate efforts to buffet it. All it was able to create was a temporary sense of human values which, though but a string of sands against overwhelming tides of reaction, informed many international efforts, at least partly and up to a limited extent. Behind the League Covenant and the Court of International Justice at the Hague, the spirit of pacifism was present in a subdued form. The Kellogg Pact derived something of its spirit from the outlawry of war agitation started in America, and if it unfortunately was reduced to a Platonic kiss producing nothing, it was due to the political wire-pulling of interested persons and groups, not yet quelled or converted. The Disarmament Conference too had the inspiration of Pacifism behind it at the inception, but it was much spoilt by the reactionary forces, so that in the end it looked like some butchers attending a vegetarian conference. Individual reformation has been the starting point of pacifism and individual resistance also its most favourite method. Gandhiji's method was the electrification of the masses into a dynamic action, passive in appearance but active in essence, and it was through this method that he switched India on. Yet with him, individual reform weighs no less. A distinction has been drawn by Christopher Caudwell between Gandhi and the Quakers as representing two different kinds of Pacifism, the latter being typical of what he calls 'bourgeois pacifism'. Caudwell, from his communist platform, launches a frontal attack on pacifism which, according to him, is the summit of ultra-individualism. He says:

"I oppose Pacifism in this sense to the communist belief that the only way to secure peace is by a revolutionary change in the social system, and that the ruling class resist revolution violently and must therefore be overthrown by force."

On the other extreme is Aldous Huxley who says:

"It is hardly conceivable that any desirable reform in this direction should be initiated by those who now hold political power. The movement of reform must therefore come from private individuals. It is the business of these private individuals to persuade the majority of their fellows that the policy of pacifism is preferable to that of militarism."

True that pacifism implies an element of individualism and true also that it advocates a sort of spiritual *laissez faire* approaching political problems with an academic outlook and ignoring the very complex socio-economical implications of peace. This is probably one of the reasons why the pacifist case has so long not made much remarkable headway towards its objective. Fingers have been pointed at the plague-spots of the present civilisation, its morbid core of economic exploitation and power-lust. Imperialism and capitalism, these two handmaidens of exploitation, in their seeming impatience to deliver mankind, put them under perpetual duress. This should be the starting point for Pacifism. Not the Ivory Tower of imagination, nor the academic isolation of halls of learning, nor even the cloistral seclusion of sacred churches but the electric switch-board of socio-economic sphere, where men victimise men, where a morbid mania for exploitation runs amuck, sowing seeds that bring forth grapes of wrath, war and woe and blaze the trail of annihilation and debasement,—that is the platform for Pacifism to start its work on. In order to achieve its very difficult objective, pacifism must aim at economic equality, whose lamentable lack is sending the society to rack and ruin. In short, a dose of socialism must be infused into pacifism to strengthen its weak knees and overstrung nerves. George Lansbury, the famous pacifist, pleaded for a socialist prescription for the Pacifists to start with. He said:

"Peace and imperialism cannot go hand in hand,—and when I say that, it is the same as saying that peace and capitalism can not go hand in hand."

Again,

"But what I do argue is that Pacifists who are not socialists and have not thought out the implications of our economic system, are likely to find their most earnest efforts baffled and defeated."

Pacifism must not be consciously or unconsciously either an ally or an abettor of capitalism. In order to succeed, it must root out the cause of war and plant apples of equality and therefore, of love.

These are not halcyon-days in socio-economic sphere. *Laissez faire*, spiritual or material, is a lame legacy and must be let alone. Socialism, which means equality and equal opportunity, which means sharing the resources of the world equally and to each one's advantage, is the new direction the mankind is running in, and selfish individualism, that benefits the few and beggars the many, is as dead as door-nail. You cannot serve God and Mammon, Peace and Empire, together. Imperialism is therefore the greatest enemy of peace and must be liquidated. Here also socialism comes into the picture and sword-crosses with Imperialism. Any future Pacifist Conference, therefore, must take into consideration that their desired objective, peace does not grow orchid-like, in the hot-house; it must have its roots in, and nourishment from, the common soil. A socialist programme with the immediate object of giving Imperialism its death-blow, should be the only programme for a Pacifist Conference.

## SIR JOHN BOYD ORR, F.R.S.

Nobel Peace Prize Winner

Sixty-five is an age at which men frequently retire. It was however a few weeks after his sixty-fifth birthday that Sir John Boyd Orr undertook the biggest job of his life, as first Director-General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation. He had recently been elected to Parliament as a member for the Scottish Universities, and he intended to see the F.A.O. launched and then resign and devote himself to his Parliamentary duties. Finding this impossible at the end of a year, he resigned his seat in the Commons instead, and steered the organisation through the months which saw the establishment of the World Food Council under Lord Bruce of Melbourne's chairmanship.

His earlier career had pointed the way to this work. John Boyd Orr was born at Kilmaurs, Ayrshire, on September 23rd 1880 and educated at Glasgow University, where he took a formidable array of degrees, becoming a Master of Arts, Doctor of Medicine and Doctor of Science, winning the coveted Bellahouston Gold Medal and Barbour Research Scholarship. He has since confessed that all the time he was studying to become a doctor he was really hankering to be a farmer. "Farming was in my blood, and I nearly threw everything up to try it." Later he managed to combine his interests.

He served in the R.A.M.C. in the European war from 1914 to 1917, winning the D.S.O. and M.C. for conspicuous gallantry. In 1917 he was transferred to the Royal Navy but early in 1918 when the food shortage became acute, he was taken back to the Army to do research on military dietetics.

On his return from military service in 1919 he continued with dietetic research, and built up the great national institution for the study of problems connected with animal nutrition, the Rowett Research Institute in Aberdeen, of which he became Director. In conjunction with this, he ran an experimental farm. He took a leading part in enquiries into deficiency diseases in both farm animals and human beings, especially mineral deficiencies. With the help of Miss Scherbatoff he recorded all previous references in literature to the effect of minerals in pasture.

He also served on various commissions organising and co-ordinating agricultural research, particularly those concerned with nutrition and livestock. He was a member of the Reorganisation Commission for Fat Stock in 1932 and of the Cattle Committee set up under the Cattle Industry (Emergency Provisions) Act and of the Reorganisation Committee for Milk in 1935-1936.

So great an authority on animal nutrition soon found a field for his labour in the Empire. He was for many years a member of the Colonial Advisory Council of Agriculture and Animal Health. In 1929 he was invited by the Australian Government to go to Australia to report on pastoral problems and from there went also to New Zealand and Canada. He has taken a great part in the solution of problems of Empire research so far as they are concerned with nutrition, and carried out several large-scale investigations in the colonies for the Research Com-

mittee of the Empire Marketing Board. He organised and became Director of the Imperial Bureau of Animal Nutrition in Aberdeen, and edited its bulletin *Nutrition Abstracts and Reviews*.

Gradually his attention turned more to problems of human nutrition. In 1926 he carried out a feeding experiment with several hundred school children, which showed that the addition of milk to a diet was followed by an increased rate of growth of about 20 per cent. and an obvious improvement in health and physique. In 1936 he published the results of dietary surveys in a book *Food, Health and Income* which started the nation, for it showed that one-tenth of the population was grossly undernourished, while the standard required for normal health was reached at an income level above that of 50 per cent. The poorer section of the community could only attain normal standards if they had an increase of 12 to 25 per cent of eggs, fruit, meat and vegetables, and would have to double their consumption to reach the level of the comfortable classes.

In writings and speeches Sir John condemned the policy of restricting the production and distribution of food with the object of raising prices to a level beyond the capacity of millions of the people. He proposed that a Government Food Department take over the food resources of the country, and that the Marketing Scheme of the Ministry of Agriculture be co-ordinated with the Public Health Service so that everyone could be properly fed. This government food department should guarantee a price to the farmer which would call forth the greatly increased amount of food needed to feed the whole population on a healthy standard and should sell to the distributive trade at a price which would enable an adequate diet to be within the reach of the poorest family; the difference between what was needed to pay farmer or importer, and the price at which the food was sold, should be paid out of the national treasury.

In 1935, when the League of Nations initiated its food campaign, he was appointed a member of the International Technical Commission, and he was a member of the British Government's Nutrition Committee set up in 1937 to report on the state of nutrition of the people and advised on measures needed to improve it.

Sir John refused in 1937 the position of Chief Medical Officer in the Scottish Department of Health, fearing it would hamper his freedom of action in his campaign for a new food policy, which he continued to press with great vigour.

During the second world war he broadcast, lectured, and published a book, with Mr. David Lubbock, on *Feeding the People in War-Time*. He listed a few essential foods necessary to the maintenance of health which should be subsidised to provide a healthy diet at the lowest cost to the nation. He was appointed a member of the War Cabinet Scientific Committee on Food Policy set up in 1940, and became Chairman of the Scientific Advisory Committee of the Department of Health for Scotland.

He visited America in 1941 and 1942 and, while there, urged the setting up of a United Nations Organisation to deal with food on a world scale, putting into practice the policy of production for consumption and distribution according to needs. In writings and speeches he continued to advocate this as the first essential step towards a new and better world and as the greatest single contribution to the solution of world agricultural, economic and social problems. He attended the Hot Springs Conference and inspired it to such a degree that he was described as its personification, and its findings and recommendations were an expression of all he had been advocating for the previous ten years.

Sir John Boyd Orr was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1932; his Knighthood came in 1935. He has been given the honorary degree of LL.D. by St. Andrews and Edinburgh Universities and in 1944 was elected by a panel of American scientists to receive the U.S.A. Grocers' Award for the most outstanding work in the field of international nutrition.

In 1942 as a war-time service, he took on in addition to the Directorship of the Rowett Institute the Chair of Agriculture at Aberdeen University and the Headship of the North of Scotland College of Agriculture. In January, 1945 he resigned his Directorship of the Rowett Institute and asked to be relieved of his other posts. In April, acceding to a request made by a group of professional people of all parties, he stood as a Parliamentary candidate in a by-election for the Scottish Universities, and was elected by a big majority, and was returned again at the general election in the summer.

In September he went out as a British delegate to the Quebec conference called to set up a U.N. food and agriculture organisation, and his outstanding record and personality caused him to be chosen as the organisation's director-general. During his term of office, besides attending the annual conferences of the F.A.O. in Quebec, Copenhagen and Washington, he has travelled all over the world. He has attended regional conferences on urgent food problems in Rome, Geneva and Cairo, visited the courages of Eastern Europe to assess their needs when U.N.R.R.A. handed over its rehabilitation work to the F.A.O., and has toured Latin America for the purpose of impressing on them the urgency of the world's food problem.

and securing co-operation. He makes his trips usually by air, and has worked indefatigably to obtain co-operation in all parts of the world in the serious problem of securing its future food supplies. His first scheme, for a World Food Board with executive and trading powers, was not accepted but the World Food Council set up last September has met many of his requirements, including the famous "Operation Joseph", the world reserve to be accumulated in good years and allocated where needed in times of famine.

Sir John Boyd Orr on landing at Southampton from America on May 5th last year, prior to handing over the Director-Generalship of the F.A.O. on June 1st, uttered a grave warning then on the world food situation, pointing out that the world population was increasing by 20 million yearly, that soil erosion was taking place all over the world, and that there were no new continents to discover. Unless the nations worked together to solve the food problem, he said, we might expect chaos in the next fifty years.

In the last two and a half years the F.A.O. under Sir John has set up the machinery by which the people of the world can co-operate to solve this problem, and he continues, in lectures and public speeches, to urge them to do so, and to realise his dream of "Peace Through Plenty."

Sir John Boyd Orr is a tall, commanding figure, with white hair, a lean face and shrewd eyes looking out from beneath immensely bushy eyebrows. He has a blunt, vigorous style of speech to which his Scottish accent adds emphasis. Farming is his recreation, and he longs to return to his experimental farm in Stracathro, Angus but he has had little time for recreation in recent years. He is married, and has a son and two daughters.

His published works, besides an early book on the Scottish Church crisis of 1904, include *Energy Expenditure of Infantry Recruits in Training* (with Prof. Cathcart, F.R.S.), 1919; *Essentials of Physiology for Veterinary Students* (with Dr. Noel Paton, F.R.S.), 1920; *Minerals in Pastures and Their Relation to Animal Nutrition*, 1928; *The National Food Supply*, 1934; *Food, Health and Income*, 1936; *Fighting for What?* 1943; *Food and the People*, 1944; and several papers on physiological subjects in scientific journals.—BIS.

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## RISING MENACE OF SMOKING

By KSHITINDRA KUMAR NAG, Ph.D. (Chicago)

Series of attractive pictures of girl-smokers are now having plain sailing with prominence in the advertisements our newspapers carry, in the posters the advertising agencies erect at important street-corners and in the slides the show-houses exhibit. The cigarette habit has grown to the extent of chain-smoking in some people. This evil has increased with such an alarming rapidity that even children are increasingly getting addicted to it while this very thing is looked upon as a juvenile crime in the West from where it has come.

The crores that are literally burnt by smoking could be so well utilised in many a wise way in our poor land where starvation and malnutrition have become chronic and common. According to figures available from the Bureau of Economic Research, U. P., Kanpur alone consumes 26 lakhs of cigarettes and 104,000 lacs of bidis entailing a daily expense of Rs. 81,250.\*

\* *Hindustan Standard*, October 17, 1948. (Kanpur smokes out Rs. 81,250 daily).

It would be ridiculous and even mean to say that we have nothing to mind when the pictures concerned are not of Indian girls. There is no denying the fact that we are now-a-days having girls to whom the frivolities of the Western women, not their sense of self-help, discipline and other virtues, appeal as signs of modernism and social progress. It would, therefore, betray meanness on our part not to feel concerned for the girls of the West at the abuse of their pictures in such advertisements. Much of the evil can be very well surmised to have got its start not so much of their own choice as under the hypnotic influence of men. We are afraid, due to our indifference and absence of a definite policy of social control, we may have soon to see in ads the pictures of girls in *saris* instead of in gowns as at present.

Whatever may be said of this smoking for the European society as far as the woman is concerned, it will undoubtedly cause a great alarm even amongst the chain-smokers in India to support the cause of smoking in their homes and see the woman with a cigarette between her lips! Is a woman then going to copy slavishly masculine habits even harmful to man himself just to have equality of sex established? Is she going that way to disregard delicacy and divinity befitting her as fair sex! In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, woman is entitled to a supreme place in her sphere of activity as man in his, for equal rights of freedom and liberty with man.

This smoking of cigarettes is a Western habit. Yet we will surely fool ourselves to think that Western people are all silent observers of its harmful effects. Even the smokers in the West no doubt admit their lapses and consider themselves the helpless victims of the cigarette. After a study of 1,000 inveterate smokers, Dr. Henry C. Link, Ph.D., Director of the Psychological Service Center, New York City, writes in his article, "So You are Going to Stop Smoking?" published in *Your Life* of August 1938:

"From the recent studies of Dr. Raymond Pearl at Johns Hopkins, we know that tobacco-smokers do not live as long as non-smokers. Yet, despite the fact that millions of persons comprehend the harmful effects of smoking, they confess their inability to conquer this purely mechanical habit."

In Dr. Link's opinion, the mechanism practised for years daily by a smoker who is not even aware of it, is this:

"It begins with lifting the pack, extracting a cigarette, tamping on one end, placing it between the lips, striking a match, inhaling the first gulp of smoke, and so forth, until the stub reaches the ash tray. Every cigarette consumed involves the same chain of actions and reactions, which seem to set themselves in motion and go on automatically to the end."

For those desiring to stop smoking because of a belief that the habit is harmful a happy commentary has been made by the *Reader's Digest* on an article, "I Quit Smoking, or Cooper's Last Stand," in its

issue of July 1940 in the words, "You can stop smoking—and like it." The writer of the article C. R. Cooper said:

"For more than 40 years I had sucked up nicotine like a filling station sponge. Even at night I awakened many times and grabbed for a cigarette. And now I stood quivering with the knowledge of what I was in for."

In his study of convention of having cigarettes to offer to guests he said, "The offering of cigarettes is merely a mechanical social gesture." No wonder that smokers generally do not feel their purse pinched in showing this generous courtesy.

Presumably, when cigarettes were initially pushed in Indian markets, conventions strange to this land regarding offering cigarettes to people with no regard for their age, taste or morals also made their appearance. This courtesy was more or less like a propaganda to bring about wholesale addiction to cigarette habit unknown in this country. It was also difficult for people to detect if there could be any menace behind the courtesy shown to them as guests. With the growth of foreign interests in this country, some of our people began to see virtues in all alien habits and get converted to many foreign conducts in an apish manner for privilege and favour that goes with conversion. It was also in this way our people copied cigarette habit considering it as a special characteristic required for alien association or etiquette.

After the author C. R. Cooper had sworn off smoking, the great change a single month brought about to the veteran smoker like him was this:

"My smoker's pulse which often had pounded along at 120 dropped back to a pleasant 72. I could really taste and enjoy food for the first time in ten years. The smoker's throat, cough and sinus inflammation were gone. Today if I do not sleep eight hours at a stretch, I complain about it. The only scar remaining is the wish that I had done all this 25 years ago."

As to the questions raised on this subject Mahatma Gandhi said:

"I have a horror of smoking as I have of wines. Smoking I consider to be a vice. It deadens one's conscience and is often worse than drink in that it acts imperceptibly. It is an expensive vice. It fouls the breadth, discolours the teeth and sometimes even causes cancer. It is an unclean habit."

"A drunkard in Tolstoy's story is hesitating to execute his design of murder so long as he has not smoked his cigar. But he puffs it and then gets up smiling and saying 'What a coward am I,' takes the dagger and does the deed. Tolstoy spoke from experience. He has written nothing without having had personal experience of it. And he is much more against smoking than against drink. But do not make the mistake that between drink and tobacco, drink is a lesser evil. No. If cigarette is Beelzebub, then drink is Satan."

It cannot be gainsaid that we have in India enough of tobacco habit in various forms and we must



therefore be careful not to add to the ills and wrongs we have already in our society by further foreign imports. Besides, the poor people of this land cannot afford to indulge in this expensive and injurious luxury of the rich West.

It would not be proper for our smokers either to go still their own way even without minding the sinister implications of the skilful advertising campaign already in process to bring about the cigarette habit to their women-folk who are naturally averse to it. It is, therefore, high time that our male smokers should wake up to this sort of propaganda which should rather create a repulsive feeling to incline them to give up smoking outright just to nip in the bud the

vicious trend that has been creeping imperceptibly in our women-folk.

Above all, it is a serious problem the enlightened women of the West are called upon to solve by making a bold stand against the advertising propaganda depicting their pictures in a smoking style, derogatory to the dignity of the fair sex if they are to escape the charge that during their stay in India they have found no lesson to learn from the women of India but instead leave a heritage to lead them astray for the benefit of the few tobacco interests having no limit to their avarice which will lower their self-respect and dignity.

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## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

### 'International Numerals' and 'Mahajani Book-keeping'

THE Constituent Assembly in adopting Hindi in Devanagari script as the official language of the Indian Union has accepted the 'international form of the Indian numerals' to be used for all official purposes.

By "international numerals" we mean the ten digits '1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0,' as we use in English. In the south some of the languages have been using this very form ever since the English occupied the country. Tamil, Telugu and Malayali books mark their pages by those international numerals. In the schools they have long discarded the Indian forms. In the north also the Department of Education advocated those numerals for a pretty long time, and arithmetic printed in the Indian languages, Hindi, Urdu and Bengali, etc., often show the numerals as used in English and many a modern pupil can hardly write an Indian form. So the ground was found prepared for adoption of the 'international numerals.'

It is no doubt a great advantage to have a common form of writing throughout the country, and if we have now at least the numerals in common it may be taken as the beginning of a common script in the whole of India.

But in our zeal for standardization of forms we need not lose sight of the factors affecting our own welfare. India in the past had not only invented the decimal system with the ten simple numerals, but had also developed many another device of simple mathematical usages known in the country as Mahajani method of book-keeping or the *Subhankari* system by which the country accountants continue to keep intricate accounts in the simplest of ways even without ruled and columned Bank account-books. The world adopted the ten numerals but not the latter. Now we are going to have the present international form of the numerals and shall have to discard the advantages of the Mahajani book-keeping. Up till now, by writing ১০ & ১০ in Bengali, or ११ & ११ in Nagri,

we understand respectively 'Re. 1-4-0' and 'Maund 0-0-4 chhataks.' These simple devices can no longer be followed with the adoption of the so-called 'international numerals' as they are. Nor can the addition-subtraction-multiplication-division be simply conducted in the country ledger-book, unruled as they are.

One remedy can however be suggested. In adopting the international numerals if we would only make a slight change in the matter of the first numeral '1' giving it a curved form rather than the straight posture, we can perhaps solve the difficulty. The Nagri १ (one) of the Bombay fount in place of the international straight '1' will serve our purpose. With this slight change we can continue the Mahajani method of book-keeping, showing the minutest fractions like *kada-kranti*, etc., even on plain unruled and uncolumbed paper and conduct additions and subtractions, etc.

It may be pointed out in this connection that in adopting the international numerals, some of the countries of the European continent, such as Germany, Holland, etc., often put a cut across the numeral '7' in order to distinguish it from the written 1. We in our country may also very well be allowed to adopt the first numeral to our needs. The slight change suggested should not disturb our international mentality and yet it will enable us to continue the simple time-old Mahajani *Subhankari* system in the simplest of ways.

The ten numerals themselves were originally India's contribution to the world culture, although they were for long being wrongly called 'Arabic numerals' as distinguished from the 'Roman.' Some writers have however termed them rather as 'Indo-Arabic' (*vide* "On Classification of Books in our Libraries" in the *Educational Review*, Madras, August, 1921).

G. T.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**TOWARDS STRUGGLE:** By Jaya Prakash Narayan. Edited by Yusuf Meherally. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1948. Pp. 244. Price Rs. 6-8.

This monograph is, as its sub-title states, a representative collection of manifestoes, speeches and writings by the noted young Socialist leader popularly known as 'J. P.' The editor of the book, Shri Yusuf Meherally himself another Socialist leader contributes a Foreword and a pen-picture of Jaya Prakash to the book.

India is at present passing through a critical stage in her national history. Since the inception of the nationalist movement all progressive forces found their spearhead in the Indian National Congress which became the symbol of national struggle for emancipation from bondage. The birth of the C.S.P. in 1934 under the leadership of Shri Jaya Prakash Narain was due to the fact that after the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1932 the Congress showed signs of drifting into the paths of constitutionalism and parliamentary politics and the younger section felt the need of keeping up a fighting programme and revolutionary outlook of the Congress from within. So when in 1942 the "Quit India" movement started in the wake of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other political leaders the Socialists threw themselves wholeheartedly into the vortex of the movement. Eventually the gulf between the two wings of the Congress widened so much as to necessitate a secession of the C.S.P. from the parent organisation. It has now assumed the title of the Socialist Party of India. As the Congress is now in power this Party along with other Leftist elements in the country are to some extent playing the role of a Parliamentary opposition, though outside the legislature. There is a talk of its contesting the elections to be held under the new Constitution along with other leftist groups on a socialistic programme. For various reasons into which we need not go here, the record of the Congress administration both at the Centre and Provinces during the last two years has been anything but satisfactory and as people's expectations from the Congress ministries were pitched very high naturally their disappointment and disillusionment has been correspondingly high. People are therefore turning from the Congress to other creeds and 'isms' which are putting forward alluring programmes. Socialism is the keynote and greatest common measure of all these. Socialism is in the air today in this country, socialist literature of all kinds is being read with avidity particularly by the younger section. In this situation it is only natural, as the editor observes in his Foreword, that the desire to understand the ideas and programme of work of Jaya Prakash Narayan should be both general and widespread in the country. Jaya Prakash's personality is both

dynamic and charming. He has by his idealism, and sacrifices, burning patriotism and devotion to the service of the people endeared himself to all including even his political opponents. In the present collection of his speeches we get clear evidence of his clear thinking, power of lucid exposition, his objectivity and breadth of outlook. He is not a mere abstract thinker and closet philosopher but one who brings to bear upon his writings the wealth of his experiences born of an intensely active life. His ideas are rooted in and enlivened by his contact with actual conditions in this country and abroad. So he is never dogmatic. In applying the principles of socialism to India he does not ignore the peculiar conditions of this country and does not draw his inspiration from Moscow. His picture of Swaraj for India is not drawn by a visionary dreaming dreams but is informed by a full sense of realities of the Indian situation. The collection also gives his views on some current questions of the day such as the communal problem, the problem of socialist unity, unemployment, etc. In view of the general swing of opinion in the country towards socialism and consequent desire for acquaintance with the ideas and programme of the Party which believes in the solution of the manifold problems of India at the present day through socialism, it may be said that the editor Shri Yusuf Meherally has done a real service in presenting this well-selected collection to the public.

AKSHAY KUMAR GHOSAL

**LEARNING AND WORLD PEACE** (A Symposium): Edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein and R. M. Mac Iver. Published by Harper & Brothers, New York and London. Price 6-50 dollars.

Sixty scholars in science, philosophy and religion review in this book, consisting of papers prepared for the eighth meeting of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life held at the American Philosophical Society in 1947, the contribution learning has made to the cause of peace, and chart the ways in which scholarship can lead to a better world. Practical aspects have also been discussed. "How can Scholarship Contribute to the Relief of International Tensions," "Measurement of Variations in International Tensions," "Science and Brotherly Love," "The Idea of National and International Sanity," "The Organising of Statistics in World Recovery," "War and the Human Community," "The Concept of Citizenship," "The Classics and International Understanding," etc., are only a few of a galaxy of brilliant papers squeezed into a 675-page book. In "The Idea of National and International Sanity," Prof. Delatour says, "At present it appears as though we have lost faith in the creative role of ideas. Instead, the intelligentsia has been

mobilised in the power and party struggle, has become the user of ideas and not the creator. Reality exists only in the politico-economic realm . . . A sharp distinction must be drawn between the notions of collective and communal. The latter notion of communal prescribes mutual participation in a regulated system of social intercourse which is not uniformity or conformity. It recognises the existence of an unbounded area of agreement, ritually placed outside of a limited polemical area. Behind collectivism is a barbarous idolatry of power. Declarations of Rights are only a camouflage for the de-personalisation and mechanisation of men. There is no liberty, where there is not the right of opposition. Men can fulfil their lives only by limiting politics and by recognising that the political field is not the whole of life . . . The problem of society is the transfer of the common values from the intimate centres of incubation to the even larger circles of Great Society." Prof. Delatour believes that we can humanise the environment and still not transform man. A real revolution calls for the revaluation of values and a changed attitude toward inwardness and privacy. The replacement of theology by anthropology has been disastrous. Man, once the son of God, is considered simply as an animal. Salvation is no longer in the Beyond, but in the Behind, a Heaven on earth has become a promise of the future. According to the Professor, the history of disbelief can be told in the rise of Marxism. "The French Revolution was the beginning of the new order in the Occident and the New World, but the Russian Revolution with its dehumanising and depersonalising ends, in a mythological sense, is a chaos; technocracy or the rule of managers is the core of this new experiment . . . It would be folly to attempt to trace the Socialist development back to Karl Marx."

In "War and the Human Community" Prof. Brownell apprehends that modern large-scale organisation in its total effect is an attack on the human being. Continued attack will result not only in the destruction of the community of human life but of the massive predators that feed upon it. The human community in Western culture is declining—in function, in structure, in quantity, in quality, in context. The essential human community, the living village, is losing out. Excessive drainage from it of youth and wealth, lowered birth-rates, and the diversion of the benefits of modern technology to other fields have reduced its status and influence. "The urban attitude is aggressive. It is exploitative. The personal give and take and the mutuality of community living are replaced by an anonymous power . . . From the rural regions youth and wealth drain into the cities . . . Nor do the benefits in civilisation seem to justify these sacrifices of rural and community interests. The dominating urban civilisation of Europe and America can hardly be called a success . . . Reorientation is necessary to the survival of Western freedom and culture. This means reorientation in behalf of the true community, and the restoration of the folk to the land in a stable and balanced relationship." It is a pity that our great books like Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, and the *Manusmṛiti*, which embody experimented Indian principles of politics, economics and sociology, are not available to the Western scholars. In these two books we get a good account of how a perfect balance had been struck between urban and rural life and culture for which the Western scholars are in search today.

In "The Classics and International Understanding", George B. de Huszar has turned his eyes

towards the East. He clearly states that the past, the present and the future of mankind cannot be understood unless the role and significance of the Eastern civilisation is comprehended and until the present tendency of regarding the Western civilisation as the centre of the world is given up. Greek thought and Christianity are the foundations of Western culture, but "Behind Greece and Christianity Stands Asia." Asia Minor, Egypt and India influenced Greek development. Similarities between the Eleatic doctrine and Upanishads on the nature of reality have been pointed out. Pythagoras was influenced by India in his religious, philosophical and mathematical views. Plato was affected by Pythagoreans. "Considerable evidence exists that from a historical standpoint India was the cradle of contemplative religion and philosophy." The influence of Egyptian, Arab and Chinese cultures on the West has also been stressed. "The dream of a world unification on a purely Western basis will be impossible. The expansion of Western techniques, nationalism on a world-wide scale and deep-lying cultural forces excludes the possibility of the whole earth's becoming a large colony of the West. The success of the peace effort will depend on adjustment between world cultures. An international organisation will be merely a shell unless it is based on understanding between members of contemporary cultures."

Toynbee believes that the Russian counter-discharge in the form of Communism will probably be less significant in view of the long-run effects of India and China on Western life.

Much of the Western misunderstanding of non-Western civilisations is due to the fact that attention is paid merely to political and economic problems instead of the more fundamental ideological and cultural issues. Such misunderstanding is also due to the fact that non-Western cultures are often viewed in terms of the ideals and ideas of the West. A meeting place for the East and the West is an urgent necessity.

The problems of the UNESCO find ample attention. If this world organisation provides a real meeting place for the scholars of the world and facilitates action by understanding brought to bear both on the specific questions at issue in all world problems and on the quality and climate of international understanding which is the condition of the possibility of all international action, it may become the important organ in the constitution of a new world.

D. BURMAN

ON HUMAN FREEDOM : By John Laird, D.Lit., LL.D., F.B.A. Published by George Allen Unwin Ltd. London. 1947. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The book comprises the Forwood Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion, six in all, given in the University of Liverpool. Unfortunately the author did not live to see the proofs of this book. It is unbecomingly perhaps to make adverse comments on a book recently published whose author has just died. We shall therefore refrain from making any such remarks. We would only mention that the book has not helped to make the concept of freedom clearer in any sense—metaphysical, ethical or religious. The philosopher will not find any new argument in it and the heavy style, inclined to be pedantic, will keep the layman away from it. The author believed in the efficacy of volitions and he thought determinism justifiable. He was a "Voluntaristic determinist." I am sure many logicians will find the book interesting.

S. C. MITRA

**AN ARTIST'S MISCELLANY :** By Kumara Guru. Published by R. Venkateshwar and Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3.

Kumara Guru, the "C.S." whose various articles on music, education and aesthetics are collected together in this book, is no stranger to the world of scholarship. His book *Life's Shadows* had already been appreciated by a section of the reading public. Interspersed in the essays in the volume under notice, there are accounts of Thyagaraja and Dikshitar whose melodies are so popular in South India. The general preponderance of music in these essays is welcome because there is a point of agreement between the author and a large number of his readers regarding the present deterioration in classical taste, and the discussion may prove a corrective. The occasional incursions into literary criticism are a diversion as well as an illumination, e.g., the discussion (pp. 131-5) on *A Mid-Summer Night's Dream*. The same remark applies to his occasional critiques on modern education.

We can also mention with approval his comment on that aspect of immortality which links the different generations into one whole for which he marshalls the aid of Maeterlinck's *Blue Bird*.

These are not isolated instances. His thoughts on religion, musings on beauty, observations on music, comments on education—have all been integrated into a philosophy of life which is expressed in a literary style. That the reader has to read between the lines to find this out does not take away from the high praise to which it is entitled.

P. R. SEN

**THE FACTORIES ACT, 1948 :** By Prabhudas B. Patwar with a Foreword by Justice K. C. Sen. Indian Legal Publications, Ahmedabad. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 10.

One of the important items in the Five-year Plan of our National Government is the amelioration of conditions of industrial labour. One of the steps is the reform of the Indian Factory legislation. Experience of the working of the 1934 Act had revealed a number of defects; and it was amended in 1936, 1940, 1941, 1944, 1945, 1946 and 1947. The provisions for the safety, health and welfare of the workers were found to be inadequate and unsatisfactory, and a radical overhaul had become almost a necessity. Hence the new Act. Some of the important changes brought by the new Act are: (1) The old Act applied to factories employing 20 or more, the new Act applies to factories employing 10 or more. It does away with the distinction between seasonal and perennial factories. (2) It makes provisions for health, safety and welfare of workers, such as washing facilities, first-aid appliances, canteens, rest shelters, creches, etc., and compulsorily provides for a minimum of 500 cu.ft. for each worker. (3) Hours of work have been reduced for children or adolescents from 5 to 4½ days and, in the case of women only between 6-0 a.m. and 7-0 p.m. (4) Provision has been made for leave with wages one day for every 20 days of work. (5) The minimum age has been raised from 12 to 14. There are other changes, too many to be mentioned here.

The new Act affects the lives of twice as many persons as the old Act did. But its provisions are to be interpreted and applied by laymen. For such persons the volume under review is an ideal one. The history of the factory legislation and the scope of the Act has been fairly and lucidly summarised and explained. Each section has been annotated and explained both from the point of view of a lawyer

and layman. The table of cases, the comparative table of sections and the subject-index will materially add to the usefulness of the work. But the price seems to be a little too high.

J. M. DATTA

## HINDI

**GRAM-SWARAJYA :** By Ramanarain Yadvendu. Nalanda Publications, Post Box No. 1363, Bombay 1. Pp. 96. Price Rs. 3-12.

This is a very useful book for all those who are engaged in the arduous but indispensable task of reviving and re-integrating the ancient institution of *Panchayat Raj* in our villages, where the bulk of our countrymen live and labour. For, within the compass of thirteen short chapters the author has dealt with all the varied and vital aspects of the problem of rural economy, such as, health, education, arts, crafts, recreation, co-operative societies, election, "civic" obligations. The treatment of the subject is highly practical, which is as it should be. The printing and get-up are up to the mark, but the price is rather high.

G. M.

## GUJARATI

(1) GAMDARI GORI, (2) YOGESHWAR KRISHNA, GOKULESH, (3) Do. MATHURESH, (4) Do, RASESH, (5) Do, GITESH, (6) Do, YOGESH, (7) Do, DWARIKESH :

By Raj Hans, the Thakur Saheb of Lathi. Pp. 90, Price Rs 2. Pp. 194, Price Rs 3-8. Pp. 171, Price Rs 3-8. Pp. 213, Price Rs. 3-8. Pp. 311, Price Rs. 4-8. Pp. 179, Price Rs. 3-8, Pp. 365, Price Rs. 4-8. 1947. Illustrated. Cloth-bound.

The author Raj Hans, the Thakur Saheb of Lathi, is a worthy successor of Kalapi, the well-known prince and poet of Gujarat. Kalapi was more of a poet and a dreamer than a prince. No. (1) draws an ideal picture of happy village life, where young boys and maidens take delight in dancing and singing together and in consequence falling in love. The love-story set out here is romantic and ultimately merges into the loves of Radha and Krishna. The remaining six volumes, consisting of nearly 1400 pages, have depicted the life of Krishna, as viewed from different view-points, as a Yogi, as the Lord of Dwarka, as the Dictator of Mathura, and so on. The narrative is throughout written in Dolan Shayh, blank verse, *apudya gadya* or whatever name one likes to give. A deep knowledge of the Gita, the Samhitas, Puranas, and Vedanta is the foundation on which the princely author has built his noble structure, and no phase or stage or incident in the Life of Krishna has been ignored or neglected. Principles and Sutras, religious and mythological, have been so skilfully woven into the work as not only to enlighten the reader about them, but to create in him a note of admiration for the close study of an abstruse subject, mites resumed from the legitimate sphere of an administrator and a reigning prince. This series presenting the Life of Krishna, not as a Divinity, but a Superman has, we are afraid, only one drawback; it is above the head of the ordinarily educated reader. The scholar and the erudite reader only can follow and appreciate it. It will be a work for the select few. Nevertheless its value as a high class literary production would not suffer. It would for ever remain as a remarkable production in the language and literature of Gujarat.

K. M. J.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Crisis Government in the Indian Constitution

Principal Sri Ram Sharma writes in *The Indian Review* :

Very few constitutions make provisions against their own unworkability. The Government of India Act, 1935, contemplated Indian refusal to work it and thus gave birth to Section 93, enabling the autocratic Governors to carry on the Government on their own when Government under other provisions of the Act seemed impossible. The Draft Constitution in its Section 188 simply paraphrased Section 93 limiting however the unfettered discretion of the Governor to carry on administration to two weeks but leaving it to the President however, to make arrangements for a larger period. The clauses as passed recently limit the right to proclaim an emergency to the President and allow him to carry on Government under the proclamation for two months.

The debate that accompanied the passage of the Act indicated woeful ignorance of the place of emergency Government in a constitution as also of the way in which a constitution is worked. As the provision stands, the President is authorized to proclaim an emergency. When it was objected to that this would create personal dictatorship it was considered enough to assert that 'we intend' that the President should proclaim the emergency on the advice of his ministers. What was considered to be a parallel provision in an English Act was cited as an authority that this would be so.

It was conveniently forgotten however that English Constitutional conventions and English Common Law make it obligatory in England that, to be legal and enforceable, all orders of the formal sovereign be signed by a minister.

We have not inherited the English common law nor English constitutional conventions. Nor is the President in the Indian Constitution the sort of 'formal' head of the Government that he is in England. He is an active member of the Government using his personal discretion against the political judgment of his ministers, sending messages to the legislature obviously over their head and suggesting amendments to bills passed by the legislature under the direction of the Cabinet. Nothing would have been lost if the President had been directed to act with the approval of the cabinet when he proclaimed an emergency. What members of the Constituent Assembly say to-day is not law. It has been said in connection with another constitution that the greater part of the (constitutional) development has been away from the avowed intentions of the founders.

The British example cited differs in another way from its Indian copy. The emergency powers granted to the British Cabinet by the Emergency Powers Act of 1920 can only be invoked under the circumstances which the Act has carefully defined—threat to the supply and distribution of essentials of life. Further the powers thus granted do not extend to making strikes illegal or picketing an offence. The English proclamation, though made by the Cabinet, makes it necessary that it be communicated forthwith to Parliament if it be sitting; if it stands

adjourned Parliament is to be summoned to meet within five days of the issue of the proclamation and is to continue sitting throughout the emergency. The maximum punishment for offences created under the regulations made for meeting the emergency is imprisonment for three months and fine of one hundred pounds.

The French state of siege was also referred to during the debate. But a state of siege in France can only be declared by the French legislature by passing a law. If the legislature is not in session, it meets automatically within two days of the proclamation by the President who can only do so on the advice of the Council of Ministers.

The powers of the American President as Commander-in-Chief were also trotted forth. The President of the Indian Republic would also be the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. It follows that if American interpretation of the constitution were to hold good in India, the Indian President would not need the emergency powers at all for taking the measures that the American Presidents took without those provisions.

What has been rather inconveniently forgotten by the Drafting Committee is the very essential fact that in England, France and the United States, the legislature is sought to be actively associated with the executive during the emergency whereas the Indian Constitution does not do so.

It visualizes personal dictatorship of the President or, on his behalf of the Governor by associating an emergency with the impossibility of carrying on the government under the provisions of the constitution. Of course, it is Section 93 writ large!

The President possesses certain other powers, which, coupled with emergency powers, can be used by an unscrupulous person for establishing a personal dictatorship. He summons the legislature; he need not do so during the emergency. The Ministers hold office during his pleasure, he can dismiss them and appoint a Prime Minister dependent on him alone and having no majority in the legislature. The Hitlerian *coup-de-etat* is made easily possible.

It was also said that the President can be impeached for the violation of the constitution. But the emergency powers conferred on him and exercised by him in his discretion will not constitute a violation of the constitution. His power to summon and dissolve the legislature is not dependent on the ministers nor is his 'pleasure' to continue them in power or to deprive them of it. The power to impeach a President cannot be exercised during the emergency. By the time the emergency is over, a *coup-de-etat* may have made mincemeat of the constitution. Dictators when once they assume power seldom leave chances of being impeached intact in the constitution.

These are not imaginary dangers. The Weimar constitution and its end are there as significant warnings. What was made possible there without some of the looseness which surrounds our emergency provisions can certainly happen here. It may be said that our Presidents will not play that game. Hindenburg was elected in Germany to defend the constitution and not to overthrow it. Prince Louis Napoleon was not made President in order to

establish an empire. Democratic tradition is not even knee-deep in India at present. Democracy is an infant in arms, barely two years old. It is necessary therefore that all the precautions that are necessary in our peculiar circumstances should be taken to avoid that emergency government does not have the way to personal dictatorship. Deficiencies in 'Constitutional Conscience' here have at best to be provided by constitutional enactments. The present provisions scarcely make an attempt to do so. By implications they seem to distrust the legislature more than they do the formal heads of the Government. It is time that the drafting committee made up its mind about the sort of constitution it is advocating. It cannot have the 'best of everything' for the simple reason that constitutions mix ill together and when they do they may produce an explosion.

### Devaluation Devalued

*The New Review* observes :

The Central Parliament approved of devaluation with the handsome majority the Congress party retains. The opposition was weak and confused. What was questionable in the measure was not the link between rupee and shilling or the official trade-policy; it was the rate of devaluation.

What is clearest about devaluation is that it is a simple way of making the past pay for the present shortage and a temporary palliative. People who in the past restricted their consumption forcibly or willingly and saved up wealth at the rate of 0.268,601 grammes of fine gold per rupee were told that in future their rupee would fetch only 0.18621 grammes of the metal, if ever they could get any. Not that the fate of all was uniform. Those who had embodied their savings in land, factories or commodities were not deprived of anything. Their will to save was badly shaken, and the temptation to spend as they earn will be hard to resist; savings are discouraged by devaluation.

Devaluation was expected to lower the real prices of our goods to foreign buyers and stimulate exports. Britain may succeed if the dollar area is accommodating in regard to tariffs, licenses, etc. But the case of Bharat is not on all fours with Britain's; Bharat has not reached the same degree of industrialisation, nor has she a proportionate surplus for exports, or like facilities for transport and banking, or international commerce traditions. She is still mainly a supplier of raw and half-processed materials, and the demand for her few exports is relatively inelastic. In jute and cotton manufactures she largely depends on Pakistani supplies. Moreover, she has entered into bilateral trade agreements with many countries, mostly in the sterling area and has therefore a more or less assured market. If she depends on others for her exports, others depend on her for their imports and the fear of losing Indian markets for their manufactures would have led foreigners to buy Bharati supplies. In other words, the foreign markets for our exports are not likely to be much increased by devaluation, or encouraged by the practices of some exporters.

#### THE CRUCIAL POINT

The crucial point lies in the relative bearing of devaluation on imports and exports. A strong currency would have helped the import of machinery necessary to increased production and productivity by lowering the cost in rupees whilst it is doubtful that our debased money will entice foreign buyers to frequent our markets. More particularly, it is doubtful if export developments will balance the lowering of our money; it will take 144 Bharati rupees of exports to bring in as much wealth

as 100 Indian rupees did, which implies (if prices do not go down) an increase of 44 per cent of exports (not in volume but in value).

Is our productivity in raw materials, minerals, hides, jute and cotton manufactures sufficiently elastic to supply an extra 44 per cent that would be necessary to keep the old balance or to supply more than 44 per cent as would be needed to make devaluation profitable? Can we at least work on both our imports and our exports to maintain the balance?

Delay in passing the measure might have brought suspense and unrest in business; but was the hurry in fixing the rate of devaluation much less damaging? Was it really impossible or undignified to wait and ascertain the policy of other countries, particularly of Pakistan which preferred a strong currency to face its commitments in machinery and armaments and logical satisfaction of selling the hoarded wealth at a bigger nominal price. But the citizens who had relied on postal savings, bank deposits, government bonds and the like had their pockets badly picked by devaluation. Financial authorities and businessmen will be on their trial during the coming months.

In any case, devaluation can only be a temporary help. Recently, Dr. H. Schacht, the great financier of pre-war Germany, denounced the devaluation in post-war Germany as a short-sighted device, and he rightly stressed the fundamental principle that 'the function of currency is to facilitate the exchange of goods and the flow of capital on the most stable basis and not to influence the value of prices, wages and debts by artificial manipulations.'

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## Ardaseer Cursetjee

### The First Indian Fellow of the Royal Society

R. A. Wadia writes in *Science and Culture* :

When the late Srinivasa Ramanujan, the well-known Mathematician and a genius in that branch of science, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, he was considered to be its First Indian Fellow. This belief continued to be held till Prof. A. V. Hill, the Secretary of the Society in his Address to the Press Representatives at Delhi in 1944 stated that the First Indian who had the honour to be the Society's Fellow was Mr. Ardaseer Cursetjee and this has led me to write this short sketch of his life.

From information gathered from the Secretary of the Royal Society it appears that Ardaseer was elected a Fellow on 27th March, 1841. He was proposed by James Walker, seconded by W. Cubett and recommended by John Macmeille, James Horne, Josua Field, W. H. Sykes, Sir John Barrow, Admiral F. Beaufort and Sir Edward Sabine.

The following Copy of Certificate received from the Secretary of the Royal Society is of interest:—

"Ardaseer Cursetjee Esquire Ship-Builder of Bombay lately in England having undertaken the journey of this country at his own expense in order to perfect himself in the knowledge of the Steam Engine as applicable to Navigation and to acquaint himself with the arts and the manufactures of Europe with the view of improving his own country and his countrymen, a Gentleman well versed in the theory and practice of Naval Architecture and devoted to scientific pursuits having introduced Lighting by Gas into Bombay where he perfected a small Gas establishment aided exclusively by Native workmen; having also at his own charge built a vessel of sixty tons to which he adapted a Steam Engine sent out from this Country, and manufactured and fitted every other part of the Machinery and navigated the vessel entirely with native workmen and Engine men, chiefly instructed and trained by himself; and having otherwise promoted Science and the useful art in his own country to which he has just returned, having while in England obtained the appointment of principal Inspector of Steam Machinery to the East India Company, being desirous of becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society.—

We whose names are hereto subscribed of our personal knowledge consider him as deserving of that honour, as likely to become a valuable and useful member—And we beg to recommend him from his peculiar situation, and the proofs he has given of his desire to extend natural knowledge in India.

Dated this twenty seventh day of March 1841."

Ardaseer belonged to the wellknown family of Lowjee Wadia who arrived in Bombay from Surat in the beginning of 1736 as a Ship-Builder and founded the Docks, and whose descendants continued to hold the post of Master Builder till 1835 when the post was abolished.

Ardaseer Cursetjee was born on 6th October, 1808. His father Cursetjee Rustomjee (1788-1863) was Master Builder in the Dockyard from 1844 to 1858.

As regards his education nothing definitely is known but it is apparent, that he must have received the best available at the time before he entered the Dockyard as an apprentice in 1822, when he was only 14.

We learn from his own writing that about the year 1830 he began to study the theory and practice of Steam Engine and to devote much of his time to the study

of Marine Engineering. With the permission of Government he was placed under Capt. Mc. Gillvary, the Chief Engineer of the Bombay Mint, where he worked for some time and acquired proficiency in that branch of Engineering. To quote his own words, "My enthusiastic love of Science now led me to construct unassisted, a small steam engine of about one horse power. I likewise endeavoured to explain to my countrymen the nature and properties of steam and to effect this I had constructed at a great expense in England, a Marine Steam Engine which, being sent out to Bombay, I succeeded with the assistance of a native blacksmith in fixing in a boat of my own building."

This was the steamer *Indus* which was launched on 16th August, 1833, it being the first private steamer built on the Island, there being only one other steamer, the *Hugh Lindsay* also built at Bombay for the East India Company by Nowrojee Jamsetjee, the Master Builder. The *Indus* was subsequently purchased by the Bombay Government.

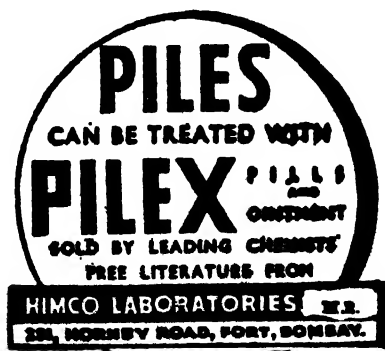
Ardaseer brought up the same native blacksmith to manage this steamer and drive and keep in order the engine without any assistance from Europeans and to quote his own words, "This faithful native has worked the boat upwards of five years without a single accident or injury to the engine."

The great interest Ardaseer took in the engineering line led him to introduce Gas Lighting in Bombay. On 10th March, 1834 he lighted his bungalow and gardens at Mazagaon with gas when the Governor of Bombay, the Earl of Clare, visited the scene.

Ardaseer was also the first to introduce Steam Pumps on the Island.

It is to be remembered that at that time in constructing the necessary machinery and articles, there was no foundry or means of getting such works properly executed and yet the apparatus was found to be as complete as if the same was constructed in England. This led him to maintain a small foundry at his premises at Mazagaon in order to make him proficient in the foundry business. He made great many wrought iron tanks for ships, among which several were holding upwards of five thousand gallons of water.

With the starting of the Elphinstone Institution in Bombay, professors in different branches of learning were brought out from England and one of them, Mr. Arlebar, Professor of Mathematics, became acquainted with Ardaseer. Witnessing his knowledge in practical mechanics, Mr. Arlebar applied to the Bombay Government to allow Ardaseer to assist him in instructing the students specially in mechanical and chemical sciences to which Government readily consented.





By this time steam navigation had considerably increased and difficulty in carrying out repairs to steamers was experienced. It was noticed that few of the European engineers could withstand the Indian climate and a few others proved troublesome.

He determined to proceed to England to study Steam Power as an aid to the luxuries of civilized life.

In 1838, with the sanction of the Bombay Government, Ardaseer made arrangement to proceed to England but sudden illness prevented him from proceeding there. Next year, however, Ardaseer was able to carry out his wish with the sanction of the Government of Bombay.

On September 12, 1839, he left his home late in the evening for S. S. *Bernice* and went on board with Capt. Cogan of the Indian Navy and the steamer left the shore early next morning. He had decided to go by the overland route and Suez was reached on 7th October.

The overland journey is described very graphically by Ardaseer in his *Overland Journey from Bombay to England* and *A Year's Residence in Great Britain*, published in England in 1841, and many interesting details are given therein.

It is important to note the religious prejudices which then existed even amongst Parsees, the chief of which was to take food cooked by Parsees only and not to dine with non-Parsees on the same table. Hence travel to England meant expenses not only for his own but also for the servants of his caste. Apart however from expense, it gave rise to other difficulties at times, mainly to find one's own apartments cooking by servants.

The author reached Gravesend on 2nd December and Blackwall the next day and on landing the first person to whom he paid a visit was that great friend of India, Sir Charles Forbes Bart at his residence at No. 9 Fitzroy Square, London.

He went to India House on the 6th, and was introduced to the Chairman of the East India Company, Sir Richard Jenkins and the Secretary, James Cosmos Melvill.

On the next day, he went and saw Sir William Symonds, the distinguished Surveyor of Her Majesty's Navy for whom he had brought letters of introduction for advice as to the future course of studies.

With the approval of the Court of Directors, Ardaseer placed himself under the care of Messrs. Seawards, whose works being close to the Thames, afforded him additional advantage of seeing the improvements in progress in the river and its banks.

The Court of Directors granted a special allowance of Rs. 300 per month over and above his salary at Bombay during the period of his stay in England.

Thereafter he worked energetically, devoting all his energy to acquire qualifications as a Marine

Engineer and in allied lines in different factories, visited different dockyards and obtained high compliments from all under whom he worked.

During his stay in England, he made a number of calls on several retired Englishmen—men like Mountstuart Elphinstone, Lord Clare, Rear Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm, General Briggs, Francis Warden and others. He had also the privilege of being introduced to Prince Albert, the Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of Wellington and the Duke of Argyll, the Marquis of Northampton (the President of the Royal Society), James Walker (President of the Institute of Civil Engineers), Sir Robert Peel, Sir John Hobhouse and others.

Besides pursuing his studies in his particular subject, he got himself in touch with important institutions in engineering line. Ardaseer was invited to a Soiree of the Royal Society by its President, the Marquis of Northampton at the latter's residence on 11th April 1840 at which he was introduced to his Lordship, Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Argyll, the Duke of Buccleuch and several other members of the Royal Society.

On 6th May, 1840, Ardaseer was elected a Member of the Society of Arts and Science and in September of the same year he was appointed a Member of the Mechanical Section of the British Association.

During his stay in England he never took his meals cooked by non-Parsees and on this account on more than one occasion he refused invitations to dinner from his European friends. When Mr. Walter, the Proprietor of the *London Times* invited him with his friend Mr. John Seaward to pass a few days at his house, he accepted the same but sent his servant to prepare his meals.

On visiting the Royal Mint, the author was "much disappointed as it was inferior to the Mint at Bombay."

He was fortunate enough to be present on the occasion of the marriage of Queen Victoria on the 10th February, 1840 and saw illuminations of public buildings in London which he describes as a truly splendid scene, "the most brilliant lights being jets of gas within coloured glass shades."

He was presented to the Queen at a Levée on 1st July 1840. He writes: "About 10 a.m. I called upon my excellent friend Sir Charles Forbes, who was kindly solicitous about my costume and that of my servants and about 1 p.m. Sir Charles placed his carriage at my disposal. We reached St. James' Palace and having waited for a short time I was conducted to the Presence Chamber by Sir John Hobhouse, and was formally introduced to Her Majesty, who was seated, Prince Albert standing on her left hand and the Earl of Uxbridge (Lord Chamberlain) on her right."

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## INDIAN PERIODICALS

His views on some matters are of interest. He considered the drivers of cabs and other public vehicles "an imposing and insolvent set of men" who took every advantage, especially of foreigners, and "another nuisance of London is the dirty state of the roads compared with those of Bombay."

Of shopkeepers and tradesmen he states: "I cannot help remarking that they have generally an unfair practice of speaking against each other in the same line of business which is the cause of great embarrassment to foreigners as they cannot have confidence in dealing with them." On 1st June 1840, he received a summons to attend a Committee of the House of Commons to give evidence upon the opium question and gave it against the Opium Policy of the East India Company and he records with satisfaction that the same had approval of that tried friend of India, Sir Charles Forbes.

After completing his course of studies just when he was thinking of returning to Bombay, an advertisement appeared in the *London Times* in its issue of 10th July 1840, in which the Court of Directors invited applications for the post of Chief Engineer and Inspector of Machinery at the Steam Factory at Bombay. Thereupon Ardaseer applied for the post. After taking into consideration a number of applications received by them, the Court selected Ardaseer for the post—a no mean achievement for an Indian to successfully compete for a post with Europeans in their own homeland when no facilities were available to Indians to acquire proficiency in science.

Ardaseer returned to Bombay by the *Buckinghamshire* in the beginning of 1841 and assumed charge of his post on 1st April, 1841.

It is of interest to note that his appointment as Chief Engineer and Inspector of Machinery in the Bombay Dockyard led the *Bombay Times*

to raise its protest and the *Bombay Gazette* to applaud the action of the Court of Directors.

The former wrote: "We doubt the competency of a native, however able or educated to take charge of such an establishment as the Bombay Steam Factory with a body of English workmen to be directed, superintended and controlled by a native." On the other hand the *Gazette* wrote: "It is no small honour to the native community that the merits and abilities of this gentleman should have enabled him to carry off the prize from a multitude of competitors."

The significance of the remarks of the *Bombay Times* was due to the fact that Ardaseer was placed in charge of an establishment in which there were more than one hundred Europeans working under him. (*Minutes of Proceedings of the Institute of Civil Engineers*, Vol. 51, pp. 271-74.)

He occupied the new post till 1st August 1857, when he retired from service.


In 1837 Ardaseer was elected a Non-Resident Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of England.

In September 1851, he went to England for the second time for reasons of health and with the permission of the Court of Directors visited a number of cities to see the different improvements in machinery. He visited America and selected various wood-cutting machines for the factory at Bombay under his charge.

In 1855, he was elected a Justice of the Peace.

In 1859 he paid a third visit to England.

In 1861 he was appointed Superintending Engineer of the Indus Flotilla Co. at Karachi and remained there for about two years and resigned on account of his health. He thereafter settled down at Richmond and passed the remaining years of his life there. He died on 16th November, 1877.



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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

**The Great Russian Writer Anton Chekhov**  
Alexander Tseitlin, D.Sc. (Philology),  
member of the Gorky Institute of World Literature,  
writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union* :

Anton Chekhov entered Russian literature at the beginning of the eighties of the last century. The twenty-five years of his literary endeavours were years of relentless and consistent struggle for progressive ideals, for humanity, progress and liberty. His works exerted a continuous revolutionizing influence on the progressive section of Russian society, on the Russian people. In his works Chekhov exposed and held up to contempt the banal existence and spiritual poverty of Russian philistinism. Imbibing and continuing the democratic traditions of the sixties (the times of Herzen, Dobroliubov and Chernyshevsky), Chekhov fought with the full ardour of his passion against the humiliation of human dignity, against social injustice, stagnation and ignorance.

"There were only two decent intellectual people in the entire district: you and I. But within some ten years we sank into this philistine life, this contemptible life; it poisoned our blood with its rotten vapours..." confesses Dr. Astrov in the play *Uncle Vanya*. The contemptible life, the philistine life is exposed in the play *The Three Sisters*, in the short stories *The Man in the Flogger* and *The Gooseberry*, and in such it would seem purely humorous stories at first glance as the Chekhov vaudevilles. At the sight of banality, philistinism, todayism and conservatism, Chekhov's eyes acquired a cold, hard and piercing look" (Gorky).

There is a tremendous, undying power in Chekhov's hatred for capitalist depredation. Chekhov was born, raised, educated and began to write in a society "where money played a monstrously great role," but he was nurtured by progressive Russian culture which inspired him at an early age with disgust for the bourgeoisie who held above all the very thing that the Russian democratic writer of the last century, Gleb Uspensky, defined as "heartless cash." Chekhov wrote with indignation that under capitalism "the majority, which feeds, clothes and defends the minority, goes hungry, unclad and defenseless" (the novel *My Life*). Saying thus, Chekhov lashed not only the Russian bourgeoisie, but the entire capitalist system, under which life is entirely "based on slavery." These words sound like a grave accusation of the entire bourgeois capitalist system.

Chekhov was a people's artist at the time when the people were still oppressed by the rule of autocracy. But the great writer believed in the titanic forces latent in the Russian people. Honest and self-sacrificing Russian people figure prominently among Chekhov's characters. He produced a rich and varied gallery of positive characters. An example is Dr. Astrov in *Uncle Vanya*. "Just think what a life this doctor has," says one of the heroes of the play speaking of Astrov. "Impassable mud-ridden roads, frost blizzards, tremendous distances... want and disease all around." And it is in this atmosphere that Astrov is working indomitably. He is not only curing people, he is planting forests. He has "daring, a free mind and great sweep;" he is already thinking of what will happen... a thousand years hence." He "already has the vision of a happy mankind." Astrov is not the only one to think of the future.... The

vision into the future inspires the dreams of Vershinin and of Tuzenbach in *The Three Sisters*. Nadya, the heroine of Chekhov's story *The Bride*, finally breaks away from the philistine surroundings and devotes herself entirely to revolutionary activities.

Chekhov's aesthetic features, his artistic merits as a great master of letters are directly connected with the ideological problems raised in his art. Resolutely opposing bourgeois naturalism with its tendencies to copy the superficial manifestations of life, a tendency detrimental to art, Chekhov fought for a literature that would depict life in its true colours, for a literature with a lofty ideological message and great social import. Chekhov rejected with indignation works designated to "lull the bourgeoisie in its sweet dreams."

The rich ideological content of Chekhov's art was cloaked in supremely simple and laconic form unknown to world realistic literature before him. Chekhov was the master of the short story; he was unsurpassed in the ability to "compress lengthy subjects into brief form." The great Russian artist, Repin, wrote to Chekhov in connection with his novel *Ward No. 6*: "What a terrific power of impression rises from this production! It is simply incomprehensible how in the end so irresistible, profound and colossal idea of mankind develops out of so simple a story which is even poor in content. What a titan you are!" Precisely this simplicity in expressing a "colossal idea of mankind" secured to Chekhov one of the most honourable places among the galaxy of the greatest realists of the world.

Chekhov's supremely laconic characters, his deeply original landscapes, his gentle and at the same time biting humour reflect the greatest achievements of Russian realism which exerted so powerful an influence upon progressive writers and readers in foreign countries.

"The main thing is to change life, and the rest does not matter," says Chekhov in *The Bride*. This feeling of the necessity for great revolutionary changes was alien to the outstanding novelist of the West, Guy de Maupassant, who did not look into the future and dreaded the future. O'Henry too lacked this feeling. Chekhov advanced far ahead of them, for he was sustained by Russian life, which, as the author said in one of the letters written shortly before his death, was "far more talented" than life in the bourgeois countries of the West and contained richer possibilities and unspent forces which were soon unfettered and called to life by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Written with exceptional artistic mastery, Chekhov's plays combine profound ideology with the finest psychological insight. Chekhov's plays represent a new stage in the history of Russian as well as world dramaturgy. They wielded a considerable and fruitful influence on progressive dramatists of America and Europe.

Through one of his characters Anton Chekhov said: "I have a feeling of the coming happiness.... Here it is, this happiness.... Here it is, this happiness, it is advancing, coming nearer and nearer, I can already hear its tread. And what matters it if we shall not see it, if we shall not know it? Others will see it!"... The art of Anton Chekhov, the great Russian humanitarian writer, the harbinger of the future emancipation of men, is dear and near to the Soviet people, the builders of the most human society on the earth, the Communist society.

### The Artistic Mastery of Chekhov

Fedor Yevnin, Master of Philological Sciences, writes in the same paper :

"What does talent mean?" asks a character in Chekhov's play *Uncle Vanya* and replies: "Daring, a free head, wide compass"... A more apt definition could hardly be applied to Chekhov's own artistic mastery.

A writer of genius, who could regard surrounding reality in a new light and perspicaciously mark the doom of the old forms of life as well as the great dream of the future, he was able to discover new, entirely original means of artistic expressiveness.

The new bold style that Chekhov as an artist used was already distinctly acknowledged by his contemporaries. A judge of impeccable authority, Leo Tolstoi had declared: "Chekhov is an inimitable artist, yes, yes; precisely inimitable.... An artist of life, Chekhov has created, to my mind, for the whole world entirely new forms of writing, the like of which I have never come across anywhere...."

Chekhov's utterances on art are permeated with an intolerance of hackneyed stereotypes routine and soulless "hack literature." In his letters to his brother, Alexander, a writer of the eighties of the last century, Chekhov gave the following advice: "Try to be original in your play. Don't be sleek, don't polish things up, be awkward and daring. Beware of refined language. The language should be simple and graceful. Such platitudes as 'the setting sun, bathing in the waves of the dusky sea cast its reddish gold....' must be dropped." Thus affected "gentleisms" were to succumb to simplicity, stereotyped figures of speech to new creative ones, sleek "smoothness" of style to "boldness," that is to a freedom and spontaneity of writing of which only the great talent is capable.

Chekhov is an unsurpassable master of the short humorous story, of the psychological novella and tale of every-day life. None before him have succeeded in presenting within the narrow compass of a hundred or so lines such a wealth of ideas, such a variety of intonation, nuances and implications. For sheer dynamic quality and singleness of purpose his narratives stand unexcelled.

In this respect the amazing succinctness and preciseness of Chekhov's language his purely stylistic mastery, have played a considerable role. "The art of writing is the art of contracting.... we must know how to speak briefly of lengthy things," Chekhov used to say. This is how Maxim Gorky appraised Chekhov's style: "As a stylist Chekhov is inaccessible and the future historians of literature, speaking of the growth of the Russian language, will say that language was created by Pushkin, Turgenier and Chekhov."

However there is still another thing that is important when we speak of Chekhov's artistic innovations—his new manner of portraying reality. As distinguished from the old method of elaborate, exhaustive descriptions Chekhov boldly employs individual characteristic details which are so typical and so apt that they convey more graphically the essence of the whole than the most detailed descriptions of a general character. The writers who preceded him, before making their character act thought it necessary first to give a detailed description of his appearance, and even inner life, recount his biography, etc. Chekhov confined himself to two or three masterfully chosen strokes of the pen: his characters unfold through action, through their experiences and deeds, conditioned by the development of the plot. Instead of giving a detailed portrait of his character Chekhov says: "His face looks as if it were squeezed in the door, sour and pitiable" (his story *Two in One*). Then he compares the cheeks of one of his characters to jelly and the clum to a heel (the story *Anna Round the Neck*). And the reader sees clearly what sort of a person it is. The same is true of his nature descriptions. "You will have a moonlit night," he exhorts his writer brother, "if you will write 'hat a bit of glass from a broken bottle twinkled like a bright star on the mill's dam and that the dark shadow of a dog or wolf rolled like a ball....' In the place of stereotyped descriptions of thunder and lightning that mean nothing we read in Chekhov's story: "On the left it is as though someone had struck a match across the sky, a faint phosphorescent streak flashed and died... the sound of footsteps on an iron roof somewhere far away was heard, apparently someone barefoot for there was a hollow murmur of the iron" (*The Steppe*). And the feeling of a passing thunderstorm is conveyed perfectly and spontaneously. The method of depicting life through individual, vivid, compelling details is the effective weapon of Chekhov's powerful realism.

Chekhov's mastery of psychological analysis is amazing, particularly when it comes to the finer hardly perceptible emotional shades. Something new in principle was Chekhov's remarkable ability to reproduce the way of thinking, the interests and feelings of people of the most diverse classes, professions and stations. Chekhov had supreme command of what may be termed as social psychology. The shop assistant, his pretty speeches bespangled with haberdashery terms (*Polinka*) and the renowned professor, lamenting the absence of purpose in life (*A Dull History*) and the poor farmer's maid who amorously joins a rich village family (Lina from *In the Ravine*) and the bored millionaire's wife (*Women's Kingdom*) and the hard-hit village school-mistress (*On the Wagon*), all rise in the flesh before the reader. There seemed to be no bounds to Chekhov's gift for character representation. His stories about chil-



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dren and adolescents (*Kids, The Runaway, Boys and others*) and his stories about animals (*Kashanka, White-brow*) are genuine psychological masterpieces.

Soulful lyricism is a characteristic feature of Chekhov's writing. In no way departing from realism nor falling into sentimentality, Chekhov was able to strike a warm chord throughout his narrative in regard to all he described. "In each of the humorous stories of Anton Pavlovich," Gorky wrote, "I can hear the muffled, deep sigh of a pure, genuinely human heart. No one understood so clearly and subtly as Anton Pavlovich the tragedy of life's trifles, no one before him could paint for the people with such merciless truth the disgraceful and drab picture of their life in the dreary chaos of philistine mediocrity."

Chekhov was an outstanding reformer of Russian and West-European drama, feeling it from many outdated conventionalities. Before Chekhov it was absolutely necessary for a work of drama to have a sharply defined line of exterior action and exceptional, out-of-the-ordinary events. The result was stiltedness and artificial effects. Chekhov renounced the old-fashioned stage canons, demanding that "life as it is and people such as they are and not stiffs" should be shown on the stage. "It is required," Chekhov said, "that the hero and the heroine should be effective on the stage. But in life people don't shoot themselves, hang themselves and make confessions of love every minute.... Let things on the stage be as complex and at the same time as simple as in life. People dine, merely dine, meanwhile their happiness is being made or their lives broken. Man's whole drama is inside him and not in exterior show."

"In Chekhov's dramas the deep and subtle emotions of the heroes do not manifest themselves in pompous phrases and sweeping gestures. They reveal themselves diffidently, as it were, inadvertently in casual bits of conversation, deliberate omissions, meaningful pauses.... Aiming at a many-sided portrayal of life, Chekhov succeeded in a number of plays to blend organically features of tragedy and comedy and even vaudeville to permeate his dramas with genuine lyricism, thus founding an entirely new type of drama."

Some of the characters of Chekhov's plays are so generalized and so saturated with ideas that they attain the significance of profound realistic symbols. This is what Maxim Gorky wrote to Chekhov after seeing his play *Uncle Vanya*: "*Uncle Vanya* and *The Seagull* are a new type of dramatic art, in which realism is elevated to a sublimated and deeply thought-out symbol.... Other dramas do not detract one from the realities to philosophic generalizations, yours do...."

Such are the principal features of the artistic innovations of Chekhov, a great Russian writer and one of the giants of world literature.

### The Diamond Industry in Belgium

Antwerp is not only the biggest harbour in Europe, but is also the most important diamond center in the world.

The diamond industry, indeed, traditionally, stands among the leading industries of Belgium: sixty per cent of the whole world production of rough diamond is cut in Antwerp.

It is, on one hand, the privileged situation Antwerp holds as center, and on the other the high-skilled workmanship of its artisans together with a well-organised marketing service, which secures to this harbour a pre-eminent place in the international diamond trade.

The origin of this industry goes back as far as the XVth century when a citizen of Bruges (Belgium), Lodewyk van Bercken, introduced diamond-cutting in Europe. Born in Bruges, the industry was later transferred to Antwerp, with the growing importance of its harbour, and,

since then, its development has been intimately bound to the destiny of Antwerp. Since 1920, Antwerp has been the first world center for the diamond industry.

At the height of its activity in 1929, twenty-five thousand workers, and about 5 000 manufacturers, businessmen, and brokers were occupied by this industry.

However, the 1940 War cruelly interrupted its prosperity: many of the workers flew abroad to escape the Nazi tyranny, some were arrested and deported by the German invaders: the precious material was partly destroyed and taken away; Antwerp and its industry, isolated from the diamond-producing centers by the German occupation fell into lethargy while new centers for the industry were established abroad.

Its restoration, fortunately, was actively worked out, as soon as the liberation of the territory took place; namely, two men: M. Camille Huysmans, the then Burgomaster of Antwerp, and M. Romi Goldmuntz made a wonderful effort in that line.

The result met with expectation and the industry has now regained its former prosperity. The credits secured for Belgium abroad by this industry were equivalent to:

210,000,000 Francs in 1945 (about 1 Crore and Sixty Lakhs of Rupees).

320,000,000 Francs in 1946 (2 Crores and Forty Six Lakhs of Rupees).

860 000 000 Francs in 1947 (more than Six Crores and Sixty One Lakhs of Rupees).

14 000 workers are now working in 3,000 separate diamond industries. Three strong organisations are in charge of their interests:

- (1) The "Syndicaat der Belgische Diamantnijverheid",
- (2) The "Algemeene Diamantbewerdersverbond van Belgie".
- (3) The "Christelijke Belgische Diamantbewerker Centrale."

The two latter Associations are the Trade Unions of the workers.

In fact they have rigid frame-work and rules, as the diamond-workers constitute a specially selected body: only children of diamond-workers are eligible to the job, and technical schools opened for them are supervised by delegates of employers and workers.

Contractors, craftsmen, and workers need a licence, granted by the National Commission for Diamond. Individual home-work is forbidden.

This system was necessary to maintain the high qualifications of the Antwerp diamond-workers, and to protect the enterprises against the crisis of the industry.

Since the War, a new Organisation has been created

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in Antwerp: the "Diamond Office" which controls the acquisition of rough diamond in London, in co-operation with the "Institut Belgo-Luxembourgeois du Change." The distribution of 90 per cent of the world production of diamond is, as everybody knows, made in London, U.K. keeping the monopoly of Diamond Trade. It is remarkable that a quota of sixty per cent of the total production is allotted to Antwerp. Today about 70 per cent of the skilled workers in the diamond industry are at work in Belgium.

Figures speak for themselves: in the year 1947 U. S. A. (the largest world purchaser of cut diamonds) imported 60 per cent of its requirements from Belgium.

The reader will realize better the importance of the Belgian Diamond Industry by taking a glimpse at the Table of the different diamond centers made by M. O. Frey, Vice-President of the Belgian Diamond Manufacturers Syndicate in an article published in *Belgium at Work* (Brussels, 1948).

1. **NEW YORK.** Employs one thousand workers as against 4,000 in 1944 when the Belgian industry was virtually non-existent. In New York only large-sized brilliants are worked, the competition from Belgium being too great for the small stones. As the import duty of 10 per cent is only imposed on cut stones, the American industry can work the larger sizes.

2. **PALESTINE.** The industry, modestly started in 1940, developed rapidly during the war. Today there are about 2,000 workers as against 4,500 in 1944. The refugees helped in the small stone branch of the industry which has been developed on the most modern lines. It has difficulties now because Belgium has started up once more, and because of the political situation.

3. **GREAT BRITAIN.** 300 workers on medium-sized stones. Nearly all the production goes to the U. S. A., a small part to India.

4. **SOUTH AFRICA.** 500 workers on large stones exported to U. S. A. and to India.

5. **BRAZIL.** A new industry started up by European refugees. Diamonds were cut before the war in Brazil but on a very small scale. In 1944 there were 300 workers, but the revival of the Belgian industry has dealt the new industry there a blow. Today it employs only about 1,000 workers.

6. **CUBA AND PORTO RICO.** The industry only started there after 1940. A few small workshops still exist, employing between 500 to 600 workers, but not always full time. Exports go exclusively to the U. S. A.

7. **THE NETHERLANDS.** With Belgium, the oldest and most traditional centre. Amsterdam had to give way before Antwerp prior to 1940, but the Amsterdam centre was badly hit by the War. There are still 1,000 workers in Amsterdam.

8. **FRANCE.** Today negligible.

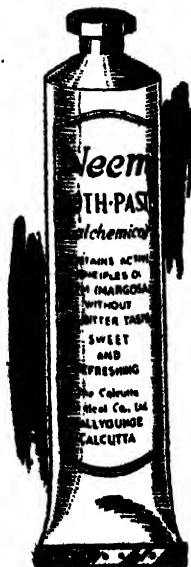
Thus, we realise the importance of the Belgian industry in world markets, and this privileged position becomes still more apparent when we consider the official figures published in America on the importation of cut diamonds. The total importation during the first ten months of 1947 was 274,958 carats, of which Belgium supplied 162,005 carats... 60 per cent! Palestine took second place with 28,580 carats, and South Africa third place with 27,404 carats. Brazil and Cuba imported 5,975 and 5,922 carats respectively, and the Netherlands 20,093 carats. And, earning a total of 23,661,589 dollars out of a total American expenditure of 41,661,908 dollars, Belgium is indeed finely placed with the U. S. A. for its export of cut stones between January 1st, and October 31st, 1947.

Lastly it is impossible to speak of the diamond industry in Belgium without mentioning the big production of diamonds in the Belgian-Congo.

Production for the only part of the Kasai amounts to 7 or 8 millions carats a year.—*Belgium*, August, 1949.

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## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### American Visit a Rich Emotional Experience, Nehru says

New York, Oct. 24.—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared last Wednesday that his eight days in the United States have given him an emotional awareness of the American people and that he will leave the country far richer than when he first arrived, as a result of his American experience.

Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt, presenting the Indian leader to more than 2,000 guests assembled at a banquet in his honour, called on the audience to "listen, learn, give open hearts and minds to his message and go out and carry it far and wide throughout the nation." Mrs. Roosevelt called the group in the ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel "very fortunate people" for "you have met a man who has no fear, who has the power to accept life and face it serenely, who knows the value of the spirit."

Speaking before Mrs. Roosevelt, American Ambassador-at-large Philip C. Jessup told Nehru his American welcome "genuinely flows from our hearts" and he added he was a humble American citizen speaking to a great citizen of India.

The gathering included many distinguished Americans and was sponsored jointly by the American Institute of Pacific Relations, the India League of America, the East and West Association and the Foreign Policy Association.

The visit, which came "after a long time of waiting", is the fulfilment of a long-felt desire, Nehru said, for "I have always wanted to come here since I was a student at Cambridge."

"I shall go back from here much richer than I came," richer in experience, memories and "intellectual and

emotional understanding and appreciation of the people of this country."

"So much has happened of significance in my life," Nehru said of the last eight days. "Experience and emotion have piled up one on top of the other."—*USIS*.

### Vietnam's Independence and Cambodia's Independence

The latest attempts made by the French colonialists at driving a wedge between Cambodians and Vietnamese in South Indo-China were unmasked by *The Voice of Vietnam* in a broadcast July 1st.

The radio cited a French press agency report from Saigon dated June 29th saying, "a band of Khmer Issarak (nationalists fighting for Cambodia's Independence) recently attacked by a roving Vietnam unit in Kantal area, North Phnom Penh (Cambodian capital) had avenged themselves on a Vietnamese village in the same area, causing many casualties on both sides."

This "incident" was described by the French agency as a "bloody episode characteristic of the antipathy prevailing between Cambodian and Vietnamese minorities." The same agency added that "following this incident: French-sponsored Vietnamese papers in Saigon had collected money to assist 'Vietnamese victims' of Issarak terror and urged that the Cambodian government should prevent recurrence of such provocative actions because they might stir up violent reaction against Cambodian nationals residing in south Vietnam."

The Vietnam radio pointed at this "incident" as a fresh manoeuvre undertaken by the French colonialists with a view to playing off two neighbour people actually





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"Together they have fought against the common foe. Together they will march toward victory," the radio concluded. — Vietnam Information

The Popular Education Service in the interzone worked out a new program of emulation aiming at extending complementary education and creating popular libraries. — *Vietnam Information*.

Ground for the building was broken just a year ago and, according to Wallace K. Harrison, U N Director of Planning, the structure of the secretariat building now ~~reaches~~ the 57th story, three of which are below the ~~ground level~~ ~~ground level~~. When completed it will be 39 stories above the ~~ground level~~.

Exterior of the secretariat building will be surfaced with glass, metal and stone. The building is planned to include many innovations when completed, including individual control devices to enable secretariat members coming from diversified climates, to adjust air conditioning. Atop the skyscraper, provisions will be made for installation of radio broadcasting and television facilities. —(ASIS).

The scientists incline to the sober view that we are quickly reaching the point where the question of strategic importance will be: Who drops the bomb first? The point is that the weapon is becoming potentially as destructive that after the first surprise blow, the loser might be crippled to a point where it would be unable to marshal its full resources for the subsequent war. The group's conclusion: These facts make the urgent problem of working out an effective control plan at the United Nations, the key to mankind's future.





